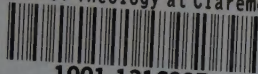


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Diatessarica
PART X, SECTION V

THE FOURFOLD GOSPEL
THE FOUNDING
OF THE NEW KINGDOM
OR
LIFE REACHED THROUGH DEATH

For a list of previous parts of Diatessarica, see pp. 797-8 of
this volume.

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THE FOURFOLD GOSPEL

SECTION V

THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW KINGDOM

OR

LIFE REACHED THROUGH DEATH

BY

EDWIN A. ABBOTT

Honorary Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge

Fellow of the British Academy

*"Since God made man so good—here stands my creed—
God's good indeed."* W. M. LETTS

Cambridge :
at the University Press

1917

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PREFACE

(i) *Diatessarica and The Fourfold Gospel as a whole*

THIS is the last of many works, published in a series entitled *Diatessarica*, all of which deal directly or indirectly with the Fourfold Gospel. It will be convenient to prefix to the special remarks introducing the present volume a general statement of the method of investigation, and the principal assumptions, underlying the whole series of which this volume, *The Founding of the New Kingdom*, constitutes the conclusion.

1. It is assumed that there is a continuity between the thoughts of Jesus and the thoughts of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially such Scriptures as He habitually quoted—sometimes appealing to them as “the Law and the Prophets.”

2. Whenever the Gospels introduce a doctrine of Jesus on any subject, the first question to be asked by those who wish to study it closely will be “What do the Hebrew Scriptures say about it generally, and, more especially, in the particular passage where they mention it for the first time?”

For example, if we wish to study Christ's thoughts about the Temple, which is nowhere mentioned in the Law, we must go back to what is written in the Law concerning the “Tabernacle,” or “Tent of Meeting,” which was the origin of the Temple subsequently mentioned by the Prophets.

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3. The second question to be asked is, "How was the Hebrew rendered by the LXX, and by the other early translators, in Greek; and how was it likely to be rendered in Aramaic, so far as we can judge from the Aramaic Targums in the second and later centuries?"

Take for example "Tent of Meeting"—the above-quoted name given to the Tabernacle. Instead of "Meeting," the LXX habitually has "Testimony," and our Authorised Version has "Congregation." But the second-century Targumist Onkelos has the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew "Meeting." It is important to add that this does not mean a chance meeting. It is a "meeting by appointment" or "assignation." The second-century translator Aquila, as will be shewn hereafter, renders it "appointment."

4. The third question to be asked is, "Has the Hebrew word any associations which, if not comprehended, would prevent our comprehension of its full meaning?"

For example, the first two instances of the above-mentioned "*appointment*"—apart from the "appointed-times," or "seasons," marked out by the heavenly bodies in the first chapter of Genesis—refer to God's promises to Abraham concerning the birth of Isaac "at this *appointed-time*," and again, "At the *appointed-time* I will return to thee." The word is also regularly used to mean an "*appointed-feast*" in which Israel went up to meet the Lord in Jerusalem. Habakkuk connects it with "waiting," thus, "The vision is yet for the *appointed-time*...wait for it." In New Hebrew it is applied to the "*appointing*" or "*designating*" of a bride. This single word, then, might suggest to Jews (1) a wedding "feast," (2) "waiting"—possibly for the home-coming of a bride or of a bridegroom or master of the house, (3) a "meeting" between bridegroom and bride. And it connects all these thoughts with

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the Tabernacle or Temple to which Israel, the Wife, was wont to go up to meet Jehovah her Husband, according to the words of Isaiah "Thy Maker is thine husband, the Lord of hosts is his name."

This connection is missed by the LXX, and must have been difficult for early Gentile Christians to realise. But it illustrates many parables in the Gospels, and some precepts, which, apart from this metaphor, are hardly capable of being fully understood.

5. Having answered the three above-mentioned questions to the best of our ability, we proceed to apply the answers to the Gospels. We begin with the Three Synoptists. The first place is given to Mark, because Mark (so far as concerns the threefold Synoptic tradition) contains the earliest extant original from which Matthew and Luke borrowed.

After noting what Matthew and Luke borrow from the parallel Mark, we examine with special attention 1st, what they altogether fail to borrow, that is to say, what they reject; and 2nd, what they partially borrow, that is to say, borrow but alter. Then we endeavour, in each case, to find a reason for the rejection or alteration.

For example, Mark says that false witnesses accused Jesus of saying "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and, after an interval of three days, will build another not made with hands." The parallel Matthew has "I am able to destroy the temple of God, and, after an interval of three days, to build it." This, Matthew says, is the charge brought by "two"—presumably false witnesses—after "many false witnesses" have accused Jesus ineffectively. Luke omits the whole. We have to ask "Why did Matthew alter Mark's words and Luke omit them altogether?"

6. In order to answer this and similar questions we

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may begin by arguing from internal evidence—as, for example, that Matthew regarded the Marcan report of the accusation as erroneous, while Luke regarded the accusation as negligible because false, besides being obscure and perhaps erroneously reported. But we must not neglect external evidence, if there is any. And such evidence may be reasonably expected from the Fourth Evangelist, who is universally recognised as later than the Three Synoptists, and who would feel bound (we may suppose) to take cognisance of any authoritative Gospels that preceded his own, and to do his best to remedy any evil likely to accrue to the Churches from their discrepancies, as well as from their deficiencies. “How does John act,” we must ask, “where the Synoptists differ? Does he remain silent, or does he intervene? And, if he intervenes, does he intervene for or against Mark, the earliest of the Evangelists?”

For example, bearing on the charge of “destroying the temple” we find the following Johannine tradition: “Jesus said unto them [*i.e.* to the Jews] ‘*Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up*’...but he spake of *the temple of his body*.” That is to say, John in the first place regards Jesus as *having really connected the word “destroy” with the word “temple,”* but in such a context as to shew that He Himself made no threat of destroying it. In the second place he regards Jesus as having used the word “temple” to mean not (as is written in Mark) “a temple made with hands,” but a temple *not* made with hands, a Person, apparently meaning the “body” of the Son of Man, regarded as the Tabernacle of Meeting between God and Man. Such a thought might be unintelligible to Christ’s accusers, but Isaiah had prepared the way for it in the words “Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the

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high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

Jerome, commenting on this connection in Isaiah between "the high and lofty One" and "the contrite and humble spirit," appropriately quotes from the Fourth Gospel "No man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man, who is in heaven." And John has prepared the way for such a conception of an ascending and descending Person, who is a Mediator, or Tent of Meeting, or Tabernacle, between God and Man, by saying in his Prologue that the Word "became flesh" and "*tabernacled* among us."

These facts appear to explain Matthew's alteration of Mark and Luke's omission. Mark had given no indication of the fact that Jesus had actually spoken about destroying the "temple," but in a sense, and in a context, quite different from that which was supplied by the Marcan accusers. Matthew had made the accusation a little less harsh but not more consistent with fact. Luke omitted the whole as hopelessly obscure. John intervenes, partly to correct Mark, and partly to explain him, but still more to set forth a fundamental doctrine of Jesus, namely, that the Son of Man was God's Tabernacle, Tent of Meeting, or Temple. This, then, we feel justified in calling an instance of "Johannine Intervention."

7. Passing to other divergences of Luke from Mark, we try to examine them impartially, prepared to find two classes of them—John intervening sometimes for Luke against Mark as well as for Mark against Luke. But we find very few indeed of the former class. The latter on the other hand are found, on a first examination, to be numerous, and, on further examination, to be very numerous indeed.

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Take, for example, the apparently insignificant detail, peculiar to Mark, in the casting of lots for Christ's garments at the Crucifixion, where Mark alone inserts "*what each should take*" (literally "*who should take what*"). Here John tells us that Mark is not strictly correct. About the "garments," he says, "they made four parts, to every soldier a part." But about the "coat" which was "without seam," they said "'Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be,' that the scripture might be fulfilled which saith, 'They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.'" In this case, Johannine Intervention appears to be based on the poetry of the Psalms regarded as prophecy.

8. Intervention may be based not upon prophecy but upon mere allusion.

For example, Mark, Matthew, and John, in a narrative about the anointing of Jesus by a woman, represent Him as uttering an extremely obscure saying about His "embalming"—mistranslated "burial" or "burying." Luke omits the whole narrative but has another in which the woman is described as "a sinner" and no "embalming" is mentioned. "Embalming" is nowhere mentioned by the Prophets, and it was not a Jewish custom. But it is mentioned in Genesis as practised for Jacob and Joseph, who, though they died in Egypt, were "embalmed" and buried—Jacob at once, but Joseph not till the lapse of many years—in the Land of Promise.

Any allusion on the part of Jesus to such a detail—archaic and in modern eyes insignificant—must seem at first sight far-fetched and wildly improbable. But the hypothesis is at all events not contrary to fact and truth—as is the rendering "burying" for "embalming." And it is mentioned here as being one of many instances where John does certainly intervene for Mark against Luke, but where

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the reason and the exact meaning of his intervention are uncertain. It will be found discussed in its place.

To omit this and other such instances would have very greatly shortened this laborious work and would have avoided some natural accusations of fancifulness and "ingenuity." But it would not have been fair to the reader. The author is conscious of many faults—especially defects in arrangement, and condensation; but he has desired to keep his conscience clear from at least one defect that he regards as unpardonable—the purchase of a clear, brief, and forcible persuasiveness at the cost of fairness to the reader and allegiance to truth.

9. It remains to add that the primary object of *Diatessarica* and *The Fourfold Gospel* has been, not to elicit, in each instance, an immediate answer to the question "What is the historical fact?" but to prepare the way for others who may hereafter elicit it, by shewing them how much help they may derive from the Fourth Gospel and from Jewish poetic literature, and how inadequate must be their appreciation of the spiritual depth and height of Christ's conceptions until they learn to familiarise themselves with His realisation of a Personal Tabernacle or Tent of Meeting mediating between man and God, between the children and the Father—between "him that is of a contrite spirit" and "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity."

(ii) *The present volume*

Three preceding volumes of *The Fourfold Gospel* have treated of the Beginning, the Proclamation, and the Law, of what Christians may briefly call "the New Kingdom." The present volume treats of what may be called its "founding"—not its establishment, for it is as yet far from being

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established, but the means and manner by which it was founded. We shall have to study in what sense the Kingdom was a kingdom of life, and by what means Christ, the Founder, taught us to recognise that the life was to be reached through death, and victory through defeat.

The four volumes deal very largely with words, critically considered as words, Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and sometimes Latin and Syriac—not to speak of the variations in our own Authorised and Revised Versions. And at the conclusion of this laborious task the author may naturally ask himself with some searchings of heart: “Is it thus that I can hope to draw nearer to the Most High God? Can Lexicons, Concordances, Indices, and ancient commentaries on still more ancient writings, technically called ‘scriptures,’ be the appointed and foreordained avenues to the highest spiritual truth, and to such apprehension as is possible for mortals of the immortal and incomprehensible Creator?”

I should be disposed to substitute, instead of any defence of my own, an imaginary defence, such as the Fourth Evangelist might be supposed to make—and indeed does make, by implication—in his Gospel. It will save space, and avoid a tedious repetition of “he may have thought,” if I may be allowed, instead of such a clause, to substitute inverted commas and to represent him, thinking aloud, as follows.

“The religion of Israel is based indeed on the writings that they call scriptures, and the Lord Jesus Christ continually quoted them. Writings consist of words. It may therefore be said by some that He ‘founded His religion on words.’ But it would not be true. He founded it on Himself as being the eternal Word, the Logos, the foundation, and fulfilment of those ‘words.’ The Pharisees forgot

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the creative Word that lay beneath the words of the Law. The brethren in the Christian Churches are also in danger of forgetting the creative Word that lay beneath the words of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as set forth in the books of Mark, Matthew, and Luke. In this book, therefore, I will endeavour to draw forth the Word from beneath those words, and to help the reader to perceive something of the glory of the grace and the truth which shone forth from Him so as to make His teaching something above and beyond a Law (like the Law of Moses) but rather like a living and helpful Friend.

“For example, Mark’s introduction speaks of ‘the beginning of the Gospel,’ and of ‘preaching’ or ‘proclaiming,’ and of ‘baptism,’ and of ‘repentance’ and of ‘remission of sins.’ Now the brethren have begun to use these words in their schools and churches in a formal way, as physicians, lawyers, and others, use the terms peculiar to their several occupations, and as the Scribes use their scribal words in their schools and synagogues—speaking for example of ‘the Gospel’ as the Pharisees speak of ‘the Law,’ as though it had a being of its own apart from the Spirit of Jesus. I will therefore not use these expressions. Instead of mentioning the word ‘Gospel,’ I will shew, as in a drama, what the Gospel was. Instead of using the word ‘proclaim’—as though Jesus were a herald crying aloud the precise proclamation and the exact words that the king has appointed for him to cry—I will relate what Jesus taught, in its spiritual effect, as the Son speaking freely in the name of the Father. Lastly, instead of mentioning the Greek ‘repentance,’ which means merely ‘a change of mind,’ I will bring Jesus before the reader, as it were on the stage of the theatre of this world, calling on mankind to turn from darkness to the Light.

“As for ‘the beginning of the Gospel,’ which Mark

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seems to declare to have been 'John'—that is to say, the preaching of John the Baptist—I will go back to the 'beginning' indeed, namely, to the one eternal Word that was the origin of all these temporary words, so that the first sentence of my book shall be, 'In the beginning was the [one] Word.' And the next shall shew that this was no ordinary word, for 'the Word was toward the [one] God.' And the next after that shall shew that the Word was indeed Himself a Person, and divine: 'And the Word was God.'"

If this imaginary soliloquy represents at all adequately the attitude of the Fourth Evangelist to the Three, then, in reply to the question "What have you gained from all this study of words?" I should feel emboldened to reply that I have made two gains, one negative, the other positive. The negative gain has been that I have been freed (partially at all events, no man is fully free) from the domination of words. The positive gain has been some increase of reverent recognition of the blended beauty and awfulness of the mysterious ways of the Eternal Word through whom is revealed the Eternal Thought "whose service is perfect freedom."

To the possibility of negative gain almost every page in this work will testify, shewing that, whatever Jesus said or did, He said or did in special circumstances or with special metaphor, paradox, or hyperbole, that have been often variously regarded by His biographers. These special circumstances often indicate that He did not lay down, and did not wish to lay down, precedents that we might exactly follow independently of our own circumstances at the present day. The Three Gospels imply, and the Fourth asserts, that Christ's Spirit, not the words uttered by Him before His Spirit was given, is, in the ultimate resort, to dictate and control our action.

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The positive gain has been described above as "reverent recognition." This phrase has been chosen to indicate something different from a merely intellectual insight into causes and effects. Yet it does imply insight—a spiritual insight into the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross as being no isolated event, nor arbitrarily foreordained mystery, but the natural centre round which there revolves the universal sphere of visible and invisible existence, so far as we mortals can rightly conceive of it.

The Synoptists do not indicate this fundamental truth with any clearness. When they represent Jesus as predicting His sufferings, death, and resurrection, they reproduce, and make more definite, a few of His definite words (especially those about "rising again" in "three days" or on "the third day") probably borrowed from one or two of the prophets. But they do not clearly reveal Christ's underlying sense that He, in thus fulfilling the Father's will, was to win a victory. He was to endure a humiliation that would end in exaltation, and to experience a suffering of pain, or even of death, that would become the way to the joy of eternal life. The Fourth Gospel, we must not say ignores all the Synoptic definite phrases, but should rather say, assumes them all. It tells us what they all meant, and what was Christ's feeling at the bottom of them. Consequently it represents Him as speaking about His future death as a "lifting up" or "glorifying," never as a "killing" or as a "crucifying."

These considerations, though they have by no means led us to prefer the Fourth Gospel in all cases to the Three, have led us to regard it as a supplement to them, and in many cases as a necessary supplement. This we have found to hold good more especially about Mark's Gospel. Mark sometimes barely and inadequately reports deep sayings of Jesus with such brevity and obscurity that they are

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omitted by Luke and occasionally by Matthew also. In such cases we have often found that John steps in, not to repeat in amended Marcan language what Jesus actually said, but to teach us in Johannine language what Jesus actually meant.

In such cases, the meaning has been often found to go back to poetry—ancient poetry in the Hebrew Scriptures interpreted by later poetry in Jewish traditions. And here it should be added that the Fourth Gospel, though largely indebted to Philo, is also much more than is generally supposed akin to Jewish poetic or Haggadic thought, such as is found in the Midrash or ancient Jewish commentaries on Scripture.

These, though compiled after the Talmuds, often point back to a period earlier than that of many traditions in the Talmuds. We lose a great deal of light on the Gospels if we assume that Jewish literature in the first century was mainly Talmudic or legal. Much of it, especially before the fall of Jerusalem, would be Haggadic, that is, poetic.

Now the poets and prophets of Scripture, and the poets of the Haggada, even the saddest of them, while pouring forth sorrow for the past and the present, are almost always in some sense optimists as to the future. To this rule John—who in one of his aspects is certainly a Jewish poet—affords no exception. This may seem to discredit his Gospel. Optimists in these days (1917) are silent or speak in subdued tones. Men's minds are busy thinking rather about diabolical evil and how to crush it, than about the goodness of God and how to exalt it. Yet those Christians who believe that the Spirit of Christ has seldom had fair play in Christian Churches will not allow themselves to be laughed out of a reasonable optimism based on experience. This wonderful mixture of good and evil called "the world" does seem to be on the

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whole, or in many respects, "going onward"—sceptics may say "halting onward" or even "muddling onward"—toward some far-off goal of goodness.

Take for example the Christian belief that all human beings may approach God, with a reasonable hopefulness, calling Him "our Father." It came to us from the Jews. But when, and whence, did it come to the Jews? Apparently not till very late. Not till long after the period when God was regarded by them as the Father of Israel. Indeed the Lexicon tells us that the word is not thus used in the Hebrew Scriptures except in a phrase of one of the later Psalms where God is called "Father of the fatherless." May we not take comfort from the thought that so beautiful a title sprang from so sad a source? And is not this often God's way—or, if agnostics shake their heads, at all events *the* way? Does not the want usefully, or sometimes necessarily, precede the gift? "If I go not away," said Jesus to His disciples, "the Spirit will not come unto you."

So in these present days God may be constraining us to feel the want of His Fatherhood by allowing us—nations and churches and classes and individuals—to feed ourselves first with the unsatisfying substitutes afforded by pleasure and wealth and power, and physical or mental excitements. There is at present, and rightly, a growing feeling at least in this country against the accumulation of excessive wealth by individuals. And popular contempt and aversion may sometimes be useful in discouraging it. But they can never be a substitute for a truly Christian conscience, for the voice that should speak in a man's heart, saying, "Shall I live in luxury and give my workpeople a starving wage?" The time will come, we may reasonably hope, when a Christian will say "I had sooner be a scavenger before the gates of Sion than a multimillionaire in the City of Mammon." And this, the selfish accumulation of wealth,

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is but one form of that "greediness" which is the source of all sin. A similar feeling of abhorrence—if we are to be Christians indeed—must extend to other provinces of selfishness, including the sins of the flesh: "Shall I destroy the Man within me and serve the Beast?"

Is this an optimistic dream? It is at all events more reasonable than the supposition that by any appeal to mere self-interest, and by any merely mechanical organizations of conferences and councils, war should be abolished and the reign of perpetual peace insured. The machinery is not to be despised or ignored but it cannot be worked by itself without the Spirit. We need the Peace-Giver Himself in the universe, in every nation, in every social community, in every family, in every human heart. It is a very hard task for man to make himself, and to keep himself, one with the Son of God, and consequently one with the City of the Universe. Yet Marcus Aurelius aimed at nothing less, declaring that every good man ought to say, "That which does not hurt the City does not hurt me."

How much more ought Christians to aspire to such a triumph over their own selfishness, over the lower self that rebels against the higher! And how desirable it is that in attempting to achieve such a victory we should put aside everything that comes in between us and the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom and through whom we are to "overcome the world"—that "world" of God's gifts which we are apt to convert into a world of the devil's temptations.

It is quite right to study the words of the Gospels with all possible care, honesty, and diligence, but the student's object should always be to reach the Word through the words. Small indeed would then seem many of the differences that divide Churches and theologians. They would be swallowed up in our apprehension of "the love

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of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord," and "the peace of God which passeth all understanding." Not for nothing does Jesus in the Fourth Gospel emphasize this peace: "Peace I bequeath unto you, *the peace that is my own* I give you," and again "These things I have spoken unto you that in me ye may have *peace*. In the world ye must have tribulation: but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

There are many forms in which men may patch up a peace—individual with individual, class with class, nation with nation—a peace of self-interest and convenience. But there is only one kind of peace that is permanent, that which is based—whether in individuals, or in classes, or in nations—on the acceptance of the Spirit of the Son of Man, that is to say, of that ideal Humanity to which all human beings owe allegiance, and which we Christians identify with Jesus Christ. The Spirit of the Son of Man we have found to be the Spirit of self-sacrifice, a sacrifice of self for the sake of others. In accordance with the Law of self-sacrifice the Son of Man passed through apparent defeat on the Cross to the real victory of the Resurrection, through the death of "the grain of wheat" to the life that "beareth much fruit." We are to do the same.

This is the lesson of the Gospels. But in too many cases "self-sacrifice" has been confused with "sacrifice for oneself, sacrifice for one's own salvation." That is a very different thing. As though a soldier should suppose that in fighting for his country he is fighting to save his own life! Too often, corrupted thus, the Gospel has failed. But there is all the more hope that, if we take its lesson to heart in the future, it will no longer so greatly fail.

PREFACE

My thanks are due to my old friend and schoolfellow Mr W. S. Aldis, M.A., formerly Principal of the Durham College of Science, for most valuable corrections and suggestions, made in revising the proofs of this volume—as also those of preceding volumes of this series, from the beginning (1900). I have also to thank the Rev. J. Hunter Smith, M.A., formerly my colleague as Assistant Master at King Edward's School, Birmingham, for copious illustrations, from modern sources, bearing on many points of difficulty.

From a third friend (of more than sixty years' standing) Mr H. Candler, formerly Mathematical Master at Uppingham, I had confidently hoped to receive a frank and trenchant criticism like that which I have gratefully acknowledged in many previous volumes; and though he has been removed by death I desire to testify here to the inspiring memory of his uncompromising honesty.

To my daughter I owe not only the Indices at the end of the volumes, but also a close and searching recension of the whole work, which has detected innumerable faults, and has gone far to remedy the author's increasing infirmities of memory and defects in exact and accurate expression.

Lastly, to the Cambridge University Press, my thanks, paid on many previous occasions, must be reiterated and emphasized, not only for the accuracy of their printing, but also for their skill in dealing with the complicated arrangement of the footnotes—never so complicated as in this, the concluding volume of the series.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

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3 Apr. 1917.

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REFERENCES

- (i) *a.* References to the first nine Parts of Diatessarica (as to which see pp. 797—8) are by paragraphs in black Arabic numbers :—
- 1— 272 = *Clue*.
 273— 552 = *Corrections of Mark*.
 553—1149 = *From Letter to Spirit*.
 1150—1435 = *Paradosis*.
 1438—1885 = *Johannine Vocabulary*.
 1886—2799 = *Johannine Grammar*.
 2800—2999 = *Notes on New Testament Criticism*.
 3000—3635 = *The Son of Man*.
 3636—3999 = *Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet*.
- (i) *b.* References to the Sections of the Tenth Part of Diatessarica, entitled *The Fourfold Gospel*, are by pages. The five Sections of the complete work are :—
- (Section 1) *Introduction*.
 (Section 2) *The Beginning*.
 (Section 3) *The Proclamation of the New Kingdom*.
 (Section 4) *The Law of the New Kingdom*.
 (Section 5) *The Founding of the New Kingdom*.
- (ii) The Books of Scripture are referred to by the ordinary abbreviations, except where specified below. But when it is said that Samuel, Isaiah, Matthew, or any other writer, wrote this or that, it is to be understood as meaning *the writer, whoever he may be, of the words in question*, and not as meaning that the actual writer was Samuel, Isaiah, or Matthew.
- (iii) The principal Greek mss are denoted by \aleph , A, B, etc.; the Latin versions by *a*, *b*, etc., as usual. The Syriac version discovered by Mrs Lewis on Mount Sinai is referred to as SS, *i.e.* "Sinaitic Syrian." It is always quoted from Prof. Burkitt's translation. I regret that in the first three vols. of Diatessarica Mrs Lewis's name was omitted in connection with this version.
- (iv) The text of the Greek Old Testament adopted is that of B, edited by Prof. Swete; of the New, that of Westcott and Hort.
- (v) Modern works are referred to by the name of the work, or author, vol., and page; *e.g.* Levy iii. 343 *a*, *i.e.* vol. iii. p. 343, col. i.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aq. = Aquila's version of O.T.
 Brederek = Brederek's *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos*, Giessen, 1906.
 Burk. = Prof. F. C. Burkitt's *Evangelion Da-mepharreshe*, Cambridge University Press, 1904.
 Chr. = *Chronicles*.
 Clem. Alex. 42 = Clement of Alexandria in Potter's page 42.
 Dalman, Words = *Words of Jesus*, Eng. Transl. 1902; *Aram.*
 G. = *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, 1894.
 En. = Enoch ed. Charles, Clarendon Press, 1893.
 Ency. = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, A. & C. Black, 1899.
 Ephrem = Ephraemus Syrus, ed. Moesinger.
 Etheridge = Etheridge's translations of the Targums on the Pentateuch.
 Euseb. = the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.
 Field = Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, Oxford, 1875, also Otium Norvicense, 1881.
 Gesen. = the Oxford edition of Gesenius.
 Goldschm. = *Der Babylonische Talmud*, 1897—1912, ed. Goldschmidt.
 Goodspeed = Goodspeed's *Indices*, (i) *Patristicus*, Leipzig, 1907, (ii) *Apologeticus*, Leipzig, 1912.
 Hastings = Dictionary of the Bible, ed. Hastings (5 vols.).
 Hor. Heb. = *Horae Hebraicae*, by John Lightfoot, 1658—74, ed. Gandell, Oxf. 1859.
 Iren. = the treatise of Irenaeus against Heresies.
 Jer. Targ. or Targ. Jer. (abbrev. for Jerusalem Targum), or Jon. Targ. (*i.e.* Targum of Jonathan, abbrev. for the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan) = the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, of which there are two recensions—both quoted (*Notes on N.T. Criticism*, Pref. p. viii) by ancient authorities under the name "Jerusalem Targum." The two recensions are severally denoted by Jer. I and Jer. II. On other books, the Targum is referred to as simply "Targ."
 Jon. Targ., see Jer. Targ.
 Justin = Justin Martyr (*Apol.* = his First Apology, *Tryph.* = the Dialogue with Trypho).
 K. = *Kings*.
 Krauss = Krauss's *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* etc., Part II, Berlin, 1899.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Levy = Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1889; Levy Ch. = *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., 1881.

L.S. = Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.

Mechilta; see Wü(nsche).

Onk. = the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch.

Origen is referred to variously, e.g. *Hom. Exod.* ii. 25 = lib. ii. ch. 25 of *Hom. Exod.*, but Orig. on *Exod.* ii. 25 = the commentary *ad loc.*; Lomm. iii. 24 = vol. iii. p. 24 of Lommatzsch's edition.

Oxf. Conc. = *The Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint*.

Pec. = peculiar to the writer mentioned in the context.

Pesikta, see Wü(nsche).

Philo is referred to by Mangey's volume and page, e.g. Philo ii. 234, or, as to Latin treatises, by the Scripture text or Aucher's pages (P. A.).

Pistis = *Pistis Sophia*, ed. Petermann (marginal pages).

Ps. Sol. = *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. Ryle and James, Cambr. 1891.

R., after Gen., Exod., Lev. etc. means *Rabboth*, and refers to Wünsche's edition of the Midrash on the Pentateuch, e.g. *Gen. v.* (on *Gen. xii. 2*, Wü. p. 177).

Rashi, sometimes quoted from Breithaupt's translation, 1714.

S. = *Samuel*; s. = "see."

Schöttg. = Schöttgen's *Horae Hebraicae*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1733.

Sir. = the work of Ben Sira, i.e. the son of Sira. It is commonly called *Ecclesiasticus* (see *Clue 20 a*). The original Hebrew used in this work is that which has been edited, in part, by Cowley and Neubauer, Oxf. 1897; in part, by Schechter and Taylor, Cambr. 1899; in part, by G. Margoliouth, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, Oct. 1899 (also printed in *About Hebrew Manuscripts* (Frowde, 1905) by Mr E. N. Adler, who discovered the missing chapters).

SS, see (iii) above.

Steph. Thes. = *Stephani Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Didot).

Sym. = Symmachus's version of O.T.

Targ. (by itself) is used where only one Targum is extant on the passage quoted.

Targ. Jer., Targ. Jon., and Targ. Onk., see Jer. Targ., Jon. Targ., and Onk., above.

Tehillim = Midrash on Psalms, ed. Wünsche (2 vols.).

Test. xii Patr. = Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs ed. Charles, 1908 (Gk, Clarendon Press, Eng., A. & C. Black).

Theod. = Theodotion's version of O.T.

Thes. Syr. = Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxf. 1901.

Tromm. = Trommius' *Concordance to the Septuagint*.

Tryph. = the Dialogue between Justin Martyr and Trypho the Jew.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Walton = *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 1657.

Wetst. = Wetstein's *Comm. on the New Testament*, Amsterdam, 1751.

W.H. = Westcott and Hort's New Testament.

Wü. = Wünsche's translation of *Rabboth* etc., 1880—1909 (including *Mechilta*, *Pesikta Rab Kahana*, *Tehillim* etc.).

(a) A bracketed Arabic number, following Mk, Mt., etc. indicates the number of instances in which a word occurs in Mark, Matthew, etc., e.g. ἀγάπη Mk (ο), Mt. (ι), Lk. (ι), Jn (7).

(b) Where verses in Hebrew, Greek, and Revised Version, are numbered differently, the number of R.V. is given alone.

(c) In transliterating a Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac word, preference has often, but not invariably, been given to that form which best reveals the connection between the word in question and forms of it familiar to English readers. Where a word is not transliterated, it is often indicated (for the sake of experts) by a reference to Gesen., *Thes. Syr.*, Levy, or Levy *Ch.*

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSFIGURATION AND ITS SEQUEL

[Mark ix. 2—13]

§ I. "*Glory*," in the Three Gospels and in the Fourth¹

THE Transfiguration is expressly described by Luke as a

¹ Mk ix. 2—8
(R.V.)

(2) And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart by themselves: and he was transfigured before them:

(3) And his garments became glistering, exceeding white; so as no fuller on earth can whiten them.

(4) And there appeared unto them Elijah with Moses: and they were talking with Jesus.

Mt. xvii. 1—8
(R.V.)

(1) And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart:

(2) And he was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his garments became white as the light.

(3) And behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elijah talking with him.

Lk. ix. 28—36
(R.V.)

(28) And it came to pass about eight days after these sayings, he took with him Peter and John and James, and went up into the mountain to pray.

(29) And as he was praying, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment [became] white [and] dazzling.

(30) And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah;

(31) Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease (*or*, departure) which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.

(32) Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: but when they were fully awake (*or*, having remained awake), they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him.

THE TRANSFIGURATION AND ITS SEQUEL

manifestation of "glory¹." Mark and Matthew do not use the word in this narrative, but both of them have used the word in the preceding context in such a way as to prepare the reader to accept Luke's description². Mark also, and Mark alone, represents the sons of Zebedee as asking Jesus soon afterwards

Mk ix. 2—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

(5) And Peter answereth and saith to Jesus, Rabbi, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.

(6) For he wist not what to answer; for they became sore afraid.

(7) And there came a cloud overshadowing them: and there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved Son: hear ye him.

(8) And suddenly looking round about, they saw no one any more, save Jesus only with themselves.

Mt. xvii. 1—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

(4) And Peter answered, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, I will make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.

(5) While he was yet speaking, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold, a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.

(6) And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid.

(7) And Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise, and be not afraid.

(8) And lifting up their eyes, they saw no one, save Jesus only.

Lk. ix. 28—36
(R.V.) *contd.*

(33) And it came to pass, as they were parting from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah: not knowing what he said.

(34) And while he said these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud.

(35) And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, This is my Son, my chosen (*many anc. auth. my beloved Son*): hear ye him.

(36) And when the voice came (*or, was past*), Jesus was found alone. And they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of the things which they had seen.

¹ Lk. ix. 31—2 οἱ ἀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ...εἶδαν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ.

² Mk viii. 38, Mt. xvi. 27 "in the glory of his Father," Lk. ix. 26 "in his own glory and the Father's," on which see *Son* 3492 l.

THE TRANSFIGURATION AND ITS SEQUEL

that they may sit on either side of Him in His "glory¹." Clearly they did not understand what His "glory" meant. Here, then, we may conveniently consider what it did mean.

In all the Marcan passages that refer to glory there appears to be some reference to the "thrones" mentioned by Daniel predicting the divine judgment: "I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit²." But in the Synoptic passages now before us, a reference to Daniel is made peculiarly probable because they all mention garments of an exceeding or dazzling whiteness, and Daniel says about the Person who "sat" enthroned "His raiment was white as snow." Such descriptions of the exceeding whiteness of "raiment" occur nowhere else in the Bible except here and in two of the accounts of the angelic manifestations at Christ's resurrection³.

In the Fourth Gospel the glory of Kingdom is subordinated to that of Fatherhood, and the glory of judging to that of saving. John appears never to use the word "glorify" without some thought of the Deliverance that is celebrated in the Song of Moses and the Lamb, accomplished by a Redeemer whose glory it was to die that others might live⁴.

The first Johannine mention of "glory" is in the Prologue, "*and we beheld his glory* [i.e. *the glory of the Word*], glory as of the only begotten from the Father⁵." This can hardly refer (or at least cannot primarily refer) to any manifestation of visible glory, such as might be supposed to have been seen at the Transfiguration. Yet it may allude to the tradition peculiar to Luke's narrative, "Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: but when they were fully awake (*or, having remained awake*), *they saw his glory*, and the

¹ Mk x. 37 "in thy glory," Mt. xx. 21 "in thy kingdom." Lk. omits the narrative. The only other Marcan mention of glory is Mk xiii. 26 μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης, but Mt. xxiv. 30, Lk. xxi. 27 μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.

² Dan. vii. 9.

³ Mk ix. 3, Mt. xvii. 2, Lk. ix. 29; comp. Mk xvi. 5 "white," but Mt. xxviii. 3 "white as snow," Lk. xxiv. 4 "dazzling."

⁴ See *Son* 3463 foll., 3565 foll.

⁵ Jn i. 14.

THE TRANSFIGURATION AND ITS SEQUEL

two men that stood with him¹." Luke, who alone mentions "glory" in the narrative of the Transfiguration, takes it here as a visible, not a spiritual splendour, not one seen in a dream or vision, since the disciples were fully "awake²." John, at the outset of his Gospel, connects with "glory" a mention of "grace and truth." He also says "*we beheld it*"—an expression that would naturally include all the disciples and not merely "Peter and those that were with him³." And whereas Luke says that Moses and Elijah, along with Jesus, "appeared in glory," John implies that a distinction must be drawn between different kinds of glory. For glory in the highest sense, if it included "grace and truth," did not belong to Moses: "The Law was given through Moses; the [gift of] grace and the [gift

¹ Lk. ix. 32, which follows "There talked with him two men, that were Moses and Elijah, who appeared *in glory*." Lk. ix. 32 is taken by Cyril (see Cramer) as implying previous sleep *βραχύ πως ἀπονοστήσουσιν*.

² See *Acts of John* §§ 3—6 for several manifestations followed by § 7 "another *glory* (δόξαν) will I tell you, brethren." Comp. 2 Pet. i. 16—18 "For we did not follow cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eyewitnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent *glory*, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: and this voice *we* [ourselves] (ἡμεῖς) heard come out of heaven, when we were with him in the holy mount." The mention of "cunningly devised fables" explains Luke's anxiety to emphasize the fact that the witnesses of the glory "were fully awake." Contrast the emphatic "*we*," ἡμεῖς, in 2 Pet., with its absence in Jn i. 14 ἐθεασάμεθα.

³ The contexts in *Acts of John* § 5 "Peter and James were wroth because I spake with the Lord," and § 6 "I heard Him say 'John, go thou to sleep,' and thereupon I feigned to be asleep," indicate early heresies that claimed for special apostles special revelations of material glory. But the following tradition includes all the Twelve: *Petr. Apoc.* §§ 2—3 "And further (προσθεῖς) the Lord said, 'Let us go (ἄγωμεν) to the mountain (εἰς τὸ ὄρος) and pray (εὐξώμεθα)... and while we were praying there suddenly appear two men standing before the Lord (εὐχομένων ἡμῶν ἀ[φ'νω φαίν]ονται δύο ἄνδρες ἐστῶτες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Κυρίου).'"

of] truth [that were to be developed out of the Law] came [into being] through Jesus Christ¹."

It is very seldom indeed that Luke introduces a tradition about *fact* of any importance, peculiar to himself, in the midst of a Synoptic narrative. But he introduces more than one here. For besides mentioning the wakefulness, or awaking, of Peter and his companions, he says that Jesus "went up into the mountain to *pray*," and that the subject of the conversation between Jesus and Moses and Elijah was the "departure" that Jesus "was about to accomplish at Jerusalem." There is no contextual tradition peculiar to Mark², except a clause about a "fuller" in connection with Christ's "garments" ("exceeding white, such as no fuller on earth is able to whiten"). This will be discussed after the "praying" mentioned by Luke alone at this point.

¹ Jn i. 17.

² In Mk ix. 6 οὐ γὰρ ἦδει τί ἀποκριθῇ, the text varies. SS has "what he was saying." Origen first (*Comm. Matth.* xii. 40) quotes it as (Lomm. iii. 194) ἀπεκρίθη, but afterwards (*ib.* 41, Lomm. iii. 200) as ἐλάλει. D has λαλήσει but *d* "loquebatur."

Perhaps τί ἀποκριθῇ may have arisen (1) from a recollection of a tradition pec. to Mk xiv. 40 οὐκ ἤδεισαν τί ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ, or (2) from a reluctance to admit that Peter was, for the moment, not in possession of his faculties; or (3) from both these causes. The parall. Lk. ix. 33 μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει seems intended as a correction of Mark. The sense is improved by it. For the words in Mark are not an "answer" to any question expressed or implied, and this is not an occasion where a superfluous "answer" might be used to mean (Gesen. 773) "speak in view of circumstances." For these reasons Mk ix. 6 is not discussed above as a tradition peculiar to Mark.

Mechilt., on Exod. xv. 9 "The enemy said, *I will follow*," adds "And he knew not what he said." That is, Pharaoh "followed," to his own destruction, not to the destruction of Israel.

See *From Letter* 885—90 for Patristic comments on Mk ix. 6 etc. There was perhaps some common Semitic original of Mk ix. 6, and Mt. xvii. 5 ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, capable of being interpreted "*He had not finished to speak*" (comp. Levy iii. 570 *a* לֹא הִספִּיק לוֹמַר, of Akiba's martyrdom) or "*He did not know while speaking*." This is more probable than the conjectures in *Corrections* 422—3.

THE TRANSFIGURATION AND ITS SEQUEL

§ 2. "*Went up into the mountain to pray,*" in Luke¹

In commenting on the baptism of Jesus it was pointed out that Luke alone describes Jesus as "praying" where the parallel Mark and Matthew mention "ascending"; and the Odes of Solomon and the Syriac Version of the Psalms were quoted to shew how the phrase "Jesus lifted up his soul," *i.e.* in prayer, might be taken to mean "lifted himself up," or *vice versa*². In the Psalms, the Targumist thrice supplies "*in prayer,*" where the Psalmist mentions simply the "*lifting up*" of "*the soul*"³ to God. Luke may have done the same thing here. What Luke adds about the subject of Christ's conversation with Moses and Elijah is consistent with the view that, in this "praying," Jesus was raised into a region of revelation and vision (like "the third heaven" to which Paul was "caught up")—into which His three disciples also received an insight with a power of hearing celestial utterances, not audible to those who were not to some extent similarly lifted up. The condition of the disciples, "weighed down with sleep," oscillating between dream and vision, might be regarded by some as similar to that of the same three disciples at Gethsemane; but Luke dissents from that view by saying that on that occasion Jesus "*found them slumbering for sorrow*"⁴.

According to this view, "*the mountain*" in Luke is not the

¹ Lk. ix. 28.

² *Beginning* pp. 110—I.

³ Ps. xxv. 1, lxxxvi. 4, cxliii. 8.

⁴ Lk. ix. 32 *βεβαρημένοι ὕπνῳ* resembles Mk xiv. 40 *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καταβαρυνόμενοι* (Mt. *βεβαρημένοι*), where parall. Lk. xxii. 45 has *κοιμώμενος ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης*. In canon. LXX, *βαρεῖσθαι* occurs only in Exod. vii. 14 (of Pharaoh), and *βαρέως* (apart from Gen. xxxi. 35 *μὴ βαρέως φέρε*) only in Is. vi. 10 *τοῖς ὡσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν*. In N.T. *βαρέως* occurs only in Mt. xiii. 15, Acts xxviii. 27 (both quoting Isaiah). Steph. *Thes.* quotes no instance of *διαγρηγορεῖν* earlier than Herodian. There is no reason for explaining it (*Corrections* 424) by Hebr. confusion; for Luke's motive in inserting this detail might well be to shew that what the disciples saw was no dream or vision. What they saw was seen "when they were fully awake" (perhaps a better rendering than "having remained awake").

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same thing as "a high mountain" in Mark and Matthew, and may be closer to the original tradition, which contemplated a spiritual mountain¹. The Marcan "high mountain" has been supposed in ancient times to mean Tabor, or the Mount of Olives, which are not "high"²; but in modern times, Hermon, which is high, but open to objection, as being out of the way, and hardly likely to be called "*the holy mountain*" in the second Petrine Epistle³. "The holy mountain," in the Psalms and Prophets, meant Mount Zion⁴. But when this, under the title of "the mountain of the Lord's house," is spoken of as being "established in the top of the mountains" and as the resort of "all nations⁵," it is obviously a metaphorical region, a spiritual "House of Prayer." It is quite conceivable that this thought, and even this phrase, was in use among pious Essenes, who did not go up to the Temple in Jerusalem. Perhaps it was in use among the disciples of John the Baptist—who is not described as going up with Jesus to the Temple, when Jesus went up to purify it at the Passover, or as going up on any occasion.

Thus we could explain "*the mountain*" in Luke here, and "*the holy mountain*" in the Petrine Epistle, and also such expressions as that in the *Acts of John* "He taketh me and James and Peter into *the mountain where His custom was to pray*⁶." Thus, too, we can explain the sudden mention of "*the mountain*" (not "a mountain") at the conclusion of Matthew's Gospel as being "*the mountain where Jesus [had] appointed to them [to meet Him]*⁷." This does not oblige us to deny that in a literal sense there may have been places, such as that for example on the Mount of Olives, and others on mountains of Galilee, to which Jesus "oft-times resorted with his disciples⁸." But it helps us to recognise that, in a spiritual sense, Jesus laid stress on the need of our "ascending

¹ Mk-Mt. ὄρος ὑψηλόν, Lk. τὸ ὄρος.

² See *From Letter* 867 a.

³ 2 Pet. i. 18.

⁴ See *Son* 3468 c—g on "The Holy Mountain."

⁵ Is. ii. 2, comp. Mic. iv. 1.

⁶ *Acts of John* § 3.

⁷ Mt. xxviii. 16.

⁸ Jn xviii. 2.

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in heart and mind" into the Mountain of the Lord's House of Prayer in heaven, when we offer up prayer in any place, high or low, upon earth.

§ 3. "After six days" or "about eight days"¹

Jerome's only comment on this clause in Matthew is that Matthew mentions the "intermediate" days, Luke "adds the first and the last"; but he does not explain why Luke does this². Nothing occurs during this interval. Then why is any interval mentioned by all the Synoptists? Having been mentioned by Mark and Matthew as "six days," why is it altered—perhaps inaccurately and certainly unnecessarily—to "eight days"?

Origen mentions, but does not comment on, Luke's divergence³. He regards the "six days" as those of "creation," followed by "the new sabbath⁴." But how "*new*"? Is not the day that follows the "six" rather to be called "the *old* sabbath"? Might it not be said that "the *new* sabbath" is a title to be given rather to "the eighth day," being the first day of the New Creation, the day of Christ's Resurrection? Some thought of this kind may explain Luke's alteration. For the superiority of the eighth day to the seventh is a prominent subject in the earliest Christian writers, among whom Justin Martyr regards the eighth day as the emblem of the true Circumcision as well as of the Resurrection⁵.

¹ Mk ix. 2, Mt. xvii. 1 καὶ μετὰ (Mt. μεθ') ἡμέρας ἑξ, Lk. ix. 28 ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὥστε ἡμέραι ὀκτώ.

■ Jerome adds "Non enim dicitur 'Post dies octo...' sed 'die octavo'"—apparently reading Lk. as ἡμέρα ὀγδόη.

■ Origen on Mt. xvi. 28, Lomm. iii. 179.

⁴ Origen, Lomm. iii. 189—91.

⁵ Barn. xv. 8—9, Justin M. *Tryph.* §§ 24, 41 "a type of the true circumcision, by which we are circumcised from deceit and iniquity through Him who rose from the dead τῇ μὲν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ, [namely through] our Lord Jesus Christ." Comp. *ib.* § 138 "a symbol of the eighth day, wherein Christ appeared when He rose from the dead, [the day] for ever the first in power." So Clem. Alex. freq. 636—7, 712—3, 811. Among those who rest in "God's holy hill" (Ps. xv. 1) some (*ib.* 794) are promoted from the seventh to the eighth grade. See also Philo *Quaest. Gen.* on Gen. xvii. 12.

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Some may explain Mark's "after six days" by saying that, although such interval-clauses are rare in the Gospels, they are occasionally used where the interval is emphasized, and that this is the case here: "Precisely six days after the Lord's prophecy '*There are some here of those standing [by]...*' the prophecy was fulfilled." But would Mark have inserted it if it had happened to be "*four days*," or "*five days*"? It is very unlikely. Luke might have done so in the Acts, but probably not in his Gospel. The Bible does not often mention intervals of days except for special reasons or in allusions¹.

Not improbably, therefore, the Marcan tradition "after six days" is to be explained allusively. If so, it would seem to allude to the ancient description of the ascent of Moses to Mount Sinai, where it is said "The cloud covered it *six days*, and on the *seventh day* he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud...and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights²." The Transfiguration was regarded as the occasion of the giving of the New Law, attested by Moses and Elijah the representatives of the Old Law and the Prophets, and given on a New Mountain of God. According to the precedents of Moses and Elijah there were intervals of "six days," or "forty days³," before ascending. In Mark, an interval of "forty days" has been already assigned to the Temptation. Here the interval mentioned is "six days"; and it was probably mentioned originally, not as an exact measure of the time, but as the type of the interval between the proclamation of the Gospel and the Coming of the Kingdom of God.

The period of "*six days*" is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament antithetically to "the seventh day," or in connection with the labour that is to precede the sabbath, but

¹ Strong's Concordance gives (a) "four days" only once in O.T. (Judg. xi. 40, about the dead), and in N.T. only in Jn xi. 17, 39 (about the dead) and Acts x. 30; (b) "five days" only once in O.T. (Numb. xi. 19, see context), and in N.T. only in Acts xx. 6, xxiv. 1.

² Exod. xxiv. 16—18. See *Synoptic Gospels* i. 213 (by C. G. Montefiore) to which I am indebted for this suggestion.

³ 1 K. xix. 8.

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is otherwise very rare¹. It is therefore worth noting that it occurs only once elsewhere (apart from sabbatarian antithesis) in the New Testament. There, it is connected with the coming of Jesus to Bethany "*six days* before the Passover²." A common Jewish view of the "*six days*" during which Moses was waiting to ascend the mountain was that they were spent in purifying him for the presence of God³; and John immediately proceeds to describe the anointing of Jesus in connection with "*embalming*," as a preparation for the Crucifixion, which, in the Fourth Gospel, is regarded as a "*lifting up*" to the throne of God. The Johannine Gospel begins with one implied hexaemeron⁴. The Johannine "*six days*" may be the expression of another. But this would not preclude the Evangelist from including an allusion to the gift of the New Law through Jesus Christ, the Son, as distinguished from the gift of the Old Law through Moses, the Servant.

§ 4. *The Johannine equivalent of "praying on the mountain"*

The above-mentioned coincidence of a single phrase ("*six days*")—apparently an insignificant one—between the earlier Synoptists and John, leads us to reflect on the much more striking difference as to the term "*mountain*" so common in all the Synoptists and so rare in the Fourth Gospel. The only instance of it there in Christ's words is where He says "*Neither*

¹ Josh. vi. 3—14 is hardly an exception.

² Jn xii. 1. There is sabbatarian antithesis in Lk. xiii. 14.

³ Comp. Jer. *Joma* i. 1 (Schwab p. 157), *Aboth* R. Nathan (*init.*) "*Moses was sanctified in the cloud and received the Torah from Sinai as it is written (Exod. xxiv. 16) 'And the Glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai,' which means on Moses, . . . to purify him . . . So says R. Jose the Galilæan.*" R. Akiba differed. But others supported R. Jose, see *Numb. r.* on *Numb. vii. 1* (Wü. p. 296). Jer. *Joma* and *Numb. r.* mention "*seven days*" as the period of sanctification, whereas Scripture and *Aboth* R. Nathan mention "*six days*." Comp. Jn xi. 55—xii. 1 "*to purify (ἀγνίσκω) themselves. . . six days before the Passover*"—an instance (*Joh. Gr.* 2646) of Johannine irony to which Origen *ad loc.* calls attention.

⁴ See *Proclam.* p. 15, *Joh. Gr.* 2624, *Son* 3583 (ix) b, (xii) c foll.

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in Jerusalem nor in this mountain shall ye worship the Father¹." The essence of worship, Jesus adds, is to pray not on a mountain but "in spirit and in truth."

Not only is "praying on a mountain" excluded from the Fourth Gospel but even all direct mention of Christ's "praying" on any occasion. Yet John does represent Jesus in fact as praying to the Father twice during the week before the last Passover. The second prayer is the very long one uttered just before His arrest. The first is a brief and passionate one, when Jesus exclaims, "Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? 'Father, save me from this hour'? But for this cause came I, unto this hour. *Father, glorify thy name*."²

The preceding Johannine context describes Jesus as proclaiming "The hour is come that the Son of man *should be glorified*"³. The reason for the proclamation seems slight, being merely a petition to Philip, "Sir, we would see Jesus," uttered by "certain Greeks among those that went up to worship at the feast." But Jesus sees in this petition a verification of the Law of the Harvest, and a revelation of the Father's will that the Son, who is the Seed, shall "die" that it may "bear much fruit." This seems to correspond to the more definite and less poetic Lucan tradition that Jesus was to "accomplish his departure (*or*, decease) in Jerusalem." The scene of this petition of the Greeks is what Jews called the Mountain of the Lord's House in Jerusalem to which they had "come up" to worship⁴. Jesus welcomed them as worshippers in no mere material mountain but in spirit and in truth.

¹ Jn iv. 21. In Jn, *ὄρος* occurs only in iv. 20, 21, vi. 3, 15 (and the interpolated viii. 1).

² Jn xii. 27—8. On the punctuation see *Joh. Gr.* 2057, 2389 a, 2512 b—c. No prayer is uttered before, even at the raising of Lazarus. There it is implied that Jesus has quietly prayed (Jn xi. 41 "Father, I thank thee that thou heardest me"). But no prayer is recorded.

³ Jn xii. 23.

⁴ On "*the Mountain of the House*," see *From Letter* 981 b. "Going up" to the feast is mentioned in Jn xii. 20 about the Greeks, but not about Jesus. See, however, *Joh. Gr.* 2264—5 on Jesus as "going up" to a feast in a mystical sense.

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Then the Son offers Himself to the Father, a willing sacrifice, in the prayer "Father, glorify thy name." The answer, "I have both glorified it and will glorify it again," does not include the word "Son," but it is felt to be implied, or rather, taken for granted, so that "Thou art my Son" would, in this context, rather weaken than strengthen the meaning. An inexpressible mystery of "glorifying" the divine Name is suggested, as if the Father is sacrificing His own Son, while the Son is sacrificing Himself to His own Father, and divine Love identifies the Sacrificer with the Sacrificed. This answer is uttered by a "voice from heaven"—not "from a cloud" as in the Synoptic account of the Transfiguration—and the multitude took it for mere "thunder," while others said "an angel hath spoken to him."

These variations in popular apprehension seem to illustrate the Evangelist's doctrine that mere external signs and wonders are of no avail in themselves, apart from the preparation of the mind that is to receive them. The "multitude" was not prepared. "Others" were only partially prepared. But there was at least some one present who, if not fully at the moment, at all events afterwards, was able to discern that the revelation beneath this voice was a revelation of victory through defeat and life through death. The Evangelist hears the words "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out," and reflects "Yes, but the prince was destined at first to prevail." He hears "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself"—and adds "Yes, but He was first to die." And hence, long afterwards, he wrote down his reflection. "This he said, signifying by what manner of death he should die¹."

¹ Jn xii. 31—3. On "voices" in O.T., meaning "thunders," see *From Letter 728*. Origen, on the Transfiguration (*Comm. Matth.* xii. 32, Lomm. iii. 182) seems to assume that the "voice" is a voice of thunder, when he speaks of (Mt. xvi. 28) "'some of those standing by' Jesus (ἐσθηκότων παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ), when they are enabled to follow Him as He draws them onward and as He goes up into the 'high mountain' (ib. xvii. 1) of His manifestation. Of which 'some of those standing by Jesus (τινες τῶν ἐστώτων παρὰ (?) Ἰησοῦν) are deemed worthy, if they be either a Peter whom 'the gates of Hades

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§ 5. "*His garments...so as no fuller on earth can whiten,*"
in *Mark*¹

This curious Marcan tradition about "no fuller" may have a bearing on the most important Lucan addition to the older account of the Transfiguration. Mark and Matthew tell us merely that Moses and Elijah conversed with Jesus. But

have no power against, or '*the sons of thunder*' and [those who are to be] begotten (οἱ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοὶ καὶ γεννώμενοι) from the mighty-voicedness (ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας) of God [when He is] thundering and calling aloud with a great voice from heaven (βροντῶντος καὶ μεγάλα οὐρανόθεν βοῶντος) to them that have ears and are wise. Such as these 'do not taste of death.'"

The ancient commentary on Mark attributed to Jerome extends this explanation of "sons of thunder" (Boanerges) so as to include Peter: "Jesus named them Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder, since the exalted merit of *these three* deserves to hear, on the Mountain, the thunder of the Father, thundering through the cloud, 'This is my beloved Son.'" See *Proclamation* p. 411 and *Son* 3468 b.

¹ Mk ix. 3 καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν οἷα γραφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι. Many authorities omit the clause about a "fuller"—perhaps as being a homely illustration—and insert "snow" or "light": SS "He was transfigured before them and he became gleaming and his clothing became whitened as the snow," D...στίλβοντα λευκα λια ως χιων ως ου δυναται τις λευκαναι επι της γης, d "splendida candida nimis qualia non potest quis candida facere super terrā." *Diatess.* has "And while they were praying, Jesus changed, and became after the fashion of another person; and his face shone like the sun, and his raiment was very white like the snow, and as the light of lightning, so that nothing on earth can whiten like it"—a very interesting illustration of the way in which an early distasteful tradition ("fuller") can be smothered under a heap of later picturesque paraphrases. Codex *a* has "fulgentia, candida valde, tanquam nix," b "splendida, velut nix, qualia quis non potest facere super terram."

Origen (*Comm. Matth.* xii. 39, *Lomm.* iii. 194) says τότε δὲ κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον γίνονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ λευκὰ καὶ στίλβοντα ὡς τὸ φῶς, οἷα γραφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι. καὶ τάχα οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γραφεῖς οἱ ἐπιμελούμενοί εἰσι σοφοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου λέξεως etc., indicating that "the fullers on earth" are contrasted with "the Fuller in heaven." The same Heb. that means "*fuller*" means also "*wash*," as in Ps. li. 7 "*wash* me and I shall be whiter than snow."

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Luke adds what they conversed about. It was the "exodus" or "departure" that Jesus was "destined" to "fulfil" in Jerusalem. Did Luke supply these words because he felt that this *must* have been the subject of their conversation, or because he found them in some early record outside Mark? Or is there in Mark any expression out of which Luke (or others whom Luke followed) may have inferred that the Vision predicted some "departure" corresponding to the mysterious "burial" of Moses¹, or to the miraculous "ascent" of Elijah?

It will be observed that Matthew and Luke add severally that the "face" or "countenance" of Christ "shone," or "was altered." And this is natural. For it seems strange, at first, that so much stress should be laid by Mark on "garments" alone, and this in a change so complete that it is called in effect "metamorphosis²." But it seems less strange when we reflect that "white raiment" is mentioned in Daniel—perhaps uniquely in Hebrew Scripture, and at all events with singularly solemn emphasis—as follows: "I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit; *his raiment was white as snow*³." Rashi explains "white" as meaning "*that He may whiten the sins of His people,*" and this is the view of Jewish tradition generally⁴; it signifies the fulfilment of the promise in Isaiah "Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be *as white as snow*⁵." How could the followers of Christ gain the fulfilment of this

¹ Deut. xxxiv. 6 R.V. txt "he buried him," marg. "he was buried," see *Law* p. 382.

² Mk ix. 2, Mt. xvii. 2 *μετεμορφώθη*, a word avoided by Lk. ix. 29.

³ Dan. vii. 9. Jerome *ad loc.* calls attention to the "white garments" in the Transfiguration.

⁴ See *From Letter 864 b* (quoting passages from Schöttgen) and *Chag. 14 a, Pesikt.* Wü. p. 213 "when He forgives the sins of the Israelites, He is clothed in white, as it is said (Dan. vii. 9) 'and his clothing is white as snow.'" See also *Deut. r.* Wü. p. 41, *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 209, and *Tehill.* Wü. ii. p. 84, on the various garments of the Lord. In Ecclès. ix. 8 "let thy garments be always white" is explained in *Sabb. 153 a* (for edification rather than in accurate interpretation) as meaning that we are to be always in a state of penitence and good works.

⁵ Is. i. 18.

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promise? The answer is given in Revelation, where one of the elders asks "These that are arrayed in the white robes, who are they, and whence came they?" and the answer is "These are they that come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and *made them white in the blood of the Lamb*¹."

The Hebrew "fuller" occurs only in Malachi and Isaiah, and in a passage of Kings parallel to Isaiah². Isaiah twice mentions "the fuller's field," first as the auspicious meeting-place of Ahaz with the prophet who brought him a message of redemption, and then as the place where the enemies of Hezekiah boasted on the eve of their own destruction. The other instance is in the context of a prophecy of Malachi quoted by all the Synop- tists, "Behold, I send my messenger and he shall prepare the way before me." Malachi, after saying that the Lord "will suddenly come to his temple," adds that "the messenger of the covenant" is "like a refiner's fire and like the soap of *the fuller*, and he shall sit as a refiner . . . and he shall purify the sons of Levi³." This, and its context, might be applied to the coming of Christ to the Temple in a literal sense, and to His attempt to purify it from the abuses that made it a house of traffic. But there are reasons for thinking that in a more general sense the term "fuller" might be applied by Jewish Christians in the earliest decads of the Church to Jesus as being at once the Purifier and the Lamb of God⁴. Such an application must seem fanciful to us, of course, like multitudes of plays on

¹ Rev. vii. 14.

² Is. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2 (also 2 K. xviii. 17). Rashi (on Is. vii. 3) says that the Rabbis explained "fuller" as *more than a mere name*, see *b. Sanhedr.* 104 a, j. *Sanhedr.* x. 1, *Lev. r.* (on Lev. xxvi. 42) Wü. p. 255. Jerome (on Is. vii. 3) calls attention to the identity of the place with that mentioned in Is. xxxvi. 2, and says that Isaiah was bidden to "go forth to the impious king...in the field of *the fuller*, where defilements and stains [of sin] were purged away," not so much for the king's sake as for the people's.

³ Mal. iii. 1—3.

⁴ Gesen. 460—I gives כבש "(tread), wash," particip. "fuller," כבש "lamb," כבש Heb. "subdue," Aram. "tread down."

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words in the Jewish Haggada. But would it be much more fanciful than the play of words in "Siloam, which is, by interpretation, Sent¹"?

In one celebrated instance, where the Sanhedrin desire to send a message to a newly-elected Patriarch asking him to resign his office, it is said that the messenger was "a fuller" and it is added "but many say that he was R. Akiba²." The word used in the Babylonian Talmud is very similar to the word signifying "lamb," used in Scripture about the lamb offered day by day, morning and evening, in the Temple³. Now concerning the passage ordaining this sacrifice, Jewish traditions tell us that Hillel and Shammai differed; Shammai said that the "lamb" meant "the treading down," or "crushing"

¹ Jn ix. 7.

² Grätz (*Engl. Transl.* ii. 348) assumes that it was Akiba: "Akiba, who was ever ready to be of service, undertook the delicate commission": *j. Berach.* iv. 7^a says that it was "a fuller (קצר), and many call him R. Akiba," *b. Berach.* 28 *a* does not mention Akiba, but when the Sanhedrin asked "Who will go?" it says that "(?) a fuller (ההוא כובס)" said "I will go." Goldschmidt says in a note that כובסין "fullers" are often mentioned in the Talmud, but refers only to *Baba Bathra* 134 *a* "parables of fullers" mentioned along with "astronomy" and "geometry" and other sciences with which R. Jochanan was conversant. Goldschmidt suggests that it means "wahrsch. eine Secte od. Klasse," but alleges no passages that support such a conjecture.

Berliner on *Berach.* 28 *a* says: "Dieser Ausdruck kommt oft vor, und im jerusalemischen Talmud steht dafür fast immer קצראקצר, Abschneider, Verkürzer. Nach genauer Erwägung aller hierher gehörenden Stellen (vergl. *Succhah* 28, 1, *Kethuboth* 103, 2, *Baba Bathra* 134, 1) glauben wir uns berechtigt, annehmen zu dürfen, dass dies eine besondere sehr gering geachtete Sekte war, deren Ursprung schon zur Zeit des Bestehens des Tempels, ja noch weiter hinaus zu suchen sei."

It is worth noting that in *Baba Bqthra* 134 *a* "parables of fullers" are connected with what Goldschmidt interprets as "Fuchsfabeln," משלות שועלים, and that the latter term occurs again (apparently meaning "subtle disputations") in *Sanhedr.* 38 *b*, where "(?) a certain fuller (ההוא כובס)" comes forward and solves a problem put forth by an unbeliever.

³ Numb. xxviii. 3—4, lamb כבש, see p. 15, n. 4.

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of sin, but Hillel said that it meant "the washing away" of sin¹. These two great Rabbis flourished just before the birth of Christ. We may therefore suppose that, during the period of Christ's preaching, the memory of such a controversy would make the metaphorical meaning of "a fuller" well known among a large circle of Jews, and that many would connect it with the thought of the "lamb" of the daily offering. To some of these, in the recording of a vision of the Messiah in white garments, it would be natural, not only to write that His garments were (as in Daniel) "white as snow," but also to feel and say that they were of such a whiteness as no mere earthly "fuller" could produce².

Such a thought would go some way toward making easy the very difficult Johannine tradition that the Baptist said concerning Jesus, before the latter had a single disciple, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!"³ If explained as poetic or prophetic hyperbole, it is, though intelligible, very difficult. But if "lamb" and "fuller" were interchangeable terms in certain prominent discussions of the time, and if "fuller" was also a name that could be given to a Rabbi whose teaching was of a pure and illuminating nature, then much of the difficulty disappears. It will still remain a startling saying, but not so startling, if it sprang from an austere prophet suddenly recognising as his successor one who had a nature to which he could lay no claim—the nature of the Lamb, the nature of the pure and heavenly Fuller, who could wash sins away with a stream of purity not derived from earthly baptism of the body, but flowing from

¹ See Levy ii. 288 *b* quoting *Jelamdenu*, and add *Pesikt*. Wü. pp. 21, and 75—6.

² The quaint and (to us perhaps) almost irreverent conception of God as "a fuller" may be illustrated from Siphra in Jalk. Sim. i. fol. 166 *b*, II. fol. 58 *a* quoted in Schöttgen ii. 555 "God took all the sins of Jacob and Esau and poured them on His own garments, whence they became red as scarlet, as it is said 'Wherefore are thy garments red?' (comp. Is. lxiii. 2). Then He sat down and washed them white, as it is said (Dan. vii. 9) 'His garment was white as snow.'"

³ Jn i. 29, on which see *Son* 3519—20.

heaven into the inmost soul. According to this view, the Marcan mention of "a fuller" would be very far from being an otiose detail and a sign of homely diffuseness. It would be part of the original vision. It had been mentioned by Peter, perhaps—not very long before fragments of a Petrine Gospel were committed to writing by Mark—in some account of a vision of martyrdom, embodied in a manifestation of Moses, Elijah, and the Lord Jesus Christ, in which Peter had been prepared to "taste of death," and follow his Master in glory. The Lord had appeared in "white garments," white with no earthly cleānsing but with such a sacrificial stream of purification as could issue from none but the Cleanser in heaven. By such a vision Peter had been taught that he, too, must "whiten his garments in the blood of the Lamb¹."

At the time when Matthew wrote, the metaphor of "the fuller" might well have become obsolete. The followers of Hillel and Shammai would understand it, but it would be hardly suitable for a Gospel that contemplated the fulfilment of the command "Make disciples of all the nations²." Hence the now obscure Marcan allusion was paraphrased by Matthew into a mere description of splendour suffusing the Messiah's countenance and garments. Luke followed Matthew in dispensing with the word "fuller." But, having some sense of a doctrine latent under the word, Luke added in the context a clause (about a "*departure in Jerusalem*") that might refer to a martyrdom such as Luke mentions elsewhere in the tradition that "it cannot be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem³."

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we of course recognise that the author has not intervened in favour of Mark in any conscious and definite allusion to the word under consideration. But if we say to ourselves "'Fuller' means 'Washer.' Does John describe Jesus as '*washing*'?" we shall have to reply that he certainly does this. Setting aside the doctrine of regeneration through water and the Spirit, and the flow of blood and water

¹ Rev. vii. 14.

² Mt. xxviii. 19.

³ Lk. xiii. 33.

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from Christ on the Cross, we have a whole scene devoted to the washing of the feet of the disciples by their Master.

But this scene, though prominent and picturesque, represents only a minor kind of purification. A deeper revelation of the purifying glory of God reveals Him as the Father continually sacrificing, or receiving as a sacrifice, His own Son—the fulfilment of the rudimentary dispensation wherein Jehovah, in the Temple, besides the annual Passover, received day by day the sacrifice of the Lamb. With this tradition in his mind, John would know that the Voice on the Mount of Transfiguration, where Jesus stood between Moses and Elijah, meant, in effect: "Look on Him who stands between these two as His two Witnesses. The Law was given through Moses. Wonder-working Prophecy, in its most wonderful form, was given through Elijah¹. But the grace and the truth that were to come through the Law and the Prophets, redeeming men from sin as well as judging them for sin—these were given through Him, my Son, my Witness or Martyr, my Lamb of Sacrifice, whose blood will take away the sins of the world, giving unto the sons of men white garments wherein they may stand arrayed before my throne."

Here we should note that in the scene of the Johannine Voice from heaven John says nothing that directly suggests the thought of the Fuller. What he says there, in the person of Jesus, commenting on the redeeming efficacy of the Messiah's death, is "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself²." There is no metaphor there, of the

¹ Why should Elijah, who made no recorded prophecies about the Day of the Lord, be accepted as the type of "the prophets"? Perhaps partly because it was the Prophet's business to bear witness to Jehovah, when Israel went astray from Him; and Elijah did this preëminently when he stood up for the Lord against the king of Israel and his four hundred and fifty "prophets of Baal" in the presence of the oscillating people. It was not the main duty of a Hebrew prophet to predict the future with accuracy. See below, p. 36, n. 1.

² Jn xii. 32. But, indirectly, "draw all men unto myself" implies "draw unto the light," and hence "enlighten," "clothe in light," "make (*ib.* 36) sons of light." Comp. Targ. on Zech. ix.

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purifying stream that is to "whiten" the garments of the faithful.

This truth comes later on, related as a fact and no metaphor, "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and straightway there came out blood and water¹." The spiritual significance of the fact, however, as being one that needs to be "seen" and "believed" by those who are spiritually prepared to "see" and "believe," is at once suggested: "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true; and he [*i.e.* the Lord Jesus] knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe²." The importance of this spiritual fact is not seen till near the conclusion of the Johannine Epistle: "This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood³."

§ 6. "Beloved" in Mark and Matthew, "Chosen" in Luke⁴

In discussing the Synoptic accounts of the Voice from heaven at Christ's baptism, it has appeared that there was a connection between Jewish thoughts about the Messiah as being (י) the

11—15 "ye with whom a covenant has been made *with blood*...they shall be *shining* (זָהָר) like blood that *shines* (זָהָר) on the side of the altar."

¹ Jn xix. 34.

² Jn xix. 35. See *Joh. Gr.* 2383—4 on "he (ἐκεῖνος) knoweth."

³ 1 Jn v. 6. The Epistle proceeds, *ib.* 7—8 "And it is the Spirit that beareth witness because the Spirit is the truth. For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." In the Gospel there is a mention of "spirit" a little before the "water" and the "blood," thus, Jn xix. 30 "He rested his head (*Joh. Voc.* 1451—8, *Joh. Gr.* 2644 (i), 2713) [on the Father's bosom] and delivered over his spirit [to the Father]."

The whole scene is so imbued with allusive mystery that it does not seem to me fanciful to suppose that John regards the Law and the Prophets as, so to speak, standing by the Cross, and attesting the Sacrifice, when he quotes (*ib.* 36—7) from the Law "A bone of him shall not be broken," and from the Prophets, "They shall look on him whom they pierced."

⁴ Mk ix. 7, Mt. xvii. 5 ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, Lk. ix. 35 ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλεκτός.

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Son of God, (2) the Elect or Pure One of God, (3) the Purifier¹. Now, in the Transfiguration, there is again brought before us the thought of the Purifier in the term "fuller." This leads us to ask anew whether Jewish tradition recognises any connection between "son" and the notion of purifying.

There is no such connection in respect of the Hebrew *ben*, "son," but there is in respect of the Aramaic *bar*, "son." *Bar*, "son," occurs in two passages of the Hebrew Scriptures. Concerning the expression in Proverbs "What, my son?" the Midrash says "It is not said 'What, my son [in Hebrew] (*ben*)?' but 'What, my son [in Aramaic] (*bar*)?' That means 'the precepts and warnings of the Law,' which is called *bar* [i.e. *pure* or *bright*]²—as in the Psalm 'Kiss the *Pure* [*bar*] lest he be angry'—because all its words are *pure*²." Rashi's comment on Proverbs says that the mother desires her son to be "*whitened* (*dealbatus*)," and this word occurs (in Hebrew) in a Talmudic comment on the passage in Proverbs³.

These traditions confirm the view that in the original the Voice from heaven mentioned neither "beloved" nor "chosen," but resembled the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contrasts God's speaking in old days through the "Prophets" with His present speaking through "a Son," or "his Son⁴." Peter desires to make three tabernacles for Jesus and the two witnesses, as if the three were on a level. There comes a corrective Voice saying, in effect, "This is [no prophet, but] *my Son*. Harken unto Him [above all prophets]." It was desirable to shew that "*my Son*" here did not mean "one of my sons" in any sense, either angelic or human⁵. This could

¹ See *Beginning* pp. 124—7.

² *Numb. r. Wü.* p. 214 on Prov. xxxi. 2, quoting Ps. ii. 12 as "*Küset den Lauteren*," rep. in *Lev. r. Wü.* p. 83, with "*Küset den Auserwählten*." This shews that *bar* might be rendered "chosen" or "pure," as in Cant. vi. 9, 10 (see R.V. txt and marg.).

³ *Sanhedr.* 70 b מְלוּבֵן, Goldschm. "hübschen," Levy ii. 467 b "wohlgestalteten (*eig. wissen*)."

⁴ Heb. i. 1—2.

⁵ Gesen. 120 a, בָּן, referring to "sons" in Gen. vi. 2, 4, Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7 etc. On Dan. iii. 25 (בֶּרֶךְ) A.V. "the form of the fourth

be suggested by adding the Greek "beloved," which, in LXX, repeatedly represents the Hebrew "only," with or without "son," so as to mean "*only son*¹." Mark, followed by Matthew, has done this. Luke has perhaps been influenced by the two-fold meanings of *bar* in Hebrew and Aramaic severally. In Hebrew it is twice rendered "elect" by LXX, when applied to the "pure" or "chosen" Bride in the Song of Songs². Luke has combined this with "son" ("this is my *Son*, my *Chosen*").

John nowhere describes a Voice from heaven as calling Jesus either "beloved Son," or "Son," or "Chosen." He would have been compelled to do this, or else to contradict the Synoptists, if he had related the baptism of Jesus by the Baptist. But he has not related it. He refers to it by implication, however, in these words uttered by the Baptist, "He that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon him, the same is *he that baptizeth in the Holy Spirit*." Then follows a disputable passage given by R.V. thus, "And I have seen, and have borne witness that *this is the Son of God*," where recent evidence indicates that the true reading is "*this is the Elect of God*³." With either reading, however, the passage seems inconsistent with what precedes⁴. Whereas we should have expected the Baptist to exclaim "I have seen *him that baptizeth in the Holy Spirit*," he exclaims, in effect, "I have seen *the Son* (or, *the Elect*) of God."

A reasonable explanation is that John had in view a tradition based on the Aramaic word for "son," with its suggestion of

is like *the Son of God* (בר אלהים), the Midrash says that God sent Satan to smite Nebuchadnezzar for saying this and made him correct "his son (בריה)" into "his angel" (*Exod. v. Wü. p. 159*; sim. on Cant. vii. 8, Wü. p. 175). R.V. has "like a son of the gods."

¹ In Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16 etc. יחיד = ἀγαπητός. In Judg. xi. 34 יחידה = μονογενής, (A) μονογενής ἀγαπητή.

² Cant. vi. 9, 10 בר R.V. "The choice one... clear as the sun," but marg. "pure" in both cases.

³ Jn i. 33—4. See *Oxyr. Pap.* ii. 7, No. 208, 3rd cent., where space and facts suggest the reading ἐκλεκτός, which is also in SS. Blass gives the evidence fully and places ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ in his text.

⁴ See *Beginning* p. 124.

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the meanings "chosen," "pure," and "purifying," and that the "purifying" included the thought of "baptism."

The Fourth Evangelist does not deny that a Voice announcing the advent of a "Son" actually and objectively came from heaven, but he suggests to us that the Baptist, subjectively, did not hear it in that form. To the Baptist it came as an announcement of the "Elect of God." And the sense in which the Baptist understood this the Baptist himself expresses by "the Lamb of God," that is, the purifying daily sacrifice. This was only one aspect of the Word, but it was a baptismal aspect and characteristically emphasized by John the Baptizer. By confining himself to this subjective announcement, the Fourth Evangelist avoids arbitrating between the different versions of the objective Voice from heaven given by the Synoptists.

When a Johannine Voice from heaven, the only one in the Fourth Gospel, at last comes before us, it contains no mention of the word "Son." The word "Son" is indeed once mentioned just before it, but only in the title "Son of man"—"the hour is come that the *Son of man* should be glorified¹." The whole of the context takes it for granted that Jesus is the Son of God, and that it is needless for a Voice from heaven, at this stage, to proclaim that truth. The truth that needed to be proclaimed was that the Father in heaven had glorified, and would glorify, His name of Father in one who was wont to call Himself Son of Man while making His disciples feel that He was Son of God. As for the uniqueness of this Sonship it is expressed at the outset of the Gospel in the Johannine term *Monogenēs*², which suggests, without mentioning, the Synoptic "beloved³." The preceding context also mentions "glory" for the first time, and suggests that the "glory" of the Father consists in giving Himself to those who are willing to "receive" Him, and that the "glory" of the Son consists in making us desirous to receive

¹ Jn xii. 23.

² Jn i. 18, comp. *ib.* 14. On *Monogenēs*, in Jn and Plato, see *Beginning* pp. 28—31.

³ See p. 22, n. 1, above, quoting Judg. xi. 34 (LXX) *μονογενής*, (A) *μονογενής ἀγαπητή*, where "Ἄλλος" has *ποθητή*.

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this Gift, with which the Son identifies Himself; it also connects this glory of the Son and Heir with a "grace" and a "truth" that cannot be conveyed through any "law¹."

§ 7. "*While they were coming down from the mountain he charged them,*" in Mark²

Luke omits everything that may have happened "*while they were coming down,*" and passes on at once to the time "*when they had come down*³." The precept to "*tell no one*" is omitted by Luke. It should be noted that Luke alone adds "*on the next*

¹ Jn i. 14—17.

² Mk ix. 9—10
(R.V.)

Mt. xvii. 9
(R.V.)

Lk. ix. 36 b—37
(R.V.)

(9) And as they were coming down from the mountain, he charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, save when the Son of man should have risen again from the dead.

(10) And they kept the saying, questioning among themselves what the rising again from the dead should mean.

(9) And as they were coming down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them, saying, Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen from the dead.

(36) ... And they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of the things which they had seen.

(37) And it came to pass, on the next day, when they were come down from the mountain....

³ The interval between the Transfiguration and Christ's rejoining the nine disciples would seem to have been regarded by Mark as a short one. But if, as modern commentators suggest, the mountain was Hermon and the nine disciples remained in or near Caesarea, the rejoining would take some time. Prof. Swete (on Mk) says that Hermon "overlooked Caesarea," and "offered a perfect solitude," and that "one of its southern spurs became the ὄρος ἄγιον of the Gospel (2 Pet. i. 18)"; but Dr McNeile says (on Mt. xvii. 3) "If the high mountain (ὄρος ἄγιον 2 Pet.) was near Caesarea, it was probably Mt. Hermon, some 14 miles to the north." "Fourteen miles" was a long way to go, if the sole object of going was to obtain "a perfect solitude," and the downward return, though quicker, would take several hours. The hypothesis of "one of its southern spurs" diminishes the difficulty raised by "fourteen miles," but at the cost of introducing a touch of tameness into our interpretation of Mk-Mt. "bringeth them up into a high mountain."

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day" in connection with "*from the mountain.*" In *Clue* it was pointed out that Luke might be explained from the Vision of Elijah where the Hebrew has "Go forth and stand *on the mountain,*" but the LXX has "Go forth *on the morrow* and stand...*on the mountain,*" apparently confusing הָר "mountain" with הָר part of the word for "*to-morrow,*" and combining the two renderings¹. This can now be confirmed by a similar combination in a variation from LXX where the Hebrew has מָחָר "*to-morrow,*" but a Translator has confused this with מָרָה "*hasten,*" and has combined the correct and the incorrect rendering ("*Hasten, Saul, to-morrow...*")². If this is a correct explanation, Luke may have been in some measure led to differ from Mark and Matthew by inferences arising from the clause interpreted by him as meaning "*on the next day*"³."

But other questions also arise, apart from the supposition that Luke is here drawing from Hebrew sources. Luke deviates from Mark's order by placing his mention of the silence about the Vision before his mention of the descent from the mountain⁴. Such deviations would occur when an Evangelist, industriously collecting detached traditions, differed from the Evangelists that preceded him as to the order in which they were to be placed. One has occurred already in the Healing of Jairus' Daughter where Luke places a precept about silence after, and Mark before, a command to give the girl food. There, as here, Mark used the word "charge." This leads us to inquire into other uses of the word "charge" in Mark and their parallels, and into its use in LXX and its equivalent in Hebrew.

The Marcan instances of "charge," given below with their

¹ *Clue* 144 a, quoting 1 K. xix. 11.

² 1 S. xxviii. 19 מָחָר, "cras," where Field gives, as the reading of "Ἀλλος," τάχυνον δὲ, Σαούλ· αὔριον, and adds "ni fallor, duplex versio est vocis וּמָחָר, pictae וּמָהָר." Origen *ad loc.* quotes τάχυνον...αὔριον.

³ That Luke here followed a Hebrew original is indicated also by his use of ἐν τῷ with infin. on which see *Son* 3333 e—g, *Proclam.* p. 153 etc.

⁴ Not that Luke is inconsistent with Mark, but Luke passes over what happened "*while they were going down* (καταβαίνοντων)," and relates what happened "*when they had come down* (κατελθόντων)."

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parallels¹, reveal the following facts. With the exception of one doubtful passage in Matthew, where the disciples are said to have been "rebuked" by Jesus that they should not tell people

¹ Διαστεύλλομαι, in W. H. txt of the Gospels, occurs only in Mark, as follows:—

(1) Mk v. 43 (Jairus' daughter)	Mt. om.	Lk. viii. 55—6
καὶ <u>διαστεύλλω</u> αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἵνα μηδεὶς γνοῖ τοῦτο, καὶ εἶπεν δοθῆναι αὐτῇ φαγεῖν.		καὶ διέταξεν αὐτῇ δοθῆναι φαγεῖν...ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μη- δεν εἰπεῖν τὸ γεγονός.

Here αὐτοῖς means the parents. The order of Mark is reversed in Luke.

(2) Mk vii. 36 (The Stammerer)	Mt. om.	Lk. om.
καὶ <u>διαστεύλλω</u> αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ λέ- γωσιν· ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῖς <u>διαστεύλλω</u> , αὐτοὶ μάλ- λον περισσώτερον ἐκή- ρυσσον.		

Here αὐτοῖς refers to no defined persons, but probably to "they," meaning friends of the Stammerer, implied in vii. 32 "they-bring (φέρουσιν)."

(3) Mk viii. 15	Mt. xvi. 6	Lk. xii. 1
καὶ <u>διαστεύλλω</u> αὐτοῖς λέγων Ὁράτε, βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης...	Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὁράτε καὶ προσέ- χετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης....	Ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχ- θειςὼν τῶν μυριάδων... ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης....

In Mark, αὐτοῖς refers to a vague "they" implied in viii. 14 "they-forgot (ἐπελάθοντο)," where parall. Mt. xvi. 5 supplies μαθηταί.

(4) Mk ix. 9—10	Mt. xvii. 9	Lk. ix. 36 b—7
(9) καὶ καταβαινόν- των αὐτῶν ἐκ (marg. ἀπὸ) τοῦ ὄρους <u>διαστεύ- λω</u> αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ ᾶ εἶδον διγῆγσωνται, εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώ- που ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ. (10) καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκράτησαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συνζητοῦντες τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι.	καὶ καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων Μηδενὶ εἰπῆτε τὸ ὄραμα ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῇ (marg. ἀναστῇ).	(36) ...καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσίγησαν καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐδὲν ὧν ἑώρακαν. (37) ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους....

The order of Mark is again, as in (1), reversed by Luke.

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that He was the Christ (but some authorities in Matthew have "charged"), the word is confined, in the Gospels, to Mark. Mark uses "charge" four times (out of five) to mean an injunction of secrecy. In the first instance, "he charged them much that *no man should know this*"—i.e. the restoration to life of Jairus' daughter—it seems impossible to take the words literally since the crowd outside "knew" that the girl was dead¹. Matthew omits the "charge" and the context. Luke has "gave command to them not to tell anyone that which had been done"—which might be strained to mean "not to talk about the details of the healing."

In the second passage (containing two instances), the Healing of the Stammerer—a miracle peculiar to Mark—the precept "that they should speak to no one [about it]" does not present the same difficulty.

In the third passage, the "charge" does not refer to keeping anything secret. It is to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." And the word "*charged*"—for which "warned" might be substituted—is superfluous except for emphasis, and is omitted by Matthew and by Luke². In Mark and Matthew, the command to "beware of leaven" is followed by a dialogue shewing that "leaven" is metaphorically used for "doctrine." This is wholly omitted by Luke.

Διαστέλλομαι occurs in W. H. marg. once, in Matthew, as follows, after the Confession of Peter:—

Mk viii. 30	Mt. xvi. 20	Lk. ix. 21
<i>καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ.</i>	<i>τότε ἐπετίμησεν (W. H. marg. and Tisch. διεστείλατο) τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ ἐῴωσιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός.</i>	<i>ὁ δὲ ἐπιτιμήσας αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ λέγειν τοῦτο.</i>

¹ Lk. viii. 53 "knowing that she was dead."

² Mk viii. 15 "charged them saying 'See, beware...'" is merely an emphatic form of "said 'Beware....'" Comp. "told and warned," and Aquila's use of the Marcan *διαστέλλομαι* to render the Hiph. of *וזהיר*, in 2 K. vi. 10 "And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God *told him of* and *warned him* (*וזהירה*)," where LXX has merely *εἶπεν αὐτῷ*, but Aq. adds *καὶ διεστείλατο αὐτῷ*. 2 K. vi. 9 contains the warning "Beware that thou pass not such a place."

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In the fourth passage, the one that follows the Transfiguration, Matthew substitutes for "charged" the word "commanded," but both describe a command of Jesus to the three disciples to tell no one what they had seen. Luke omits the command to be silent, saying merely "And they were silent, and told no man in those days¹." Luke also omits the following verses of Mark-Matthew describing a conversation between Jesus and the disciples (during the descent from the mountain) about "rising from the dead" and about Elijah, as well as one verse peculiar to Matthew "Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them concerning John the Baptist."

Turning to Greek outside the New Testament, we find that in literary Greek, Mark's word mostly signifies separation, in the way of "distinctive" expression, "specific instructions" etc.² In LXX it represents several Hebrew words; but, when used in the middle as Mark uses it, it corresponds mostly to a Hebrew word that means in Daniel "shine" or "shining," but in Ezekiel and elsewhere "warn," "instruct³." In Exodus Jethro says to Moses "Thou shalt *expressly-teach* them⁴ the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do." There is no suggestion of "warning" here. Nor is there in the Targums, which repeat the Hebrew word (perhaps in the sense of "enlighten"); the Jerusalem Targum also amplifies the

¹ "In those days" appears to mean "When I say, 'they were silent,' I do not mean 'always silent.' Else, of course, the Transfiguration would not have been recorded." It would be sometimes easy to confuse the Heb. *vav* meaning "in order that" with *vav* meaning "and," in such a sentence as "And he spake unto them and [accordingly] they were silent." See Gesen. 254 a.

² See Steph. *Thes.* ii. 1324-5 διαστέλλω.

³ See Gesen. pp. 263-4 on (I) זָהַר "shine," quoting Dan. xii. 3 "and they that make [others] wise shall shine as the shining of the firmament"; (II) זָהַר "warn," of which the only instance in the Pentateuch is Exod. xviii. 20. But it occurs freq. in Ezekiel iii. 17, 18 etc., meaning "warn." Aquila renders it by διαστέλλομαι both in Exod. xviii. 20 and elsewhere.

⁴ Exod. xviii. 20 זָהַר, LXX "testify (διαμαρτυρῆ) to them," Aq. διαστελεῖ.

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passage so as to shew what is taught: "*Expressly-teach* (or, *enlighten*) them about the statutes and laws, make them to understand the prayer that they are to offer in the house of congregation, the manner of visiting the sick, of burying the dead, of being fruitful in doing good, and in the work and process of justice, and how to conduct themselves among the wicked¹."

In all this, there is no suggestion of "warning" but only of the *distinctive* precepts suggested by the Hebrew word, or of the illumination suggested by its Aramaic associations. But in Ezekiel the notion of "warning" is conveyed as soon as the prophet receives the injunction to break off his dumbness of "seven days," and to begin his prophecy:—"Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, therefore hear the word at my mouth, and *warn* them from me²." The word is then repeated several times; and the LXX, after first rendering it "threaten," settles down to the Marcan word under consideration (which is also Aquila's rendering). The prominence thus given by LXX to this Greek word for "*charge*," in connection with the prophecies of Ezekiel whom God habitually addressed as "*son of man*," might naturally induce some early Evangelists to use it about certain utterances of Jesus the Son of Man either in the Hebrew sense of "warn" or in the later Hebrew and Aramaic sense of "illuminate."

¹ Levy *Ch.* i. 212 *b* shews that נֹרָא, in Aramaic, mostly implies "light" or "enlightening." The middle, "Be thou enlightened!" means "Take warning." *Mechilt.* on Exod. xviii. 27 represents Jethro as saying to Moses, "Thou art the sun, and Aaron, thy brother, is the moon. What need of the lamp with you?" This favours the view that Jews would connect *zohar* in Exodus with "enlightening" rather than with "warning." Could *zohar* be used about Christ's occasional esoteric instruction to the disciples as to healing etc.—meaning "enlighten," but seeming to Mark to mean "warn"?

² Ezek. iii. 17 LXX διαπειλήσῃ, Aq. διαστειλῇ, Sym. προφυλάξεις, but in *ib.* 18, 20, 21 etc. LXX has διαστέλλομαι. In *ib.* 21, "he took warning" נֹרָא is rendered by LXX "thou didst warn him." This suggests that Mk "he warned them [to be silent]" might be taken by Luke as "they were warned, or, took warning [to be silent]," that is, "they were silent."

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The word *zohar* is popularly connected with Jewish cabbalistic doctrine that was once supposed by Christians to go back to the first or second century. It is now believed to be a production of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless the selection of such a title, meaning "splendour" or "shining," when combined with the Biblical application of the word to Moses as the Instructor or Illuminator in connection with the old Law, indicates that even the earliest of our Evangelists might be influenced by the associations of the word in those cases where he records some injunctions of secrecy or some illuminating doctrine not generally known.

In the present instance, for example, it is inconsistent with reasonable views of Luke's honesty and industry as a historian to suppose that he would altogether omit the dialogue during the descent from the mountain without good grounds for suspecting that it was not historical in detail, but was an expansion of some brief and obscure or ambiguous statement. For example, it might have been "And when they had come down from the mountain *he instructed them*, or *he warned them*, or *they took warning*, concerning the things that they had seen." What was this "instruction" or "warning"? Luke has previously given us a hint in the words "They spake concerning his departure which he was to accomplish in Jerusalem¹." Even Matthew, though he has not inserted these words, has inserted, a little before, in the first prediction of resurrection on the third day, the words "He must depart to Jerusalem²."

Mark has had neither of these insertions³; but if we suppose him to be conflating⁴ an obscure original so as to make it include a reference to the latent "departure," he must be regarded as taking "warned" in a double sense, and as combining two interpretations. One is, "Be ye warned that this vision signifies that I shall depart from you, and that I shall pass, as I said before, through three days of death to resurrection." The other interpretation assumes that Jesus "warned" the disciples

¹ Lk. ix. 31.

² Mt. xvi. 21.

³ Mk viii. 31.

⁴ On the Marcan habit of "conflation," see *Son* 3107 *k*, 3265, 3353 (i) *a*.

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to "keep silence" till the fulfilment of the prediction. And here Mark inserts that the disciples "kept the saying [in mind] questioning among themselves what was the [meaning of the words] 'rise from the dead¹.'" Matthew and Luke omit this, perhaps because it might be taken to mean that the disciples questioned what was the meaning of the phrase "rising from the dead" in general. But the Marcan context shews that Mark meant "They questioned among themselves *what was the meaning of the phrase 'rise from the dead' applied to Jesus*, since they could not at that time believe that His prediction referred to His own literal death."

John intervenes twice to explain how the disciples might be said to "keep in mind" predictions of this kind and also to "question among themselves" as to their meaning. First, he represents Jesus as saying near the beginning of the Gospel "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up," adding "But he spake of the temple of his body. When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples *remembered that he spake this*"—that is to say, they did not understand it at first, but they "kept it in mind" and understood it finally². Secondly, near the close of the Gospel, he represents Jesus as saying to the disciples, concerning His death and resurrection, "A little while and ye behold me no more, and again a little while and ye shall see me," whereupon "some of his disciples said to one another, What is this that he saith unto us³?" The very words of the questioning are here given, and Christ's subsequent explanation, namely, that He was on the point of departure: "I came forth from the Father and have come into the world. Again I leave the world and go to the Father⁴."

This is also the Johannine version of that "departure" which Luke mentions in his account of the Transfiguration as destined to be accomplished by Jesus. John therefore may

¹ Mk ix. 10.

² Jn ii. 19—22. John here mentions "three days"—a phrase connected by Mark (viii. 31) and Matthew (xii. 40) with Christ's resurrection (comp. Mk xiv. 58, Mt. xxvi. 61 etc.), but by Luke only (ii. 46) with the finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple.

³ Jn xvi. 17.

⁴ Jn xvi. 28.

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be said to intervene in order to explain Luke as well as to explain Mark. But Luke writes in his own person; Mark records, very obscurely, words that he believed to have been uttered by Christ Himself. Luke omits them. It is a fact of history that Christ's language about His resurrection was not understood by His disciples. It is an inevitable inference that they must have questioned among themselves about it. Mark says that they did this. John dramatically brings them before us in the act of doing it.

§ 8. "*How is it written?*" in Mark¹

Two questions arise at this point. First, did Jesus use the clause "how is it written?" attributed to Him by Mark but not by the parallel Matthew? Secondly, why is the whole of

¹ Mk ix. 11—13

(R.V.)

(11) And they asked him, saying, The scribes say that Elijah must first come. (Or, [How is it] that the scribes say...come?)

(12) And he said unto them, Elijah indeed cometh first, and restoreth all things: and how is it written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things and be set at nought?

(13) But I say unto you, that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, even as it is written of him.

Mt. xvii. 10—13

(R.V.)

(10) And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elijah must first come?

(11) And he answered and said, Elijah indeed cometh, and shall restore all things:

(12) But I say unto you, that Elijah is come already, and they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they listed. Even so shall the Son of man also suffer of them.

(13) Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

Lk. om.

Compare Lk. i. 17 (R.V.). And he shall go before his face in the spirit and power of Elijah....

the context, about John the Baptist, which is inserted by Matthew, omitted by Luke and John?

There is an antecedent probability that Jesus, after the martyrdom of John the Baptist, would prepare His disciples to anticipate a similar martyrdom for Himself. Mark has recently described Jesus as proclaiming to the disciples the new Law, the Law of Life through Death, and Victory through Defeat, as foreshadowed in the prophecies of Isaiah and Hosea about "suffering many things" and being "raised up after three days"—which Jesus applied to the Son of Man¹. If Jesus regarded John the Baptist as a Messenger of God, working in the spirit and power of Elijah, and as passing through martyrdom to glory, then the recent vision of Elijah on the mountain might lead Him to say, in reply to the question² whether Elijah must not first come, "For us, Elijah has 'come.' John the Baptist is our Elijah. You think he has not 'come' because he has died as a martyr. But is it not written concerning the Son of Man that he, too, should 'suffer many things' as a martyr? Elijah has 'come' and 'suffered many things' as a martyr in the same way, even as it is written *about him [the Son of Man]*³." This, if taken by readers to mean "as it is written *about him [namely, Elijah]*," might naturally present difficulty⁴. It has been at all events altered by Matthew. But the difficulty itself, and the confused condition of the context, make it probable that Mark is recording a very early

¹ Mk viii. 31. See *Son* 3184—5.

² "The question." It is a question put modestly in the form of a statement: "The scribes say [do they not?] that Elijah must first come. [What must we reply to them?]."

³ See *Son* 3246 foll. and 3246 *d—i*, on "The 'coming' of Elijah," where it is maintained that the phrase peculiar to Mark, "as it is written of *him*," refers, not to John the Baptist, but to the Son of Man, like the preceding clause (also peculiar to Mark) "written of the Son of Man."

⁴ Some have suggested that "written about *him*" refers to Elijah and to a quasi-martyrdom, which he endured at the hands of Jezebel. But this does not seem probable in view of the fact that he escaped from her hands and, in due course, was taken up to heaven.

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tradition about some actual utterance of Jesus in which He testified to the Law of Martyrdom as applying to Himself as well as to the Baptist.

The omission of this passage by Luke and John accords with the general rule of these Evangelists to omit or alter passages that give what in their days seemed a disproportionate prominence to John the Baptist¹. But Luke and John follow this rule in different ways, as regards the early identification of John the Baptist with Elijah. Luke explains, in his account of the Baptist's birth (through the Song of Zachariah), that he is to "go before" the Messiah "in the spirit and power of Elijah," which amounts to saying "not that he *will be* Elijah, but he *will be in the character of* Elijah²." John introduces a direct negative uttered by the Baptist himself in reply to emissaries of the Pharisees: "And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not³."

This is a remarkable instance of Johannine freedom from conventionality. John probably knew that there were current in the first century a great number of beliefs about Elijah, and also beliefs (such as Origen argues against when dealing with the words "Elijah is come"⁴) in some doctrine of *metempsychosis*, so that the words of Jesus recorded here by Mark might be taken as implying the latter doctrine. He certainly knew—if Mark's and Matthew's Gospels were important enough to attract his attention—that Jesus was reported by Mark to have said "Elijah is come," and that Matthew emphasized this ("is come *already*") and added "Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist." And yet, in spite of these very ancient traditions, he does not hesitate to represent the Baptist as being expressly asked by the priests and Levites sent from Jerusalem "Art thou Elijah?" and as replying "I am not⁵." Perhaps we may suppose that

¹ See *Beginning* p. 71, *Law* p. 219.

² Lk. i. 17.

³ Jn i. 21.

⁴ Origen on Mt. xvii. 10 foll., see also Jerome on Mt. xi. 14 "if ye will receive it..." which he interprets as indicating "mysticum (sermonem)."

⁵ Jn i. 21.

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the Fourth Evangelist argued to this effect: "I know that Jesus called John 'Elijah.' And so he was, to the *Jews*. But now, to the Gentile Churches he is not 'Elijah'—who is to Gentiles merely an ancient wonderworking prophet—but a 'witness' to the Light of the World. And the Baptist himself spoke of himself in this subordinate character, calling himself 'a voice!'"

Some further comment is demanded by the Lucan tradition about Christ's conversation with Moses and Elijah. They converse about Christ's "exodus (departure)²." The mention of His "exodus" is followed, at no great interval, by a mention of His "*analēmpsis* (receiving up)³." "Exodus" is very rare, and "*analēmpsis*" is unique, in the New Testament. The former is appropriate to the Leader of the Exodus, Moses; the latter to the only Israelite "received up" into heaven, Elijah. These Lucan peculiarities perhaps represent Luke's rebellion against the view (adopted by Origen and Jerome)⁴ that Elijah represented "the prophets"—Elijah, who could hardly be said to have uttered a word of prophecy about the Messiah or the Messianic Kingdom! It might seem to Luke that Elijah was the type of Christ's Ascension, as Moses, the deliverer of Israel from Egypt, was the type of Christ's

¹ This Johannine scene testifies indirectly to the historical character of the Marcan tradition about "the scribes" and the "coming" of Elijah. See *Hov. Heb.* on Mt. xvii. 10 "It would be an infinite task to produce all the passages out of the Jewish writings concerning the expected coming of Elias."

² Lk. ix. 31 τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἣν ἤμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. It recurs only in Heb. xi. 22 τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ, 2 Pet. i. 15 μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον.

³ Lk. ix. 51 ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ. Ἀνάληψις does not occur in LXX. But Luke's language recalls 2 K. ii. 1 "when the Lord would take up Elijah," ἐν τῷ ἀνάγειν. Note the Hebraic ἐν τῷ in both passages (*Proclamation* p. 153).

⁴ Origen *Fragm.* on Lk., Lomm. v. 244 Μωσῆς ὁ νόμος καὶ Ἠλίας ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, Jerome *Epist.* (transl. Fremantle, p. 399) *Contr. Jovin.* ii. 15 "Although Moses and Elias were properly types of the Law and the Prophets, as is clearly witnessed by the Gospel" (Lk. ix. 31).

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deliverance of mankind out of darkness through His death and resurrection.

Probably, however, Moses and Elijah were associated in the vision of the Transfiguration, simply (or mainly) because they were associated in the spiritual expectations of all pious Jews, owing to the prophecy of Malachi—who is the only prophet that mentions Elijah, and who mentions him along with Moses¹. The prominence thus afforded (or at least suggested) by Luke to Elijah, as the type of the ascending Saviour, would not be likely to commend itself to John, who frequently speaks of Jesus as “lifted up” on the Cross, and seems to prefer to think of Him thus, rather than as received up in the Chariot.

One more point remains to be mentioned. There can be hardly any doubt that “Hear ye him” in the Transfiguration is a repetition, and fulfilment, of the Deuteronomic “*Unto him shall ye hearken*,” in the words of Moses: “The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; *unto him ye shall hearken*”². Tertullian points this out³. But he is not followed by Origen, Jerome, or Chrysostom in their several commentaries on the Transfiguration⁴. Those, however, who miss this allusion miss the

¹ Mal. iv. 4—5. *Hor. Heb.* on Lk. ix. 30 quotes *Deut. v.* (on *Deut. x. 1*, Wü. p. 55) where God says to Moses “You two [*i.e.* you and Elijah] shall come together,” and *Pesikt.* 93 a “Moses did not die [for the just die not]: but went up into the highest, to minister before God.” These are late traditions, but the text of *Deut. xxxiv. 6* “He [*i.e.* God] buried him” favoured such traditions at an early date. R. Ismael (Rashi) declared that Moses “buried himself.”

The first “prophet” mentioned in Scripture is (*Gen. xx. 7*) Abraham. And the Hebrew word does not mean primarily “one who predicts,” but “one who interprets” (*Gesen. 611 b* “spokesman...”) that is to say, interprets the will of God to men.

² *Deut. xviii. 15*.

³ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* on Lk. ix. 35.

⁴ Chrys. actually explains “Hearken unto Him” as meaning “Even if He desire to be crucified do not oppose (*μὴ ἀντιτάξῃς*),” where the sing. “oppose [thou]” is curiously incompatible with “hearken [ye].”

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meaning of the presence of Moses, who in this vision abdicates in favour of his successor, as if saying "Thou art He concerning whom I said to Israel, *Unto Him shall ye hearken*, a prophet, 'like unto me' in bringing a Law, but surpassing me in bringing a greater Law, the Prophet above prophets, the Son proclaiming the Law of Sonship."

All this John—and John alone of the Evangelists—makes abundantly clear. His pregnant references to Moses contrast curiously with his barren references to Elijah. The latter is not mentioned except interrogatively or negatively¹. The former is mentioned repeatedly as testifying to the Son either by express testimony or by symbolical action².

¹ Jn i. 21 "Art thou Elijah?" *ib.* 25 "if thou art neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor yet the Prophet." This passage is introducing to the reader the technical term "the Prophet," meaning, "the Prophet of whom Moses spoke as a successor to himself."

² Moses is mentioned, either by the Evangelist or by Christ, as follows: Jn i. 17 "The Law was given through *Moses*...the [gift of] grace and the [gift of] truth (*or*, the grace and the truth [that are conveyed by the Law]) came into being through *Jesus Christ*"; iii. 14 "Even as *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so... *the Son of Man*"; v. 45—6 "Think not that *I* shall accuse you... he that accuseth you is *Moses*...for if ye were believers in *Moses*, ye would be believers in *me*, for he wrote concerning me"; vii. 19 "Did not *Moses* give (*ὁ* M. ἔδωκεν) you the Law, and [yet] none of you doeth the Law?" vii. 22—3 "For this cause hath *Moses* given you *circumcision*—not that it is [in truth] from Moses but from the fathers—and ye...that the Law of Moses may not be broken." This is Christ's last mention of Moses.

But I have purposely deferred the difficult instance in vi. 32 *ὁ* M. ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον. It is usual to render this (differently from vii. 19) negatively. But the Johannine view of Moses is generally positive, that he does things typically, preparing the way for their realisation in Christ. Perhaps, then, the meaning is "Was it not Moses who gave you the 'bread from heaven' [of which ye spake (Jn vi. 31)]? Yes, but my Father gives you true bread from heaven [not the rudimentary bread given by Moses]." The Jews had been just quoting complacently Ps. lxxviii. 24—5 "He gave them bread from heaven to eat"; Jesus says, in effect, "Was it not Moses, the rudimentary shepherd of Israel, who gave you that rudimentary bread? But my Father gives you more than that."

CHAPTER II

“THE KINGDOM OF GOD” AND “LITTLE CHILDREN”

[Mark ix. 14—50]

§ I. “*Little children*¹”

WE are now approaching the time when Jesus will be found proclaiming to His disciples a doctrine of “receiving”—either receiving Jesus Himself or receiving the Kingdom of God. Both proclamations mention “little-children,” thus:—“Whosoever receiveth one of such *little-children* in my name receiveth me,” and “Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a *little-child*, he shall in no wise enter therein².”

These utterances will come before us in their order. But there intervenes the Healing of the Lunatic Child. And here the question arises—perhaps of small importance but worth noting—why Matthew and Luke substitute “*child* (or, *boy*),” *pais*, for the term “*little-child*,” *paidion*, used by Mark³. A reasonable reply is that Mark himself tells us that the boy had been subject to fits “from the-time-when-he-was-a-little-child⁴.” He had been a *paidion*, now he was a *pais*. But this only shifts the question from Matthew-Luke to Mark:—“Why did Mark use *paidion* when he ought to have used *pais*?” Turning over Mark’s short Gospel we note that it uses *paidion* twice as often as Luke does (apart from Luke’s Introduction)⁵.

¹ In this section “little-child” will be used invariably to represent παιδίον.

² Mk ix. 37, x. 15.

³ Mk ix. 24, Mt. xvii. 18, Lk. ix. 42.

⁴ Mk ix. 21 ἐκ παιδιόθεν.

⁵ Mk (12), Lk. i. 59—ii. 40, about the child John and the child Jesus (7), later on (6).

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This leads us to ask whether Luke had any special reason for avoiding the word as far as possible and Mark for using it.

Luke's reason for avoiding it may have been that *paidion* conveyed to him the same notion of simple ignorance that Paul intended to convey to the Corinthians when he wrote, "Brethren, be not *little-children* in your minds¹," which is also the notion that it conveyed to Philo, who dilates on the application of the term to Ishmael². This, too, characterizes the Epictetian use of the term³. It is perhaps significant that Hermas never uses the word. Instead of *paidion* Luke uses, on one occasion, the word "babe⁴."

It is more difficult to say why Mark uses *paidion* so freely in his descriptions of healing, before he comes to Christ's doctrine of "little-children⁵." But the following facts may help us to a reasonable hypothesis. In LXX, *paidion* is for the most part loosely used for Hebrew "son," "infant," and "lad"—nearly ninety times. But it is once used, in Isaiah's prophecy of the Suffering Servant, to represent a Hebrew word forms of which mean, with about equal frequency, "*sucking-child*" or "*sucker [of a tree]*":—"He grew up before him as a *tender plant*," where Aquila and Theodotion have "*suckling*," a term often applied in later Hebrew to "pupils" at school and applicable to Jesus at first as the "pupil" of John the Baptist⁶.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 20, followed by "On the other hand (ἀλλὰ) in malice be infants (νηπιιάζετε). But in [your] minds (ταῖς δὲ φρεσίν, i.e. in effect "brains") become full-grown [men] (τέλειοι γίνεσθε)." This is the only mention of *παῖδιον* in the Pauline Epistles.

² Philo i. 393—4.

³ In Epictetus, children are to be kindly treated and occasionally humoured (i. 29. 31), though not to be spoiled and pampered. But I have not found an instance where a child is taken as the type of simple truthfulness, or of some virtue to be imitated.

⁴ Lk. xviii. 15 βρέφη, parall. Mk x. 13, Mt. xix. 13 παῖδια.

⁵ Mk v. 39, 40 (bis), 41, vii. 28 "from the crumbs of the little-children (τῶν παιδιῶν)" (Mt. xv. 27 "from the crumbs that fall from the table of their masters (τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν)), vii. 30 (Mt. xv. 28 ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς), ix. 24 (Mt. xvii. 18, Lk. ix. 42 παῖς).

⁶ Is. liii. 2, on which see *Son* 3519 e and *Notes* 2998 (xlix a).

In the Apostolic Fathers, almost the only instance of *paidion* in the singular is in Clement of Rome, quoting from this prophecy of Isaiah¹. Barnabas uses the word once in the singular, but thrice in the plural. First, he connects it with the land of "milk and honey," and with a "reshaping" of man. Perhaps this "reshaping" implies regenerating as a babe at the breast, but he does not mention the word "*suckling*"². Later on, he connects *paidia* (pl.) with those who "sprinkle for remission of sins"³. These are all the instances of *paidion* in the Apostolic Fathers.

In the early Apologists, *paidion* is practically confined to Justin Martyr⁴. He uses it nearly thirty times, but almost

¹ Clem. Rom. § 16 quoting Is. liii. 2 ἀνηγγέλαμεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ. This when unpunctuated would mean "We made announcement before him as a little-child as a root in the dry ground...." Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* § 42) takes this as meaning "We, i.e. the Church of Christ, like a [weak or simple] child made announcement...." And Origen (*Comm. Rom.* viii. 5, *Lomm.* vii. 219) seems to take it similarly: "Annuntiavimus sicut puer ante ipsum, sicut radix in terra sitienti," as though the Apostles complained of the failure of their "announcement." Jerome says "LXX translulerunt ἡγγέλαμεν ὡς παιδίον ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, i.e. Annuntiavimus sicut parvulum (not, parvulus) coram eo," without explanation.

² Barn. vi. 8—9 "The land of milk and honey" appears to represent Jesus. To enter into that land is to be "reshaped (ἀναπλάσσεσθαι)," by faith in Jesus: *ib.* 11 "Since therefore, having renewed (ἀνακαινίσας) (? ἀνεκαίνισεν) us by the remission of our sins, He made us [to be] a new type, so as to have the soul of little-children (παιδίων) inasmuch as He reshapes us (ἀναπλάσσουντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς)." Later on, it is said (vi. 17) "Why, then, the milk and the honey? Because at first the little-child is kept alive (ζωοποιεῖται) by honey [and] then by milk." In Numb. xiv. 3—31 the men of Israel reject the land of milk and honey, and God says "your little ones (παιδιά), which ye said would be a prey, them will I bring in." But there the Heb. is הָיִים.

³ In Barn. viii. 1, where Jesus is described as typified by the Red Heifer, "the men in whom sins are full-grown (τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν οἷς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι τέλειαι)" who slay the heifer, are contrasted with "the little-children (τὰ παιδιά (bis))" who collect the ashes for the purpose of purifying the people.

⁴ The only exception is Tatian §§ 33—4 (*bis*) about some mythological birth.

always in quoting or alluding to quotation¹. He regards it as a name of the Messiah. But he does not deduce this from Isaiah's prophecy about the Suffering Servant. There, being misled by LXX, he regards *the Church as being* "as a little-child" in its "announcement" of the Gospel². The Messianic name he deduces from the prophecy (LXX) "Unto us a little-child is born," where the LXX and Aquila have *paidion*³. Justin quotes this in his Apology⁴. In his Dialogue, he does not quote this phrase, but alludes to it when he says that the Messiah is "King, and Priest, and God, and Lord, and Angel, and Man, and Captain, and Stone, and a Little-Child being born⁵."

These facts, while shewing the variety of forms in which Christ's Doctrine of Little Children might pass from Jewish into Greek vocabulary, leave it still an open question what word or words Jesus used when He spoke of them. But there is an

¹ The instances in § 42 and § 84 allude to prophecy. Justin refers mostly to Isaiah, or to the Introduction in Matthew. Perhaps the only use of *παῖδιον* in his own name is *Tryph.* § 103 "the Herod that killed the little-children (*παῖδια*) in Bethlehem" (Mt. ii. 16 τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Β.). With three exceptions it is singular.

² His comment on "as a little-child" is of a Pauline character: *Tryph.* § 42 "It signifies that the wicked became subject to Him... and that all have become as one little-child. Such a thing as you may witness in the body: although the members are enumerated as many, all are called *one*, and are a *body*. For, indeed, a commonwealth and a church, though many individuals in number, are in fact as one creation (ὡς ἐν πρᾶγμα)...."

³ Is. ix. 6 "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given." The repetition of ילד as noun and verb could not be expressed except by γέννημα ἐγεννήθη. LXX and Aq. have *παῖδιον ἐγεννήθη*, Sym. *νεανίας ἐγεννήθη*.

⁴ *Apol.* § 35 *παῖδιον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῶν καὶ νεανίσκος* (Heb. "son," LXX *υἱός*) *ἡμῶν ἀπεδόθη*. He takes "the government shall be on his shoulders (*sic*)" as referring to the Cross. Justin seems to combine LXX *παῖδιον* with another reading like that of Sym., *νεανίας*, and to omit *υἱός*.

⁵ *Tryph.* § 34 "a little-child being born (*παῖδιον γεννώμενον*)," perhaps "one that is born as a little-child." He does not quote Is. ix. 6 exc. in § 76 "Isaiah calls Him the angel of mighty counsel."

antecedent probability that He would sometimes use a word that suggested the dependence of the child on the mother for its food. This we might gather from the prayer: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto *babes*," when taken along with Christ's quotation from the eighth Psalm "Out of the mouth of *babes* and sucklings hast thou perfected praise¹." This Hebrew word for "babe"—besides that it closely resembles, and is derived by many from, a rare Hebrew word meaning "suck"²—is also often connected (as in the eighth Psalm) with the comparatively frequent Hebrew word that regularly means "suck [at the breast]³."

This latter Hebrew word, *yânak*, is more common in Aramaic than in Hebrew⁴. And in Aramaic and late Hebrew it frequently has a metaphorical meaning as in the Targum on Solomon's Song "And in that day King Messiah shall be revealed to the congregation of Israel, and the sons of Israel shall say unto Him, 'Come, be thou our Brother, and let us go up to Jerusalem and we will *suck* with thee the ordinances of the Law even as a *suckling sucks* the breasts of its mother⁵.'" The thought goes back to what is almost the only mention of

¹ Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21, Mt. xxi. 16, quoting Ps. viii. 2.

² Strong's Concordance derives עולל, or עולל, "babe," from עול, a rare word meaning "give suck," and "sucking child," but Gesen. 760 b prefers a different derivation (comp. *ib.* 732 a). Rashi (on Ps. viii. 2) takes it as meaning "educati in inquinamento." See Taylor's *Aboth* p. 97 on "The Ages of Man," where a cynical view is taken of the descent of man from "king" to "ape." But there is a reservation: "A son of Torah, like David, is a king, though old." See Wagenseil's *Sota* p. 76.

³ See Gesen. 413, ינק, comp. *ib.* 760 b.

⁴ In Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14 Onk. twice renders ילד—"infant" or "newly born child"—by ינק. In Is. lxxv. 20 עול "suckling," and in Job xix. 18 עוילים "boys," Targ. has ינק. See also Levy *Ch.* i. 338 quoting, *inter alia*, 1 K. iii. 7 "ego *puer* (נער) parvus (קטן)," Targ. "ego *lactens* (ניק) parvus (זעיר)," where Walton rightly substitutes "puer" for "lactens" since the literal rendering would not express the meaning.

⁵ See Targum on Cant. viii. 1.

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the "*sucking-child*" in the Law¹, where Moses disclaims the power of acting as the mother or nurse of Israel: "Have I brought them forth that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom as the nursing-father carrieth the *sucking-child*²?"—a thought repeated in Isaiah, where God says to the remnant of Israel "Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which have been borne [by me] from the belly, which have been carried from the womb³."

No other word for "child" conveys, so clearly as this, the notion of constant dependencé on the parents. There is perhaps something slightly repellent in the fact that it seems to give to the Father the part of the Mother. But the conception of God as having attributes of a mother⁴ is elsewhere implied in Hebrew Scriptures. And this conception—of the child on the mother's breast or freshly weaned from it—accords with the saying of the Psalmist, which could hardly fail to be in our Lord's mind when He connected His doctrine of Childhood with precepts of humility: "Lord, my heart is not haughty . . . I have stilled and quieted my soul like a weaned child with his mother. My soul is with me like a weaned child. O Israel, hope in the Lord⁵ . . ." Such a spontaneous and clinging dependence on the Mother or Father for spiritual food and spiritual hope is at the opposite pole from a "voluntary humility⁶" that makes a man abase himself before God, as before a Master, in order to secure immunity from the punishment due for the infraction of rules.

In view of this collective evidence as to the Jewish traditions about "the sucking-child," it would be unwise to emphasize

¹ The only other, in the Law, is Deut. xxxii. 25 "*The suckling with the man of gray hairs* (Gesen. 413 a)."

² Numb. xi. 12.

³ Is. xlvi. 3.

⁴ See *Son* 3426, 3502, comp. 3506.

⁵ Ps. cxxxi. 1—3. One of the comments in *Tehillim* ad loc. represents God as saying to David, "Thou hast made thyself like the *sucking child*. By thy life! As there is no sin in the *sucking child*, so is there also no sin in thee."

⁶ Col. ii. 18.

as being unique, and yet still more unwise to neglect, Isaiah's use of the term in the prophecy of the Suffering Servant as accepted by Aquila and Theodotion, "He shall go up before him as a *sucking-child*." The word may here mean one that sucks truth; but it may also mean the scion of a royal house that has been cut down like a felled tree¹. The only other instance of the participial noun formed from *yânak* in Isaiah closely follows the prediction "There shall come forth *a shoot out of the stock* of Jesse, and *a branch out of his roots* shall bear fruit"; it is in a passage predicting a universal peace when "*The sucking-child* shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the basilisk's den²."

§ 2. "*Little children*," in the Fourth Gospel

This conception of "a little child" as a "*suckling*" must be distinguished from that which is indicated in contrasts between "the great [child]" and "the little [child]" in such phrases as "the great [child] shall serve the little [child]," meaning "the *elder* shall serve the *younger*." Such a contrast plays a part, and verbally rather a large part, in the doctrine of the Synoptic Gospels, where Christ's doctrine deprecates ambition and pride of place. But the Fourth Gospel cautions us against being misled by these negative deprecations into supposing that the way to become like God is to refuse to be "great." Though it scarcely mentions the word "little-child," and nowhere mentions "sucking-child," yet it represents the Father as being "declared" to us by "the only begotten Son, who is *in the bosom of the Father*," and it represents "the disciple that beareth witness" to the Son by writing the Gospel as being

¹ On Is. liii. 2, Ibn Ezra says (*The Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah* liii. p. 43) "R. Sa'adyah interprets the whole Parashah of Jeremiah... he 'came up before him *like a sucker*,' for when he began to prophesy *he was a youth*," ib. p. 64 (Jacob ben Reuben) "*came up like a sucker before him to suck in his knowledge*." The Servant may be regarded (1) as a sucker springing from the root of a felled tree, the House of David (or from captive Israel) and also (2) as a Disciple of Truth.

² Is. xi. 1—8. Gesen. 413 gives וֹנֵק as "suckling" in Is. xi. 8 and often, but as "sapling (*sucker*)" uniquely in Is. liii. 2.

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the same that "reclined in *the bosom of Jesus*¹." Indirectly, it expresses the constant dependence of the Son on the Father, and that of the disciples on the Son, far more forcibly than we find it expressed by the Synoptists.

In this Gospel Jesus mentions "little-child" only twice. On the first occasion, the term is typical, as in the Prophets, of the promise and joy of a home, as coming through sorrow: "The woman, when she is bringing forth, hath sorrow because her hour is come, but when she hath given birth to *the little-child*, she remembereth no more the anguish, because of the joy that a human being is born into the world²." Epictetus, typically, bids us beware of imitating the Beast that is in us so as to destroy "the Human Being" that is in us³. The Johannine passage, typically, speaks of "the little-child," and of its being "born" (within us) somewhat as Justin mentions "*the little-child being born*," along with King, and Stone, and

¹ Jn i. 18, xiii. 23, referred to in xxi. 20 "the disciple whom Jesus loved... who also leaned back on his breast at the supper."

See *Light* 3814 l—o on "The Holy Milk," and 3817 a foll. "Clement of Alexandria on 'the Babe,'" where it is said (3817 c) "The Odes or Solomon shew no trace of caution in using the most exuberant language about 'babes' and 'milk' and the 'breasts' of God as the Nursing Father. Clement on the contrary passes (108—9) into a long defence of the term 'babes,' in order to shew that it does not imply a preference for folly, and that it is not inconsistent with the Pauline doctrine of 'the full-grown man.'" John, in the opening of his Gospel, suggests the thought of Prov. viii. 30 (R.V. "master-workman," Aq. *τιθηνουμένη*) which the Midrash on Gen. i. 1 (Wü. p. 1), in one of its traditions, connects with Numb. xi. 12 "nursing-father." Instead of "milk" the Fourth Gospel substitutes the "blood" of the Son, which is typified by the wine at Cana (comp. Is. lv. 1 "buy wine and milk without money").

² Cramer (on Jn xvi. 21, p. 364) prints as from Ammonius *ταύτη δὲ τῇ παραβολῇ καὶ οἱ προφῆται κέχρηται συνεχῶς τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὀδίνων τὴν ἀθυμίαν παραβάλλοντες*. On *ὀδίνες* in the Synoptists see Mk xiii. 8, Mt. xxiv. 8.

³ Epict. ii. 9. 3 ὁ ἄνθρωπος, as the type of humanity. In Jn xvi. 21 there is very probably an allusion to the birth (*Son* 3414 (ii) d) of Isaac, i.e. "Laughter." But that does not exclude the thought of Man in general.

other titles of the Messiah¹. On the second occasion, Jesus addresses the disciples as “little-children” in very peculiar circumstances. He has been already raised from the dead and already recognised by them. Yet now, after this recognition, He stands unrecognised for the moment on the shore of Tiberias. They have been toiling all night in their fishing-boat, but to no purpose; and Jesus, who knows this, says to them “Little-children, you have [I think] caught nothing to eat²?” This is the passage placed by Clement of Alexandria at the very beginning of his long discourse on the *paidia* and *paides* (the “little-children” and the “children”) of Scripture³. He draws attention to the fact that Jesus calls them “children” although they are “already in the position of recognised disciples⁴.” Then he goes on to quote passages from the New and the Old Testament; and from the latter (almost immediately) he quotes the words of Isaiah “Behold, I, and the little-children that God hath given to me⁵.”

But these last words are also quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews and applied, not to the Mother, the Church of Spiritual Israel, but to Jesus, who speaks of the redeemed whom He has “sanctified,” first, as His “brethren,” but secondly, as His

¹ *Tryph.* § 34, see above, p. 41. The only previous Johannine mention of *παῖδιον* is in Jn iv. 49, where, in reply to Christ's words “Except ye see signs and wonders ye will in no wise believe,” the nobleman simply says “Sir, come down ere my *little-child* die.” Jesus, presumably taking this as a proof of belief, says at once “Go thy way, thy son liveth.”

■ Jn xxi. 5 *παῖδια, μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε*; See *Joh. Gr.* 2703 (2) “The Lord does not ask for information. He *knew that the disciples had caught no fish and that it was not possible for them to have caught fish*; because they had been toiling without Him in the ‘night’ of spiritual darkness and had not cast the net on the ‘right side’ of the ship.”

³ Clem. Alex. 104 foll., on which see *Light* 3817 a—i.

⁴ *Τοὺς ἤδη ἐν ἑξέει τῶν γνωρίμων παῖδας προσειπών. Ὁν γνωρίμων* see *Introd.* p. 17 n.

⁵ The passages are quoted in this order (104—5) Jn xxi. 4—5, Mt. xix. 14, xviii. 3, xxi. 9, xxi. 16, comp. Ps. viii. 2, Jn xiii. 33 (*τεκνία*, Clem. Alex. reads *παῖδια*), Mt. xi. 16, 17, Ps. cxiii. 1, Is. viii. 18 (quoted in Heb. ii. 13).

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"little-children." The reason is, that "both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all from one [Father]." Hence Jesus is described as saying, not only "I will declare thy name unto my brethren" but also "Behold, I and the little-children that God hath given to me¹." The Epistle—though it does not expressly say it as Clement does—assumes that Jesus is the *Paidion* or "Little-Child," and that He is speaking of the other *paidia* or "little-children," as being God's "gift" to Him. This gives us a clue to the meaning of the very common Johannine phrase, denoting the redeemed, or the Church—"all that thou hast given me" or "all that thou hast given him"—repeatedly uttered by the Son to the Father². It is uttered by the *Paidion*, or "little-child" of prophecy, speaking about the *paidia*, or "little-children" of prophecy, who are at once His "brethren" and His "little-children."

All these Greek details, in which the Jewish word "sucking-child" finds little or no place, must not prevent us from recognising the original Jewish *thought* as being the centre round which Synoptic and Johannine traditions alike revolve, and as having been in our Lord's mind persistently, not only when He spoke of "babes" or of "babes and sucklings," but also when He spoke of "the pure in heart" and the little ones that "behold the face of the Father in heaven³."

¹ Heb. ii. 11—13.

² See *Joh. Gr.* 2422, 2740—4.

³ In the Johannine Epistle *παῖδια* occurs twice certainly 1 Jn ii. 13, 18, and once doubtfully iii. 7 *τεκνία* (marg. *παῖδια*) *μηδεὶς πλανᾷτω ὑμᾶς*. Probably the writer is at first distinguishing "beginners in the faith," *παῖδια*, from "fathers" and "young men." But perhaps he may also include the suggestion that all those whom he addresses may be regarded in these three aspects.

The Acts of John (§ 1) begins with a statement of the perplexity caused by the assertion of Drusiana, "To me the Lord like (*ὡς*) John [? 'as also to John,' the MS has *ἰωάννη*] appeared in the tomb (*ἐν τῇ μνήματι*), and like (*ὡς*) a young man (*νεανίσκος*)." John replies that the Lord did actually appear in various forms (§ 2) e.g. to James as a *παῖδιον*, but to John simultaneously as an *ἀνὴρ*, and soon afterwards to John as an elderly man, but to James as a freshly-bearded young man (*νεανίσκος*). On *νεανίσκος* see Justin M. *Apol.* § 35

§ 3. The "little-child" with the "dumb and deaf spirit,"
in Mark¹

Almost all the traditions peculiar to Mark in this exorcistic narrative are omitted by John. The omissions are in accordance

quoted above, p. 41, n. 4. All these legends may have arisen from attempts to reconcile the LXX prophecies about Jesus as the *παιδίον* with the feeling that He was the Perfect Man, the Bridegroom of the Church.

¹ In the following passage R.V. renders *παιδίον* by "child" in Mk ix. 24. But in Mk ix. 36, 37 its rendering is "little child."

Mk ix. 14—29
(R.V.)

Mt. xvii. 14—21
(R.V.)

Lk. ix. 37—43,
xvii. 6 (R.V.)

(14) And when they came to the disciples, they saw a great multitude about them, and scribes questioning with them.

(14) And when they were come to the multitude,

(ix. 37) And it came to pass, on the next day, when they were come down from the mountain, a great multitude met him.

(15) And straightway all the multitude, when they saw him, were greatly amazed, and running to him saluted him.

(16) And he asked them, What question ye with them?

(17) And one of the multitude answered him, Master (*or*, Teacher), I brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit;

(18) And where-soever it taketh him, it dasheth him down (*or*, rendeth him): and he foameth, and grindeth his teeth, and pineth away: and I spake to thy disciples that they should cast it out; and they were not able.

there came to him a man, kneeling to him, and saying,

(15) Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is epileptic, and suffereth grievously: for oft-times he falleth into the fire, and oft-times into the water.

(16) And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.

(38) And behold, a man from the multitude cried, saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), I beseech thee to look upon my son; for he is mine only child:

(39) And behold, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth (*or*, convulseth) him that he foameth, and it hardly departeth from him, bruising him sorely.

(40) And I besought thy disciples to cast it out; and they could not.

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with what may be called the regular exceptions to the Rule of Johannine Intervention.¹ John never describes an exorcism

Mk ix. 14—29

(R.V.) *contd.*

(19) And he answereth them and saith, O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I bear with you? bring him unto me.

(20) And they brought him unto him: and when he saw him, straightway the spirit tare (*or, convulsed*) him grievously; and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming.

(21) And he asked his father, How long time is it since this hath come unto him? And he said, From a child.

(22) And oft-times it hath cast him both into the fire and into the waters, to destroy him: but if thou canst do anything, have compassion on us, and help us.

(23) And Jesus said unto him, If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth.

(24) Straightway the father of the child cried out, and said (*many anc. auth. add with tears*), I believe; help thou mine unbelief.

(25) And when Jesus saw that a multitude came running

Mt. xvii. 14—21

(R.V.) *contd.*

(17) And Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I bear with you? bring him hither to me.

(15) ...for oft-times he falleth into the fire and oft-times into the water.

Lk. ix. 37—43,
xvii. 6 (R.V.) *contd.*

(41) And Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you, and bear with you? bring hither thy son.

(42) And as he was yet a coming, the devil dashed him down (*or, rent him*), and tare (*or, convulsed*) [him] grievously.

or refers to one. Also he never mentions the words "dumb" and "deaf"—both of which are here inserted by Mark but omitted by Matthew and Luke. If therefore the reader asks what is the object of printing the passages below in full, the answer is that it is partly in order that he may perceive the

Mk ix. 14—29

(R.V.) *contd.*

together, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.

(26) And having cried out, and torn (*or*, convulsed) him much, he came out: and [the child] became as one dead; insomuch that the more part said, He is dead.

(27) But Jesus took him by the hand, and raised him up; and he arose.

(28) And when he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately, [saying], We could not cast it out (*or*, [How is it] that we could not cast it out?).

(29) And he said unto them, This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer (*many anc. auth. add and fasting*).

Mt. xvii. 14—21

(R.V.) *contd.*

(18) And Jesus rebuked him; and the devil went out from him: and the boy was cured from that hour.

(19) Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast it out?

(20) And he saith unto them, Because of your little faith: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

(21) [*Many authorities, some ancient, insert* But this kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting.]

Lk. ix. 37—43,
xvii. 6 (R.V.) *contd.*

But Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the boy, and gave him back to his father.

(43) And they were all astonished at the majesty of God....

(xvii. 6) And the Lord said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye would say unto this sycamine-tree, Be thou rooted up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you.

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kind of Marcan tradition that John regularly refrains from inserting in any form, even when Luke omits it.

But a second object is to avoid the appearance of suppressing any Marcan traditions that may seem to break the Johannine Rule. For example, there is the statement that the multitude, when they saw Jesus descending from the mountain, "were greatly amazed, and running to him, saluted him¹." There are also some words of Jesus about the power of belief ("all things are possible to him that believeth") and of prayer ("this kind can come out by nothing save by prayer²").

The words of Jesus are more important than the narrative of events and will receive separate consideration, but the Marcan clause about "amazement" may be dealt with at once. On a previous occasion Mark, followed by Luke, emphasized the astonishment produced by Jesus on the multitude by His exorcistic power³. Here and later on, in order to express the feeling produced by His personal presence or utterances, he employs forms of a word used by Plutarch to mean something almost amounting to dementia⁴. After the descent from the Mount of Transfiguration it is conceivable that Jesus was regarded by Mark as retaining traces of a divine brightness that caused "amazement" amounting to terror. But this might seem to some inconsistent with their "running to him and saluting him." Victor distinguishes between the scribes to whom Jesus said "What question ye?" and who could not have seen His glory, and the multitude who did see it and were attracted by it. But such a distinction only shews that he found Mark's text difficult and that Matthew and Luke may have condensed it because of its difficulty.

¹ Mk ix. 15.

² Mk ix. 23, 29.

³ Mk i. 26 ἐθαμβήθησαν, Lk. iv. 36 θάμβος.

⁴ Mk ix. 15 ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, x. 32 ἐθαμβοῦντο. Mk x. 24 ἐθαμβοῦντο refers to "amazement" at Christ's words about "a rich man."

See Steph. *Thes.* quoting Plut. *Vit.* 273 c θαμβοῦντι with παραπεπληγμένῳ τὸν λογισμὸν and *Vit.* 729 E—F βλαπτομένῳ τὴν γνώμην ἐοικῶς [ἢ διὰ θείας ἥττης τεθαμβημένος]. In LXX, θαμβέω expresses alarm, panic, terror, but not reverent fear. Goodspeed gives only ἐκθαμβος in Herm. *Vis.* iii. 1. 5, of awe inspired by a vision. Θαμβέω and θάμβος are not in Epictetus.

Not improbably the original account has been confused and distorted by conflation¹. But we cannot thus explain the words peculiar to Mark, later on, where, after the phrase "they were going up to Jerusalem"—common to the Three—Mark alone has "And Jesus was going before them, and *they were amazed*, and they that followed were afraid²." The context of these words indicates that Mark again regards Christ's visible form as suffused with the glory of the impending sacrifice in Jerusalem in such a way that even the multitudes outside the circle of His disciples were "afraid," while the disciples themselves were "amazed." Such a notion—or at all events the emphasizing of such a notion—appears to be deprecated by John all through his Gospel. Not only does he habitually associate the "glorifying" of Jesus with the Crucifixion, but also, when he says in his Prologue "we beheld his glory," he separates the conception from that of a glory that "amazes" by adding "glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth."

Probably John is to be regarded, not as intervening with reference to this Marcan passage in particular, but as having in view all Mark's traditions about the "amazement" caused by Christ's personal presence, and all the Synoptic narratives of the Transfiguration, and the general views of Christians in

¹ This is suggested by the Marcan repetition of "*running together*," when compared with Matthew's account. The prominence given by Matthew to "*a man*," and the fact that Mark calls him "*one of the multitude*," and adds (what Matthew does not add) "*a great multitude*," and "*all the multitude*," might be explained by the Hebrew phrase "*the multitude as one man*," thus: "And behold, when he *approached*, *the multitude as one man* ran to him." "As one man" meant "*all*" or "*altogether*." Mark took it so here (comp. also Mk ix. 25 "*a multitude came running together*"). But Matthew has mistaken this as meaning "*When he approached the multitude, one man*, i.e. *a certain man*, ran to him . . ." Mark seems to have conflated it as two statements. Heb. כֶּאֱחָד, "as one [man]" = ὁμοῦ (A) Ezr. ii. 64, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό Eccles. xi. 6, ἅμα Is. lxv. 25, ὥς εἰς Ezr. vi. 20, and is left untranslated in Ezr. iii. 9.

² Mk x. 32, parall. Mt. xx. 17 and comp. Lk. xviii. 31 (and perhaps Lk. xix. 28).

the first century concerning the nature of the awe or reverence—in Scripture commonly called "fear"—that man should feel toward God. John subordinates, almost to excess, this necessary and not ignoble "fear" which the Hebrew Scriptures emphasize and which some Jewish traditions over-emphasize. Perhaps he assumes its existence in the feelings of awe and reverent admiration with which—as is suggested in the above-quoted Prologue—we are to behold the "glory" of the Only-begotten "full of grace and truth¹." In his Epistle John goes so far as to say "Perfect love casteth out fear;...he that feareth hath not [yet] been made perfect in love²." Only once in his Gospel does he represent Jesus as using the word, and that is when the disciples, in the storm on the sea, think their approaching Saviour to be a phantom. Then Jesus says, "It is I, *fear not*³." Probably "It is I" meant more in Greek than it seems to mean in English. Its literal meaning is I AM, and all pious readers of the Scriptures, in Hebrew or Greek, knew what that meant, or rather, how much more it meant than they could hope at present to apprehend. For them it meant "I am the Eternal"; for the Fourth Evangelist it meant "I am the Eternal Love."

§ 4. "*All things are possible to him that believeth,*" in Mark⁴

The omission of these words by Matthew and Luke must be classified with the omission of somewhat similar words by Luke alone in a later passage, the Withering of the Fig-tree, where Matthew follows Mark. Those will be discussed in detail, more conveniently, there. But we may briefly state here reasons for thinking that John intervenes.

The Synoptists differ as to things "possible." Mark is not alone in having, later on, "*All things are possible with God*⁵,"

¹ Jn i. 14. ² 1 Jn iv. 18. ³ Jn vi. 20. ⁴ Mk ix. 23.

⁵ Mk x. 27 πάντα γὰρ δυνατόν παρὰ [τῷ] θεῷ. W. H. print this as a quotation and refer in their notes to Gen. xviii. 14 μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ (פלא ni.) παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα; Job xlii. 2 ἀδυνατεῖ (בצר) δέ σοι οὐδέν, Zech. viii. 6 (bis) ἀδυνατήσῃ (פלא). It is parall. to Mt. xix. 26 παρὰ δὲ θεῷ πάντα δυνατόν, Lk. xviii. 27 δυνατόν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν (which follows τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις).

but he alone has, at Gethsemane, "Abba, Father, *all things are possible* to thee¹." He also places just before the last of these utterances the statement that Jesus prayed that "*if it is [indeed] possible*" the cup might pass from Him. Instead of this if-clause—which might be criticized as inconsistent with "all things are possible to thee"—Luke has "if thou dost [so] will and purpose." Luke omits all the Marcan statements that "all things are possible." Matthew omits all of them except "All things are possible with God."

So much for Synoptic utterances and silences about things "possible" and "impossible." In LXX, the first (and perhaps only) instance of "*not possible*" is one where the Hebrew has "*not right*," literally "*not appointed*"³. In the time of Epictetus the controversy among Greek philosophers about "possibilities" was so threadbare and seemed to him so unprofitable that he disclaims any knowledge about the subject⁴, but he represents Zeus as saying to the Philosopher, "*If it had been practicable*, I would have done so-and-so for you⁵." That it is always "possible" to do right is almost the only aspect in which Epictetus condescends to look at "possibilities."

It has been shewn in the Introduction, and other Parts of this work, that John intervenes repeatedly on this subject. In particular whereas Mark says that Jesus "was not able" to do many mighty works, John emphasizes the inability of the Son to do anything that He did not see the Father doing⁶. Practically John's view is that what the Father wills is both right and possible, and what He does not will is (as the Greeks would say) "*not Themis*," i.e. not fit, or just, or possible, for the Son.

¹ Mk xiv. 36 πάντα δυνατά σοι, om. in Mt. xxvi. 39, Lk. xxii. 42.

² Mk xiv. 35, Mt. xxvi. 39 εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν. The parall. Lk. xxii. 42 has εἰ βούλει, "if thou dost [so] will and purpose."

³ Exod. viii. 26 "it is not meet (כִּי לֹא נִי.) (δυνατόν)": כִּי (regularly rendered by some form of ἔτοιμον) = sometimes ἀληθής, εὐθύς, and σαφώς, but nowhere else δυνατόν. But ἀδυνατεῖν "to be impossible" occurs in Gen. xviii. 14 μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα; lit. "surpassing (שָׁלַב) more-than Jehovah," R.V. "too hard (marg. wonderful) for the Lord."

⁴ Epictet. ii. 19. 5—9.

⁵ Epictet. i. 1. 10 εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν.

⁶ Mk vi. 5, on which see *Introd.* pp. 4—8, 23, and *Law* p. 137 foll.

Hence John would ratify the Marcan saying "All things are possible to him that believeth," but only with an interpretation that would seem to some to refine the saying into nothing: "All things that the believer wills are possible to him, because he, having a vision of God's will, wills that which God wills." In fact, however, this saying leaves us still free to believe in the wonder-working power of prayer (as will be seen in the next section) since prayer may be the mysterious means by which we may not only lift up our hearts to the Father in heaven and open our hearts to the vision of His will, but may also send forth heart-influences into the hearts of others and influence them in ways undefinable, and yet spiritually—and sometimes perhaps physically—palpable.

§ 5. "This kind can come out by nothing save by prayer," in Mark¹

It will be seen below that Matthew apparently assumes this to mean "save by the prayer of faith." At all events he paraphrases Christ's answer as meaning "Your failure was through want of faith." But he makes no attempt to explain "this kind." And he drops the word "prayer" altogether. Yet he adds a saying of Jesus which—without mentioning prayer ("ye shall say to this mountain," not "*pray concerning* this mountain")—implies that the prayer of a living faith ("faith as a grain of mustard-seed") can move mountains. Luke,

¹ Mk ix. 28—9

καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν "Οτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ.

Mt. xvii. 19—20

τότε προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν εἶπαν Διὰ τί ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς Διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν ὑμῶν· ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ Μετάβα ἐνθεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ μεταβήσεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει ὑμῖν.

[Lk. xvii. 5—6]

καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀποστολοὶ τῷ κυρίῳ Πρόσθες ἡμῖν πίστιν. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος Εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ συκαμίνῳ [ταύτῃ] Ἐκριζώθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.

Lk. xvii. 5—6 is parall. to Mk xi. 23—4 (and Mt. xxi. 21—2), see below, pp. 220 foll., 227 foll.

while here wholly omitting the dialogue between the disciples and Jesus, inserts later on a saying of Jesus (“ye could have said to this sycamine-tree”) similar to Matthew’s present addition.

In Mark, several ancient MSS. and Versions insert “and fasting” after “*prayer*¹.” Some of the best Latin Versions, while inserting “*fasting(s)*,” have also the plural “*prayers*,” and one important one has “*prayers*” alone². Also a very ancient writer quoted by Clement of Alexandria refers to this Marcan narrative in such a way as to shew that his text did not contain the regular New Testament word for “prayer,” namely, *proseuchè*, but a shorter form, *euchè*, which means “vow” or “votive prayer” or “prayer” of any kind³. This word *euchè* in the New Testament—apart from two instances where it means “vow⁴”—occurs only in the Epistle of James “The *prayer* (? or *vow*) of faith shall save the sufferer⁵.” As to this,

¹ Tertullian *De Jejuni.* § 8, and Jerome *Contr. Jovin.* ii. 15, assume that fasts as well as prayers are to be “the weapons for overcoming the more direful demons.” Mark however has assigned to Jesus previously (ii. 20) words implying that Christ’s disciples were not taught by Him at that time to fast. For “fast” synonymous with “pray” see *Proclam.* p. 320, and comp. *Son* 3407 (iv) a, 3550 a—d.

² Mk ix. 29, b and *Vindebon.* “orationibus et jejuniis (or -io),” k “orationibus” alone.

³ Clem. Alex. 993 (*Decerpt. Theodot.* § 15) τῆς πίστεως τὴν εὐχὴν ἰσχυροτέραν ἀπέφηνεν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῖς πιστοῖς ἀποστόλοις—ἐπὶ τίνος δαιμονιῶντος ὃν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν καθαρίσαι—εἰπὼν “Τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχῇ κατορθοῦνται.” The text continues, Ὁ μὲν πιστεύσας ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ δ’ ἐν γνώσει γενόμενος, ἄτε μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων, παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν λοιπῶν κομίζεται. This seems to be a Gnostic utterance magnifying *gnōsis* above faith. If that is the meaning of what precedes, we must render it, “The Saviour shewed forth to the faithful apostles—in the case of a certain demoniac whom they were not strong enough to purify—*prayer* (τὴν εὐχὴν) [as being] stronger than faith (τῆς πίστεως... ἰσχυροτέραν), saying, ‘Such things are set right by *prayer* (εὐχῇ).’” But ἰσχυροτέραν might mean “stronger than usual,” or “of special strength.” Then the meaning would be “shewed forth the *prayer of faith* [as being] specially strong.”

⁴ Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23.

⁵ Jas. v. 15.

Lightfoot says "the idea of a vow may possibly be present, though it is certainly not prominent¹." Comparing this passage with the one quoted by Clement we find that the Gnostic writer, though referring to Mark, may possibly be using the same phrase as that in James, meaning "*The prayer (or vow) of faith is more powerful than any other.*" But the Gnostic writes ambiguously. He might mean "Prayer, *euchè*, is more powerful *than faith*."

These facts lead us to inquire into the general distinction between *euchè* and *proseuchè*. Inquiry shews that *proseuchè* is non-existent in literary Greek before the first century². When it did make its appearance there, it meant a Jewish "*praying-place*" or "*proseucha*," and in that sense it is used abundantly by Philo and Josephus³. It must have penetrated into Latin in the first century since Juvenal makes a man contemptuously ask "In what *proseucha* shall I look for you⁴?" But Paul brought it into vogue in his Epistles by using it not only in the singular to mean the public prayer of the Church to which

¹ See Lightf. on Clem. Rom. § 41 εὐχῶν. He adds "The v. 1. προσευχῶν has parallels in James v. 15, 16, Ign. Ephes. 10, Rom. 9. It is explained by the tendency to substitute a common word for a less common."

² See Steph. Thes. vi. 1915. It is perhaps a consequence of this that προσευχή does not occur in the correct text of Clem. Rom. nor in the Index to Clem. Alex., but it is freq. in Ignatius.

³ See Wetstein on Lk. vi. 12 ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, quoting fully from the Halicarnassian Decree made in the time of Julius Caesar, Joseph. Ant. xiv. 10. 23 τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι (the right of making their *proseuchae*) πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ τὸ πατριον ἔθος, and Vit. §§ 53—57 where, after several mentions of ἡ προσευχή as the "*house of prayer*," the prayers themselves are called *euchai*, § 57 ἥδη δὲ ἡμῶν... εἰς εὐχὰς τραπομένων. Sim. Philo ii. 565, 567, 568 etc. No doubt Luke must have meant "in the act of prayer to God," but he must have known that to educated Greeks it would also convey a mystical allusion to "God's [heavenly] house of prayer." To Greeks and Romans a temple was the house of the deity whose image it contained. "Ventum erat ad Vestae" means "We had come to [the house] of *Vesta*." A Jewish *proseucha* contained no image. It was "a [house of] prayer."

⁴ Juvenal i. iii. 296.

he was writing¹, but also in the plural to mean private prayers, especially those of intercession². Luke twice uses the singular to mean the act of praying³; and James says that Elijah "prayed *with a [special] prayer* that it might not rain⁴." Matthew also represents Jesus as saying "Whatsoever things ye shall ask *in your prayer* (*proseuchè*)"; but the parallel Mark has "whatsoever things ye *pray for* and ask⁵." The only place where the Synoptists agree in using the singular "prayer" is in the quotation of Jesus from Isaiah "My house shall be called a house of *prayer*⁶." Apart from that, the only place where Mark uses *proseuchè* is the one now under consideration, and this, as we have seen, is doubtful, since there is an ancient quotation of it using *euchè*, and the latter would be more in accordance with early Christian Greek.

Here we might stop and say "Not improbably the Greek original had *euchè*. There are several instances where the old word *euchè* has been corrupted into the newer *proseuchè* brought into vogue by Paul, and by Luke in the Acts. But this conclusion is not of much use. It does not help us to understand why Jesus laid stress on mere 'prayer' whereas He seems to have meant 'the prayer of faith,' nor what He meant by 'this

¹ Rom. xii. 12, 1 Cor. vii. 5, Phil. iv. 6, Col. iv. 2 τῇ προσευχῇ mostly of public prayer.

² Rom. i. 10, Eph. i. 16, 1 Thess. i. 2, Philem. 4, "my prayers" or "our prayers," for those to whom the letter is addressed.

³ Lk. vi. 12 (see above, p. 57, n. 3) and xxii. 45 (not in Mk xiv. 37, Mt. xxvi. 40) ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς. Perhaps Luke desired to habituate his readers to the LXX and Pauline use of the word in order to rescue it from the contemptuous sense attached to it by such writers as Juvenal. He uses it nine times in the Acts; in two of these (Acts xvi. 13, 16) R.V. gives "place of prayer."

⁴ Jas. v. 17 προσευχῇ προσήύξατο, "prayed with a prayer," is perhaps not an ordinary instance of Hebraic reduplication. It may be in imitation of the special and frequent "vowed a vow" Gen. xxviii. 20, xxxi. 13, Numb. xxi. 2 etc.

⁵ Mk xi. 24 πάντα ὅσα προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτεῖσθε, Mt. xxi. 22 πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ. The latter appears to define the prayer as that of the Congregation or Church.

⁶ Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46 from Is. lvi. 7.

kind. Surely He could not have meant that any other 'kind' of devil could have been driven out without 'prayer'?"

This indicates that something remains to be explained as to the "kind" of devil. Putting mere verbal distinctions aside, and looking to the facts, we perceive that the "kind" of possession from which the deaf and dumb lunatic was suffering precluded the boy from being impressed for any good purpose by all but the most familiar influences. Attempts of well-meaning strangers to act directly on the sufferer by shouting and gesticulating might even make matters worse. The disciples, it would seem, had made matters worse. At all events they had failed. It is quite intelligible that some special preparation was needful before Jesus could undo the mischief and utter with effect the words "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him." Between Himself and the boy the father stood as interpreter. But the interpreter had no faith. The father was perturbed by the failure of the disciples and could not at once believe in their Master. The child, so far as his nature could take in impressions from without, was infected by the father's unbelief. Nothing could be done without the father's prayer, a real and genuine prayer; not expressing a mere desire but having some spark of passionate conviction that, in some form, the prayer would be granted.

In this way Jesus led the Syrophenician woman on to pour forth to Him a mother's prayers till the time came for Him to say "O woman, great is thy faith¹." In some such way also He put a kind of reproach on the nobleman of Capernaum, as if he shared the unbelief of his neighbours, until He elicited the father's prayer "Sir, come down" and replied "Go thy way, thy son liveth²." And perhaps we may add the events preceding the raising of Lazarus—including the delay of Christ's arrival, the sorrow of the sisters, and the tears of Mary. These indicate a desire of the Fourth Evangelist to claim for domestic affection, and for the prayer that is inspired by it, some of that influence which we are too often disposed to assign

¹ Mt. xv. 28, comp. Mk vii. 29.

² Jn iv. 49—50.

exclusively to such prayer as that of Elijah. The prayer of love, too, "availeth much¹."

This being the case it is worth noting—not as a complete explanation of Mark's text, but as a partial explanation of Luke's omission of the whole and Matthew's alteration of a part—that there may have been some confusion, in Greek MSS, arising out of the syllable *pros*, which might be the first syllable of *proseuchè*. When *proseuchè* came into fashion in Christian circles and drove out *euchè*, *pros euchè* would naturally be taken as *proseuchè*, especially as words are not divided in ancient Greek MSS. But *pros*, with a line above it, is also an abbreviation of "father's," so that *prosèuchè* might mean "father's prayer²." It is conceivable that Mark's Gospel, which abounds in details about exorcism, here described Jesus—who sent His disciples to cast out devils—as giving them instructions how to deal with special "kinds" and, in particular, with this kind (the "deaf and dumb") as needing parental coöperation. This will certainly seem to modern readers very strange and (as it were) too businesslike. Probably it would seem rather strange to the later Evangelists, and hence they would omit it. But if we place ourselves in the position of the disciples whose "business" it was, *inter alia*, to cast out devils, it will seem less strange. At all events it removes the difficulty of supposing that Mark regarded Jesus as saying "Some exorcisms do not require prayer, but the exorcism of a deaf and dumb spirit does require it³."

¹ Jas. v. 16. Comp. Mk v. 36 (Lk. viii. 50) *μη φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευε*—where Luke adds *καὶ σωθήσεται*—as if the issue for the child depended on the father's faith. Matthew omits this.

² See Scrivener, Codex D, *Introd.* p. xviii, quoting *πρὸς* in Jn vi. 65 and *πρὸς* elsewhere. Also see 2 Chr. vi. 4 "unto David," *πρὸς Δ.*, where A has *πρὸς* (a mere scribal error).

³ Not improbably Hebrew corruption may be a partial cause of Mark's extant text. For the context requires some mention of "faith." It is therefore worth noting that in "this kind," *הַמִּין הַזֶּה*, there may be found a close resemblance between *הַמִּין* "kind" and *הַיִּמִּין* (Levy *Ch.* i. 198) "believe." The latter may have dropped out from contiguity with the former.

We pass to the Fourth Gospel. John never mentions either "prayer" or the act of "praying." But of course he implies prayer. Only his view is that the Son is in so close a communion with the Father that the word "pray" is less suitable than "request"—with an implied addition perhaps of "inquiring" the Father's will—as when Jesus says to the disciples "I will request the Father on your behalf" and reiterates the word in similar contexts¹. These instances, it is true, are in the Last Discourse and refer to the future action of the Son. But prayer, silent prayer, is implied before, when Jesus says, near the grave of Lazarus, "Father, I thank thee that *thou didst hear me*, and I [for my part] knew that *thou dost at all times hear me*. But for the sake of the multitude that standeth round I [have] said [this] that they may believe that thou didst send me²." This implies that "at all times" when Jesus wrought a sign, the Son "requested" or "inquired" and the Father "heard," and that this is to be taken for granted.

As regards prayers not proceeding from Jesus, John distinguishes—and once at all events in a very subtle and perplexing manner—between (1) "asking [to know]" and (2) "asking [to receive]"³. In the Gospel, after Jesus "perceived" that the disciples "were desirous to *ask* him," that is, "to *ask [to know]*" the meaning of a saying of His that had troubled them, and after He had reassured them about His return to

¹ Ἐρωτάω, of the Son "asking" the Father, occurs in Jn xiv. 16, xvi. 26, xvii. 9, 15, 20. See *Joh. Gr.* 2630 c—i.

² Origen, on Jn xi. 41—2, assumes that Jesus prayed for Lazarus, as also for the daughter of Jairus.

³ "Ask [to know]," Ἐρωτάω, "ask [to receive]," αἰτέω or αἰτοῦμαι. The two occur in 1. Jn v. 14—16, where—after repeatedly encouraging his readers to "ask [to receive]" (αἰτῶμεθα (*bis*), αἰτήματα, ἡτήκαμεν, αἰτήσῃ)—the writer goes on to say that there is "a sin unto death," and οὐ περὶ ἐκείνης λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ. This appears to mean that we must not pray, even with an interrogatory "if it be thy will," where our consciences tell us that at present it cannot be God's will. It may be illustrated by Exod. xxxii. 32 "if thou dost purpose to forgive —[it shall be well]," where both a question and a prayer are implied (see below, p. 463).

them, He adds "In that day ye shall not *ask me any* [question] . . . if ye shall *ask* [to receive] anything of the Father, he will give it you in my name. Hitherto ye have not *asked* [to receive] anything in my name. *Ask* [to receive] and ye shall receive¹." These last words place no direct restriction on prayer. Verbally they might mean "Ask what you like." But the reader is made to feel that "in my name" pervades both the precept to pray and the promise that the prayer shall be fulfilled.

John altogether avoids the words "pray" and "prayer" (both in his Gospel and in his Epistle)—whether in narrative or in precept. Perhaps he felt that the importance attached in some quarters to public prayer, prayer in the *proseucha*, had led to an underrating of the value of private prayer, uttered or unuttered—best described without technicalities as "*asking*," but with the constant addition of the "name" of the Son, so as to remind the Christian, whenever he "*asked*," that he, too, was a son, and must "*ask*" as from a father.

There is no reason to suppose that John, who avoids all narratives of Christ's exorcisms, intervened in order to explain a Marcan misunderstanding in one of them, but he certainly does emphasize the influence of personal affection on Jesus in two important narratives of healing or restoring to life².

§ 6. *The first Synoptic passage mentioning the
"delivering up" of "the Son of man"*

We now come to the first of several Synoptic passages in which Jesus predicts that the Son of Man will be "*delivered up*," either "*into the hands of men* (or, *of sinful men*)," or "*to the chief priests and the scribes*," or "*to the Gentiles*," or "*into the hands of*

¹ Jn xvi. 17—23. This agrees with 1 Jn v. 14—16. "Asking to receive" is limited by what one's conscience "*knows*" (implied in "*asking to know*") concerning the will of God.

² Jn iv. 46—54, xi. 3 foll. As to the former, compare the healing in Mt. viii. 6 foll., Lk. vii. 2 foll. But in Mt. the sufferer is called ambiguously throughout "*my boy*" and "*the boy*"; in Lk., "*servant*" (repeatedly) and "*my boy*." In Jn, it is "*the son*," "*his son*," "*my little-child*," "*thy son*," "*his boy*," "*thy son*"—variations perhaps pointing to early doubts (which Jn clears up) about the meaning of "*boy*."

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the sinful." Mark and Matthew connect this, the first of the series, with a mention of "Galilee." Luke does not. But later on, Luke describes the angels at Christ's tomb as referring to a similar prediction uttered "in Galilee," as shewn below¹.

In a previous discussion of these passages the conclusion was arrived at that they are all based on an original prediction that the Son of Man would be "delivered up for transgressors²." Referring the reader to that discussion we need do no more here than ask what is the Johannine attitude toward the prediction about the "delivering up" of the Messiah in general, and also toward that part of it which is omitted by Luke here (though not later on) and which mentions "three days" (or "the third day").

As to the "delivering up"—which, when used passively by the Synoptists, might sometimes mean either "delivered up by God" or "delivered up by Judas Iscariot"—John avoids ambiguity by almost always avoiding the passive and by connecting the word repeatedly with Iscariot³. He also

¹ Mk ix. 30—32
(R.V.)

Mt. xvii. 22—3
(R.V.)

Lk. ix. 43 b—45
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiv. 6—7
(R.V.)

(30) And they went forth from thence, and passed through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it.

(31) For he taught his disciples, and said unto them, The Son of man is delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, after three days he shall rise again.

(32) But they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask him.

(22) And while they abode (*some anc. auth. were gathering themselves together*) in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men;

(23) And they shall kill him, and the third day he shall be raised up. And they were exceedingly sorry.

(43 b) But while all were marvelling at all the things which he did, he said unto his disciples,

(44) Let these words sink into your ears: for the Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men.

(45) But they understood not this saying, and it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it: and they were afraid to ask him about this saying.

(6) He is not here, but is risen (*om. by some anc. auth.*): remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,

(7) Saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

² See *Son* 3253—61.

³ See Jn vi. 64 *τίς ἐστιν ὁ παραδῶσων*, and vi. 71, xii. 4, xiii. 2 etc. where it is connected with Iscariot. The only instance of the passive is xviii. 36 *ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*.

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expresses the divine "delivering up" by using the uncompounded verb "deliver" (literally "give") thus: "God so loved the world that he *gave* his only begotten Son that everyone that believeth in him might not perish but might have life eternal¹." Paul similarly uses both "gave" and "gave-up" (or "delivered-up") in his Epistles concerning the Father "giving" His Son to die for sinners².

As regards the "three days," John mentions the phrase once for all at the outset of his Gospel in the saying of Jesus "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up³." This appears to be a case of Johannine Intervention. For Mark connects "three days" with the "raising up" of the "temple" much later on, in an accusation brought against Jesus by "false witnesses⁴." Luke omits it. John inserts it, but implies that it was not exactly "false," but metaphor misunderstood at the time as literally true⁵.

§ 7. "He would not that any man should know [it],"
in Mark⁶

While considering this first Synoptic prediction of Jesus about the "delivering up" of the Son of Man we must not

¹ Jn iii. 16.

² Gal. i. 4 "Jesus Christ who *gave* himself for our sins," ii. 20 "the Son of God, who loved me and *gave himself up* (παράδόντος) for me," comp. Rom. viii. 32 "God... *gave him up* (παρέδωκεν) for us all," Eph. v. 2 "Christ... *gave himself up*." See *Son* 3536.

³ Jn ii. 19.

⁴ Mk xiv. 58, Mt. xxvi. 61, Lk. om.

⁵ Of course it was open to Christians to believe, and they probably did believe—and were intended by John to believe—that the words "Destroy this temple" were also literally fulfilled by the action of the Jewish people resulting in the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.

⁶ Mk ix. 30 καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοί, Latt. codd. "quenquam scire," but SS "should be aware of him," and Walton sim. for the Arab., Pers., and Aethiop. "him" ("de se" or "eum"). Comp. Mk vii. 24 οὐδένα ἤθελεν γνῶναι, Latt. codd. "neminem voluit scire," but SS "should know of him," and Walton sim. for Arab. and Aethiop.

In Mk v. 43 διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἵνα μηδεὶς γνοί τοῦτο, "this"

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pass over the words that Mark alone prefixes to it. What motive led Jesus to desire that no man "should know" as He passed through Galilee? Celsus implies twice that it was cowardice, first, in the person of a hostile Jew, saying "You run this way and that way, along with your disciples, away from [enemies]"; secondly, in his own person, bringing a charge of "hiding" and most shameful flight¹. In the present passage, Mark's context professes to give a reason ("for he taught"), as if saying, "He did not desire to be recognised, *for* He predicted that He would soon die." But this seems a *non sequitur*, and it is not surprising that Matthew and Luke omit the clause². It becomes intelligible, however, if the tradition is regarded as having meant something to this effect: "Jesus now knew and began to teach that His hour was at hand and that *He was to die in Jerusalem. For this reason He passed rapidly through Galilee* avoiding attempts to arrest Him *in that region*."³

is inserted (parall. Lk. viii. 56 παράγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ γεγονός).

Compare the ambiguity in:—

Mk vi. 33	Mt. xiv. 13	Lk. ix. 11
καὶ εἶδαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολλοί.	ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.	οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι γινόντες ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.
R.V.	R.V.	R.V.
"and [the people] saw them going, and many knew [them]."	"when the multitudes heard [thereof] they followed him."	"but the multitudes perceiving [it] followed him."
A.V.	A.V.	A.V.
"and the people saw them departing, and many knew [him]."	"when the people had heard [thereof] they followed him."	"and the people when they knew [it] followed him."

In view of Marcan usage as a whole, it is probable that Mk vi. 33 ἔγνωσαν means "recognised the fact" (as R.V. in parall. Lk. "perceiving it").

¹ Origen *Cels.* i. 65, ii. 10.

² The difficult "*for*" is omitted by codex *k* and is altered into "*and*" by SS, and into "*but*" by *b* and *Brix*.

³ Comp. Lk. xiii. 33. "It cannot be that *a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.*" How could this be said after the recent death of the Baptist "out of Jerusalem"? If "*a prophet*" could be regarded as an error (*Joh. Gr.* 2492 *a*) for "*the prophet*"—referring to the Suffering

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This passage invites us to consider what Matthew calls a fulfilment of prophecy parallel to another Marcan passage about "not making known":—

Mk iii. 12	Mt. xii. 16—17	Lk. vi. 19 foll. om.
And he charged them much that they should not make him known.	And he charged them that they should not make him known: that it might be ful- filled....	

About the prophecy of Isaiah that Matthew proceeds to quote—one seldom noticed in the Talmud and Midrash—Ibn Ezra says "Most of the commentators refer this expression ('my servant') to the pious Israelites; the Gaon to Cyrus; I to the prophet¹." Justin Martyr and other early Christian writers lay stress on the mention of "the Gentiles" made by Isaiah here, but they do not explain the deviation of Matthew's text from Isaiah's, as given below, and the precise meaning of either². Matthew's context leaves it open to suppose that a period of quiet and unobtrusive action on the part of the Messiah—during

Servant in Isaiah—that would remove the difficulty. Origen (*Comm. Matth.* xii. 20, *Lomm.* iii. 165, and *Lomm.* iv. 241) allegorizes the passage.

But Wetstein *ad loc.* affords a satisfactory explanation by shewing that οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, "it is *not* [*humanly*] possible," is probably used, in bitter and ironical condemnation of the Sanhedrin, for "it is *not* [*legally*] possible," referring to the enactment in *Sanhedr.* 2 a "a false prophet *cannot be judged* except by the Council of the Seventy-one" (comp. *ib.* 89 a).

¹ Is. xlii. 1 foll. "Behold, my servant...he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment in truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law," Mt. xii. 18 foll. "Behold, my servant...he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive, nor cry aloud; neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles hope."

² Justin M. *Tryph.* §§ 123, 135.

which He *would not* "cry aloud"—might be followed by a period when He would "bring forth judgment" to all the world, including "the Gentiles," and when (presumably) He *would* "cry aloud¹."

The Marcan traditions that Jesus desired "not to be known" were liable to accusation such as that of Celsus, who alleged that Jesus "ran away" disgracefully from danger. John avows that Jesus "departed from Judaea" or "would not walk in Judaea²," because of the hostility of the Jews; but he implies that there was also a destiny, or "hour," that regulated His movements, by saying "*his hour* was not yet come"—a phrase practically confined to the Fourth Gospel³. On one occasion, the Feast of Tabernacles, Jesus goes up to Jerusalem "as it were in secret⁴," and there, while accusing the Jews of wishing to kill Him, He predicts His own death in the words "I go unto him that sent me; ye shall seek me and shall not find me," upon which the Jews say "Will he go unto the Dispersion among (*lit.* of) the Greeks and teach the Greeks⁵?"

Why does John write "teach *the Greeks*," if he means, and might have written, "teach *the Dispersion*," or "teach *them*," i.e. *the Dispersion of the Jews among the Greeks*? It is probably an instance of Johannine irony. The men of Jerusalem speak contemptuously of their dispersed brethren as "Greeks," quasi-foreigners, heretical by nature and suitable proselytes for an heretical Messiah. But they unconsciously predict that which literally came to pass. Christ, through His apostles, began by "going unto the Dispersion among the Greeks," but very soon proceeded to "teach the Greeks" themselves.

As soon as the Jews have finished speaking, John says "Now on the last day, the great [day] of the feast, Jesus stood and *cried* [*aloud*]⁶." This is the second of three instances

¹ This is the view apparently taken in Origen's *De rect. Fid.* § 1, Lomm. xvi. 287, where Is. xlii. 1—2 is contrasted with 1 Thess. iv. 16—17 and Dan. vii. 13.

² Jn iv. 3, vii. 1, comp. xi. 7—8.

³ See Jn ii. 4 "my hour," vii. 30, viii. 20, xiii. 1 "his hour," comp. Jn vii. 6—8 (bis) "*my appointed time* (*καιρός*)."

⁴ Jn vii. 10.

⁵ Jn vii. 33—5.

⁶ Jn vii. 37.

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where the Fourth Gospel represents Jesus as "crying aloud." And the utterance here bears witness to the Spirit ("he spake concerning the Spirit¹"). The first utterance was during the same Feast, a little earlier, when the Jews spoke contemptuously about "knowing" whence Jesus came: "We know this [man] whence he is. But when the Christ comes no one understands whence he is," in reply to which "Jesus *cried aloud* in the temple, teaching and saying, Ye both know me, and know whence I am²." This bears witness to the Father.

The third instance bears witness to the Son, as will be perceived from the context. It is a "cry" uttered shortly after the arrival of "certain Greeks" who "desire to see Jesus." The context should be noted. Jesus has welcomed this coming of the "Greeks" as a token of the advent of the day of God's glory, and He has warned the multitude to "believe in the light," that they may become children of light. Then the Evangelist has passed into comment, saying in effect, "And now Jesus departed and 'was hidden' from the Jews. For, in spite of His signs, they could not 'believe in the Light,' since, as Isaiah said, God had blinded their eyes, and even those rulers who believed did not confess, for they loved the glory of men rather than the glory of God."

It is immediately after this that John places Christ's last public utterance, and the third and last "cry" as part of it: "But Jesus *cried aloud* and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me...I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me may not abide in the darkness³."

In *Johannine Grammar* it was shewn that these three acts of "crying aloud" represent mystically a threefold testimony to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit⁴. But it might have been added that they seem also to contain an allusion to the prophecy of Isaiah, as interpreted by Matthew—about "not crying," at first, and about "bringing judgment to the Gentiles."

¹ Jn vii. 39.

² Jn vii. 27—8.

³ Jn xii. 44—6.

⁴ *Joh. Gr.* 2618.

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Perhaps, too, John regarded the threefold "crying aloud" of Jesus as a kind of threefold farewell utterance corresponding to that in the *Nunc Dimittis*, where Simeon thanks God for having seen God's salvation, "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel¹." But there is this great difference, that whereas Simeon's vision is of spiritual parallelism between the new-born Gentile world and faithful Israel, the thought in the Fourth Gospel is one of spiritual contrast between the simple faith and insight of the Gentiles and the self-seeking blindness of Israel after the flesh.

Our conclusion is that the Fourth Evangelist desires to make us see the unvarying principle on which Christ based His varying practice. Sometimes He "would not that any man should know" His movements, but sometimes He desired them to be known. As a rule He was not given to "crying aloud," but He did "cry aloud" on three notable occasions. The Son acts according to the Father's bidding. If He leaves Judaea to avoid death, He also goes back to Judaea to save life². When His brethren wish Him to go up to Jerusalem; go up publicly He will not, but He goes "as it were in secret" to the Feast of Tabernacles because His "time" is "not yet come³." Yet, soon afterwards, He "went up into the temple and taught" with such freedom that some of the citizens of Jerusalem say "Is not this he whom they seek to kill? And lo, he speaketh openly⁴." On two occasions we are told, perhaps ambiguously, that He "was hidden" from the Jews in the Temple⁵. On

¹ Lk. ii. 32. Note the reiterations in Isaiah (xlii. 1—6) "bring forth judgment to the Gentiles... shall bring forth judgment in truth... judgment in the earth... the isles shall wait for his law (Mt. in his name shall the Gentiles hope)... for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles." Comp. Jn vii. 35 "the dispersion of the Greeks... the Greeks" (with context), xii. 20 "certain Greeks," followed by (ib. 28) "a voice from heaven" and (ib. 31) "now is the judgment of this world," with repeated mentions of (ib. 35) "light," concluding with the mention of (ib. 46—8) "light" and "judging"—all of which (ib. 49—50) proceed from the Father through the Son

² Jn x. 39—40, xi. 8. ³ Jn vii. 3—10. ⁴ Jn vii. 25—6.

⁵ Jn viii. 59, xii. 36. Comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2543. Probably John plays on the twofold meaning "was hidden" and "hid himself." He

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one of these they had attempted to stone Him. Some might suggest, perhaps, that a circle of His disciples "hid" their Master in a literal sense; but the Evangelist desires to suggest a different kind of "hiding," as may be seen from his context: "These things spake Jesus and departed and *was hidden* from them. But though he had done so many signs before them they would not believe in him...because Isaiah said...*He hath blinded their eyes*¹."

§ 8. *The question who is "the greatest"*²

Mark relates, first, a coming of the disciples to Capernaum; secondly, a questioning of the disciples by Jesus "in the house"

suggests that the "hiding" was literal and miraculous but also that it was typical of a spiritual blinding whereby Christ "was hidden" from those who rejected Him.

¹ Jn xii. 36—40. John quotes a passage of Isaiah (vi. 10) also quoted by the Synoptists. But in his description of Jesus as being "hidden" from the Jews he has perhaps in view Is. xlv. 15 "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour." His Gospel constantly suggests to us that it is part of the teacher's business to suppress the desire to teach all that he knows, and that God "hides" whenever He "reveals." But the "hiding" is very different in different circumstances, sometimes being a chastisement, sometimes a blessing.

■ Mk ix. 33—7
(R.V.)

(33) And they came to Capernaum: and when he was in the house he asked them, What were ye reasoning in the way?

(34) But they held their peace: for they had disputed one with another in the way, who [was] the greatest (*lit.* greater).

(35) And he sat down, and called the twelve; and he saith unto them, If any man would be first,

Mt. xvii. 24—5,
xviii. 1, xxiii. 11,
xviii. 2—5, x. 40
(R.V.)

(xvii. 24) And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the half-shekel came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master (*or*, teacher) pay the half-shekel?

(25) He saith, Yea. And when he came into the house,...

(xviii. 1) In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who then is greatest (*lit.* greater) in the kingdom of heaven?

Lk. ix. 46—8,
xxii. 26
(R.V.)

(ix. 46) And there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest (*lit.* greater).

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as to their "reasoning in the way"; thirdly, the fact that they had been disputing, "in the way," as to "who [was] the greatest" (literally "[the] greater"); fourthly, Christ's settlement of the discussion; fifthly, His confirmation of the settlement by taking a child in His arms and saying that whosoever received such a child in His name received Him. Matthew and Luke omit the questioning of the disciples by Jesus. Matthew inserts a questioning of 'Jesus by the disciples. Luke inserts no questioning of any kind, but implies that Jesus saw, without questioning, "the reasoning of their heart."

But Matthew inserts a questioning of Peter by Jesus in the

Mk ix. 33—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

he shall be last of all, and minister of all.

(36) And he took a little child, and set him in the midst of them: and taking him in his arms, he said unto them,

(37) Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.

Mt. xvii. 24—5,
xviii. 1, xxiii. 11,
xviii. 2—5, x. 40
(R.V.) *contd.*

(xxiii. 11) But he that is greatest (*lit.* greater) among you shall be your servant (*or*, minister).

(xviii. 2) And he called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them,

(3) And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

(4) Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest (*lit.* greater) in the kingdom of heaven.

(5) And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.

(x. 40) He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

Lk. ix. 46—8,
xxii. 26,
(R.V.) *contd.*

(47) But when Jesus saw the reasoning of their heart, he took a little child, and set him by his side,

(48) And said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this little child in my name receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least (*lit.* lesser) among you all, the same is great.

(xxii. 26) But ye [shall] not [be] so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

context, as well as a mention of “the house.” For immediately after the “coming to Capernaum,” Matthew says that men “came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay the half-shekel?” and that, when Peter “came into the house,” Jesus questioned him about “tribute” and “*kings of the earth.*” Then follows the narrative of the *Statēr*, ending with the words of Jesus “Give unto them for me and thee.” And then, without a break, Matthew proceeds “In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who, then, is *greatest in the kingdom of heaven?*” Here, the addition of “then,” and “in the kingdom of heaven,” seems to connect the question “Who is the greatest?” with the preceding story about Peter—as though Peter seemed “the greatest,” having been specially favoured both by the miracle and by being associated with his Master (“for me and for thee”)¹.

Origen asks the meaning of Matthew’s phrase “*in that hour*” or “*in that day*,” expressly saying that the MSS vary. This affords external evidence for the conclusion to which internal evidence also points, that at an early period there was doubt about the date and the occasion of this doctrine on the question “Who is the greatest?” The Diatessaron says that the tax-collectors came “*when Simon went forth without.*” But these words occur nowhere in the New Testament except after Peter’s denial (in Mark and Matthew)². And Origen regards Jesus in the story of the *Statēr* as symbolically “comforting” Peter and assuring him that he is “free” from sin, and “a son” of God³. These are indications that Matthew’s narrative may be another version of the story of Peter’s fishing—or rather taking the lead in fishing—which John places after Christ’s resurrection⁴.

¹ So Clem. Alex. 947 Πέτρος... ὑπὲρ οὗ μόνου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν φόρον ὁ σωτὴρ ἐκτελεῖ, and Origen (and Jerome) on Mt. xvii. 24—7.

² Mk xiv. 68 ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω, Mt. xxvi. 75 ἐξελθὼν ἔξω, [Lk. xxii. 62]. This will be discussed in its order, p. 537 foll.

³ Origen *Comm. Matth.* xiii. 11, Lomm. iii. 232.

⁴ See *Notes 2999* (vii)—(xvi) on the story of the Stater. If “went forth without” meant “outside the circle (Heb. house) of Christ’s disciples,” then Mt. xvii. 25 “when he came into the house” would mean “when he returned to that house.” In Mark, the repeated

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These Synoptic variations are followed by still more important deviations in Matthew and Luke from the Marcan version of Christ's words "If any one desires to be first he shall be last of all." Their natural meaning is "*He shall be punished by being last of all.*" But this punitive meaning is out of place here. A better sense would be given by substituting the imperative "*Let him become, or, make himself, last of all,*" which Luke has elsewhere¹. That would resemble the Synoptic tradition with the imperative, "If any one desires to follow me *let him take up his cross*²." There are many instances of such an imperative in the New Testament³. There is probably no instance in the New Testament (except in a Mark-Matthew

(ix. 33—4) "*in the way*" may naturally have been omitted by Mt.-Lk. as superfluous. But the word is frequent in the Acts, and occurs also in Hermas, to mean "the Way of the Lord" in a particular sense, namely, "the Way of the Gospel"—as distinct from "the way of the Law" concerning which Jethro said to Moses (Exod. xviii. 20) "thou shalt shew them *the way wherein they must walk.*" Doubtless Mark took it literally both here and in other passages where he alone inserts it, but it might have meant originally "*in [reasoning concerning] the Way.*" When Jesus said (Mk vi. 8, Lk. ix. 3, comp. Mt. x. 10) "Take nothing *for the* (Lk. ins. τὴν) *way,*" it is probable that His disciples understood Him as including the meaning "Take nothing *for the Way [of the Lord],*" which perhaps Lk.'s τὴν emphasizes.

In Mk x. 17 "when he was going forth to [*the*] *way,*" Matthew and Luke—who omit the clause—perhaps discerned another superfluity. But it was the way to Jerusalem, and the way to the Cross. And it introduces the story of the rich young man, who did not understand what the Way meant, to which succeeds, after an interval, the story of the blind beggar who (Mk x. 52) "followed Jesus *in the way.*" There is much to be said for the hypothesis, here and elsewhere, of a twofold meaning in Mark. See *Light* 3755 c—j on "The Way of the Lord" and "The Way," and *Law* pp. 494—5. To these add that (Levy i. 163 a, 424 b) the Aramaic and Hebrew words for "way" may be used to denote "incidental (beiläufig)" teaching.

¹ Lk. xxii. 26 ὁ μείζων . . . γινέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος. This is parall. to ἔσται (rep.) in Mk x. 43—4, Mt. xx. 26—7.

² Mk viii. 34, Mt. xvi. 24, Lk. ix. 23.

³ Comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 35 εἰ δέ τι μανθάνειν θέλουσιν . . . ἐπερωτάωσαν, 2 Thess. iii. 10 εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω, etc.

repetition of this tradition later on) where "*he shall be*," in such a sentence as Mark's, means "*let him become*¹." It is not surprising that Matthew and Luke have altered it and that the Diatessaron omits it. Origen, it is true, extracts a non-punitive sense out of Mark; but he does it with the preface that the words "are able to be understood as meaning" so-and-so; and in his own words, when paraphrasing Mark, he (like Luke) alters "*he shall be*" into "*let him become*²."

It would be rash to say that Origen is wrong. For the Hebrew future sometimes represents the imperative³, and Mark's Greek may be Hebraic, to be interpreted Hebraically. But the point of importance for us is, that Mark has not clearly expressed this doctrine as to "who is the greatest?," that Matthew and Luke have deviated from it, and that we may consequently expect to find Johannine Intervention.

John intervenes as follows in two ways, first, as to the general question (in Mark and Matthew) "*Who is the greatest?*" and secondly, as to the particular question (in Luke) "*which of*

¹ Mk x. 43—4, Mt. xx. 26—7, ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος... ἔσται πάντων (Mt. ὑμῶν) δοῦλος. The future would naturally be used of consequent reward, or consequent punishment (but not of duty) as in 1 Cor. iii. 12, 14, 15, 17. When the Apostle passes to what *ought* to be done he uses the imperative, ib. 18 εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι... μωρὸς γενέσθω ἵνα γένηται σοφός.

In Mt. xxiii. 11 there is no "if-clause" (as there is in the parall. Mk ix. 35) and the future may be the legal future: "[The Law is that] the greatest of you *shall be* your servant."

² Origen (on Mt. xix. 30, Lomm. iii. 383 foll.) Οὕτω δὲ δύναται νοεῖσθαι καὶ τό (Mk ix. 35) "Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος"—ὡς εἰ ἔλεγεν· Ἐπεὶ νῦν τὰ πρωτεία λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων... εἴ τις βούλεται τὸ ἀληθινὸν πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν, γενέσθω ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν Ἰσραὴλ ἐσχατοῖς εἶναι νενομισμένοις, i.e. "If anyone wills and purposes to attain the real and ideal FIRST, *let him become* [one] among those who by the Israel of this present world are thought of as last."

Also on Mt. xviii. 2 foll., Origen, when he comes to Mk ix. 35 (Lomm. iii. 245), quotes with γενέσθαι (εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος γενέσθαι), and prob. (Cod. Reg.) with ἔστω, having previously said that the first place shall be obtained by τὸν γενόμενον πάντων ἔσχατον.

³ E.g. Gen. i. 3 "*Let there be light*," LXX γενηθήτω, Aq. γενέσθω, Sym. ἔστω, Exod. xxxv. 2, 1 K. ii. 24 "let him die," LXX Exod. τελευτάτω, but 1 K. θανατωθήσεται.

them should be the greatest." In his Gospel, the GREATER is always identified with the Father and Giver in heaven, who is continually giving to the Son and through the Son, and of whom the Son says that He is "*greater* than all," and, later on, "The Father is *greater* than I¹." This is the general view of greatness. Not till the Last Discourse, and after the Washing of Feet, comes the particular warning to the disciples "A servant is not *greater* than his lord nor an apostle *greater* than he that sent him²." By that time it has been made clear to them that the greatness they are to aim at consists in divine love and divine giving, or grace³, and that the Father, though called GREATER by the Son, is *not* "greater" than the Son according to any measurement of this world; for almost in the same sentence in which the Father is called "greater than all," the Son says "I and the Father are one⁴." When Jesus says to Peter—in the only passage where the Fourth Gospel suggests a thought of superiority of one disciple over another—"lovest thou me more than these⁵?" the question is obviously a gentle rebuke and may include the meaning "Dost thou still, as in old days, desire to be foremost and first? If thou dost, there is only one way. He is the greatest whose love is the greatest. And he who loves the shepherd will feed the sheep."

§ 9. "*Taking a little child in his arms,*" in Mark

Both here and later on, Matthew and Luke omit the Marcan tradition that Jesus "took a little child in his arms⁶." Also,

¹ Jn x. 29, xiv. 28.

² Jn xiii. 16, xv. 20.

³ Comp. Jn xv. 13 "greater love hath no one than this, that one lay down his life for his friends."

⁴ Jn x. 29—30.

⁵ Jn xxi. 15.

⁶ Mk ix. 36

Mt. xviii. 2

Lk. ix. 47

καὶ λαβὼν παιδίον
ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέσῳ
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναγκαλισά-
μενος αὐτὸ...

καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος
παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν
μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

ἐπιλαβόμενος παι-
δίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ παρ
ἐαυτοῦ.

Lk. xviii. 17

fol. om.

Mk x. 16

Mt. xix. 15

καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος
αὐτὰ κατευλόγει τιθεὶς
τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά.

καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας
αὐτοῖς...

See Son 3425 a—f on the "carrying" of Israel by Jehovah, and

instead of (Mark and Matthew) "caused [the child] to stand in the midst of them [*i.e.* the disciples]," Luke has "caused [the child] to stand by his side." There are other variations, some pointing to early Semitic or Greek corruption¹. But these do not greatly diminish the probability that Mark has preserved the original tradition, and that there were two distinct acts. In the first, Jesus placed the little child within the circle of the disciples, identifying it with them. In the second, He took it up in His arms, identifying it with Himself. This has been modified by Matthew and Luke, partly perhaps owing to

on its paraphrase, or misrepresentation, in LXX. Similar causes to those which influenced the translators of Deut. i. 31 "carried," LXX *ἐτροποφόρησε* or *ἐτροποφόρησε*, Aq. *ἤρεν*, Sym. *ἐβάστασεν*, may have influenced Matthew and Luke here—Mark being alone in preserving Christ's symbolical action.

¹ See *Son* 3518 *a* on the Marcan traditions about "raising up," Mk i. 31 (not in Lk. iv. 39), ix. 27 "raised up" the demoniac child (not in Mt.-Lk.). In Mk x. 16, *ἐναγκαλισάμενος* is altered by D into *προσκαλεσάμενος* which is also in the text of the parall. Lk. xviii. 16 and in Mt. xviii. 2 (Mt. xix. 15 om. the word). *Ἐναγκαλίζομαι*, in LXX, occurs only in Prov. vi. 10 (rep. xxiv. 33) "*folding* (כַּחֲבֹקֶה) the hands," Aq. *περιλαμβάνω*.

In Mk ix. 36, SS has "And he had taken (נָסַב) a *certain* (חָדָר) lad and made him to stand (*or*, raised him up) among them and *looked* (חָרָה) at him" (instead of "*embraced*"); and in Lk. ix. 47, omitting "*certain* (חָדָר)," SS has "*took hold of* (אָחַז) a lad" (Curet. inserts "*certain*") "and made him to stand (*or*, raised him up) *by them*" (instead of (Curet.) "*by him*"). Comp. Mk ix. 27 (the demoniac child) "*took hold of* (אָחַז) him by the hand and made him to stand (*or*, raised him up)." These facts indicate that there may have been confusion between חָרָה "*looked*" and חָדָר "*a certain*," and also between Heb. אָחַז "*one*," "*a certain*" and Aram. אָחַז "*take hold of*" (Heb. אָחַז) (see *Corrections* 487 (i) (ζ) foll., and Gesen. 28 *a* on Job viii. 17).

In 1 K. i. 2, Heb. "*in the bosom of*" is paraphrased in LXX by *μετά*, and in 1 K. iii. 20, Heb. "*from my side* (אַצִּל) . . . in her *bosom* (חֵיק)" are both rendered in Targ. by forms of לִבָּהּ. In Goodspeed, *κόλπος* occurs only in 2 Clem. § 4 *ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου*, on which Lightf. says that it is perhaps from the Gospel of the Egyptians and that the language is derived from Is. xl. 11 *τῷ βραχίονι . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ*, where the latter clause, though om. in the best MSS of LXX, is in several MSS and Versions, and in the Hebrew.

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corruption of the text, partly because they did not perceive the distinct meanings of the two symbolical acts, and, in particular Christ's thought of the Father of Israel, "carrying" His child in "the wilderness" as described in Deuteronomy. It is true that Mark sometimes repeats one and the same tradition in two forms; but in this case the evidence indicates either that he has not done so, or that, if he has done so, the rare word for "embracing" or "taking in the arms" was a part of the original. The action is so emotional and original that we can explain its omission by Matthew and Luke. We could not explain its insertion (without authority) by Mark.

In the Fourth Gospel the thought of the Child in the "bosom" of the Father is brought before us at first only in a metaphysical form as the Word "[*looking*] toward, or [*in close relation*] with, God¹," but very soon definitely, as "*the only begotten Son*, who is *in* (lit. *to*) the *bosom* of the Father²." The word does not occur again till the evening of the Last Supper, where it is connected with the thought of love: "There was at the table reclining in the *bosom* of Jesus one of his disciples, *whom Jesus loved*³." The Greek word here—as also above—used for "bosom" means, strictly speaking, the fold of the garment over the breast, not the breast itself. But the Gospel proceeds to use the latter term: "He leaning back, as he was, on the *breast* of Jesus⁴." This is repeated later on, after a dialogue about loving, when Peter "seeth the disciple *whom Jesus loved* following—[that same disciple] who also leaned back on his *breast* at the supper⁵." Finally this "disciple" is mentioned in almost the last sentence of the book: "This is the disciple that beareth witness of these things and wrote these things; and we know that his witness is true⁶."

Even if these passages stood alone we might reasonably infer that this Johannine picture of the disciple in Christ's

¹ Jn i. 1 *πρός*.

² Jn i. 18 *εἰς τὸν κόλπον*.

³ Jn xiii. 23.

⁴ Jn xiii. 25.

⁵ Jn xxi. 20. Jesus has previously asked Peter (xxi. 15—17) "Lovest (*ἀγαπᾷς*) thou me more than these?" and then, twice (but using first *ἀγαπᾷς*, then *φιλεῖς*), "Lovest thou me?"

⁶ Jn xxi. 24.

bosom, whom Jesus loved, is intended, not only to describe actual fact (or, actual vision) as regards one disciple, but also to suggest to us the thought of all the disciples whom Jesus loves and carries like little children in His bosom. As the Only begotten Son in the bosom of the Father uniquely declares the Father, so such a bosom disciple (it is suggested) bears witness to, and uniquely declares, the Son. Such a disciple is the representative of Jesus in every region of His love: "When Jesus therefore saw his mother and *the disciple* standing by whom *he loved*, he saith unto his mother, Woman, see, *thy son*! Then saith he to the disciple, See, *thy mother*¹!" It is from the Word with God, the Only begotten who is, like a Little Child, in the bosom of the Father, that there comes, to those who receive Him, authority to become "[newborn] children of God": "As many as received him, to them he gave authority to become [newborn] children of God, to them that believe in his name, who were begotten, not from...but from God²." Thus the doctrine of regeneration goes hand in hand with the doctrine of belief, or faith, in the name of the Son. But it is not to be merely barren belief: "If a man love me *he will keep my word*, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him³." The Father does not "come" alone, nor the Son alone; nor do they come without the fulfilment of a condition ("if"); they come, united, in the Spirit of Love to those who welcome them in that Spirit.

Our conclusion is that John has intervened in favour of Mark, or rather in favour of the Hebrew thought latent in Mark. The Law said to Israel "The Lord thy God *carried* thee as *a man doth carry his son*⁴." Isaiah, in the Hebrew text, predicted that the Shepherd of Israel would not only gather the lambs with His arm but also "*carry them in his bosom*⁵." These metaphors were regarded by Jesus as meaning, in effect, "The idols of the heathen are carried by their worshippers, and the kings of this world are carried in state by the subjects whom

¹ Jn xix. 26. See *Proclam.* p. 473.

² Jn i. 12—13.

³ Jn xiv. 23.

⁴ Deut. i. 31.

⁵ Is. xl. 11.

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they oppress, but the True God is the Nursing Father who carries His children as babes and sustains them as though He were their nurse." Then followed the inference that the true and real man in the New Kingdom—the man "made in the image and conformed to the likeness" of God—is to be, not a servant or subject, but a child, being born from above and resting as a babe on the bosom of the Father in heaven. Being Himself this ideal Child, Jesus desired passionately to impart to His disciples, as to His fellow-children, the sense of the need of this regeneration, and He imparted it not only by uttered word but also through passionate action which Mark has, most faithfully described. John does not describe it but leads us to the thought of what it implies—partly by Christ's doctrine, partly by Johannine comment, partly by Johannine drama, introducing the character of the beloved disciple reclining on the "bosom" of Jesus.

§ 10. "*In my name,*" and "*because ye are Christ's,*"
in Mark¹

Luke omits the Marcan tradition "There is no man that shall do a mighty work in my name and be able quickly to

¹ Mk ix. 38—41
(R.V.)

(38) John said unto him, Master (*or*, Teacher), we saw one casting out devils in thy name: and we forbade him, because he followed not us.

(39) But Jesus said, Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a mighty work (*lit.* power) in my name, and be able quickly to speak evil of me.

(40) For he that is not against us is for us.

(41) For whosoever shall give you a

Mt. x. 42
(R.V.)

And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in

Lk. ix. 49—50
(R.V.)

(49) And John answered, and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us.

(50) But Jesus said unto him, Forbid [him] not: for he that is not against you is for you.

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speak evil of me," though he inserts the words of Jesus that precede and follow it. Perhaps Luke had in view the "vagabond Jews" who practised exorcism with adjuration through "*Jesus-whom-Paul-preacheth*"—as though this compound "name" were a name of power in the world of demons¹. Mark's tradition may have been used by some impostors to justify themselves in the eyes of Christians: "We cast out devils in the name of Jesus; consequently we are Christians." The meaning attached by Mark to "in my name" must be illustrated by the Marcan context, where "*name*" is mentioned in the Greek, though not in the R.V. text, "*in [the] name that [R.V. (text) because] ye are Christ's,*" and also by the parallel Matthéw which has "*in* (lit. *into*) *the name* of a disciple."

Matthew also substitutes "*one of these little ones*" for the Marcan "*you*" (in "give *you* a cup of water")². And this

Mk ix. 38—41
 (R.V.) *contd.*

cup of water to drink,
 because (lit. in name
 that) ye are Christ's,
 verily I say unto you,
 he shall in no wise
 lose his reward.

Mt. x. 42
 (R.V.) *contd.*

the name of a dis-
 ciple, verily I say un-
 to you, he shall in no
 wise lose his reward.

Lk. ix. 49—50
 (R.V.)

¹ Acts xix. 13 "took upon them to *name* over them...the *name* of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you by *Jesus whom Paul preacheth*."

² Clem. Alex. 579 and 953 (quoting Mt. x. 42 loosely) and Jerome and Chrys. *ad loc.* assume that "these little ones" meant either apostles or disciples of Christ in general, without implying spiritual littleness in the sense of weakness. This is more probable than the notion that Jesus meant, by "little ones," those who need *teaching*, as in the Midr. on Gen. xiv. 1 (Wü. p. 191) quoted by Wetstein on Mt. x. 42—a saying of no authority, put into the mouth of king Ahaz. Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 35 quotes Lk. xvii. 2 "one of these little ones" as meaning "one of His disciples." Christ's tender and affectionate use of the word "little one" may be perhaps illustrated by Is. lx. 22, but more by Jewish thoughts about "the little one" as exemplified in Benjamin and David (Jacob also, as compared with Esau, is "the little one"). See *Proclam.* p. 419 referring to *Aboth* iv. 26 on the name "Samuel the Little."

Clem. Rom. § 46 (see Lightf.) twice mentions τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου, in quoting the Gospels, where Lk. xvii. 2 has τῶν μικρῶν τούτων, but

usefully reminds us that the preceding Marcan context has been speaking of a "little-child" or "one of such little-children" as Christ's representative. Matthew also has spoken of a special "*little-child*" as being placed by Jesus "in the midst of" the disciples, and of Jesus as saying "Whosoever receiveth one such *little-child* in my name receiveth me." This "*little-child*" Jerome prefers to regard, not (1) as the Holy Spirit (which is Origen's view), nor (2) as a "casual (quemlibet) little one" introduced as a type of simple childhood, but (3) as "Jesus Himself¹." This last view (and by what act or gesture Jesus "placed Himself in their midst") Jerome does not clearly explain. But it is useful as reminding us of the language of Jesus about John the Baptist and Himself as "children in the market place²," and as suggesting to us that in the Marcan passage under consideration, "in the name *that ye are Christ's*" may have originally been "in the name of *the Little-Child*." This, being interpreted—and rightly—as meaning "in the name of *the Messiah*," may have caused Mark to render it by the paraphrase in his extant text³.

If this explanation is correct, the original of Mark's tradition.

Mk ix. 42 adds τῶν πιστευόντων and Mt. xviii. 6 τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ. Here (1) Lk. seems to have preserved the original, (2) Mk paraphrased, (3) Mt. made the paraphrase clearer, (4) Clem. Rom. occidentalised the mental "little ones" as "elect." The meaning is retained by Clement, but the homely and spiritual beauty is gone, submerged in technical theology.

¹ Jerome on Mt. xviii. 2 "Vel simpliciter quemlibet parvulum, ut aetatem quaereret et similitudinem innocentiae demonstraret: vel certe parvulum statuit in medio eorum *seipsum*, qui non ministrari sed ministrare venerat, ut eis humilitatis tribueret exemplum. Alii parvulum interpretantur Spiritum sanctum, quem posuerit in cordibus discipulorum, ut superbiam in humilitatem mutaret." Origen *Comm. Matth.* xiii. 18 (Lomm. iii. 243) describes the Holy Spirit as being "called by the Saviour, and made to stand in the moral centre of the disciples of Jesus (σταθὲν ἐν μέσῳ τῇ ἡγεμονικῇ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰησοῦ)," that is, in their heart and conscience.

² Mt. xi. 11—19, Lk. vii. 28—35, see *Son* 3523—5.

³ See *Son* 3534 *d* where reasons are given for preferring this explanation to the one offered in *Clue* 268—72 (that the original was "in the NAME," *i.e.* "in God's name").

might be regarded by the Fourth Evangelist as meaning "When I speak of doing a work '*in my name*' I do not mean 'in the name of Jesus' as a wizard might say 'in the name of Iao'—some supposed Being of which he knew nothing except that this combination of syllables enabled him to work wonders. Nor is it like 'in the name of Caesar,' meaning 'in the name of the Power at present on the imperial throne.' I mean 'in the name of Jesus the Little One of God,' inseparable from the Father; or 'Jesus the Anointed or Messiah of God,' inseparable from the Anointing Spirit of Regeneration. The name of Jesus must not be used as a charm, loosened and detached from the thoughts of Son of God and Anointed of God." Luke gives the impression of not perceiving that Jesus is associating Himself, as the Little One, with the disciples, who are also "little ones." Whereas Mark has "he that is not against *us* is for *us*," Luke has "*you*" instead of "*us*." He has also omitted the Marcan words "There is no man that shall do a mighty work in my name... speak evil of me"; perhaps because he did not perceive that "in my name" meant "in my Spirit," and obviously no one speaking "in the Spirit of Jesus" could "speak evil" of Jesus Himself.

Turning to Johannine facts, we find the name "Christ" apparently used by Jesus thus: "And this is eternal life, that they should know thee, the only true God, and [him] whom thou sentest—*Jesus Christ*¹." This extremely difficult expression may perhaps be best explained, if the text is correct (which is by no means certain), as a paraphrase intended to sum up the doctrine of "eternal life," which is here mentioned for the last time in this Gospel. It was mentioned for the first time in a passage that speaks of "the Son of man" as destined to be "lifted up" on earth, in consequence of the action of God in heaven, who "so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life²." Now we are at last told what "eternal life" is. We might have supposed that the definition would stop short

¹ Jn xvii. 3, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 1936.

² Jn iii. 14—16.

at "to know thee, the only true God." But the text adds words apparently intended to remind us that when we speak of "only," or "alone," in connection with God, we must not stop at that word if there is a danger of its being misunderstood as "solitary." We must go on to say that He is not really "alone," since He is, and always was, with the Son—who declares Him¹, and who is here brought before our view as giving His account of the work that He had to do as the Man (Jesus), as the Messiah (Christ), and as the Messenger from heaven to earth ("whom thou hast sent")².

Returning to the Marcan traditions "in my name" and "speak evil of me," we are naturally led to illustrate them from the Pauline saying "No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith Jesus is *anathema*"³; for Mark's "*speak-evil-of*" is used by him and by Matthew to express "cursing" (as used by LXX in rendering the Mosaic decree "he that *curseth* father or mother let him die the death"⁴). Paul has perhaps in view such public "*speaking-evil-of* (or, *cursing*) the Way [of Christ]" in the synagogue as he himself experienced on the part of Jews in Ephesus⁵. A parallel to this Pauline saying about the anathematizing of Jesus is found in the Johannine Epistle "Prove

¹ Jn i. 18 "The only begotten Son that is in the bosom of the Father, he *hath declared* him." "Only begotten (*μονογενής*) Son" balances, as it were, "only (*μόνος*) true God." Neither epithet implies solitude.

² It must be admitted that this explanation of the mention of "Jesus" is not satisfactory. It has been suggested (comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2768—9) that *νίόν σου*, after *ὃν ἀπέστειλας*, may have been written *γνῶσθαι* and corrupted into *ἰησοῦ ἱ.ε.* Ἰησοῦν, and then *Χριστόν* added.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 3.

⁴ Mk vii. 10, Mt. xv. 4 *κακολογέω*, quoting Exod. xxi. 17 R.V. "curse" (marg. "revile"). The causative (pi.) of the verb *ללך* means (Gesen. 886 b) "*prop.* make contemptible," but in Exod. xxi. 17 it is parall. to (xxi. 15) "strike" and implies something more serious than bringing into contempt. It occurs in Gen. xii. 3 "I will bless them that bless thee and him that *curseth* thee will I *curse*." The noun *ללך* is rendered (about 30 times) without exception as "curse," *ἀρά*, *κατάρα* etc. Goodspeed gives *κακολογέω* only in *Didach.* § 2 οὐ *κακολογήσεις*, "non maledices."

⁵ Acts xix. 9 *κακολογούντες τὴν ὁδόν*...

the spirits, whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world...every spirit that *looseth* (or, *confesseth not*) Jesus is not of God; and this is the [spirit] of the *antichrist*...¹ The two together bring us back to the meaning that appears to be latent under the Marcan tradition: "There is no fear that one who really casts out devils *in my name, that is, in the name of the Little One, the Spirit of Sonship*, will find it possible, a few minutes afterwards, to curse me in the Synagogue. For the casting out is in the Spirit of Christ, but the cursing would be in the spirit of the antichrist."

It should be noted that this saying ("Forbid him not") is the only one in the Synoptic Gospels that is recorded—(so far as concerns the first part of it)—as having come from Jesus to the Apostle John². In its inclusive spirit it resembles the post-

¹ 1 Jn iv. 1—3. R.V. marg. gives no parall. to 1 Cor. xii. 3 except this. An examination of the authorities alleged in Westcott's excursus on 1 Jn iv. 3 W.-H. txt *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, marg. *λύει*, should be supplemented by a consideration of Jn ii. 19 *λύσατε*, applied to the Holy Place and also to Christ's "body." The facts, as a whole, suggest as the most probable conclusion that "looseth Jesus," though no longer extant in Greek MSS, was the original reading in the Epistle. If so, it may have been used with more than one allusion, (1) "loose the name 'Jesus' from the name 'Christ,'" (2) "loose Jesus, the Son, from the Father and the Spirit," (3) "loose, i.e. *pull down*, the One Holy PLACE, the divine unity of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit." The Jew that said to an evil spirit (Acts xix. 13) "I adjure you by *Jesus whom Paul preacheth*" would be condemned by John as "loosing Jesus," using the name as a mere charm, detached from all those emotions of love and pity and faith with which a disciple of Jesus strove to relieve the sufferings of those whom Jesus loved.

² Mk ix. 38—50 seems continuous. The first part is certainly addressed to John. Nothing, in Mark's text, indicates whether the whole is, or is not, addressed to John. John's appeal is in the plural, "*we saw*." The reply is also in the plural, "Forbid ye not," which continues in what follows. But the parallel columns of Matthew and Luke indicate that the whole is not regarded by them as addressed to one disciple, on a single occasion. At Mk ix. 41, Luke departs from Mark. At Mk ix. 42, Matthew (xviii. 6) returns to Mark, and Luke (xvii. 1—2) has a parallel elsewhere. Mk ix. 43—8 has a parallel in Matthew (xviii. 8—9) but none in Luke. Mk ix.

resurrectional utterance to Peter "What God hath cleansed, that make not thou common¹." If the utterance to John was also post-resurrectional we could understand the introduction of the phrase "*in the name that ye are Christ's*²."

49—50 has a parallel elsewhere in Matthew (v. 13, Sermon on the Mount) and a parallel elsewhere in Luke (xiv. 34—5).

¹ Acts x. 15.

² Perhaps the difference of prepositions in the phrase "in my (or, thy) name" ought not to pass quite unnoticed. Ἐπὶ in Mk ix. 39 ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου, and Mk ix. 37, Mt. xviii. 5, Lk. ix. 48, contrasts curiously with ἐν in Mk ix. 38, Lk. ix. 49 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου. "In (ב) the name of the Lord," in Hebrew, would literally be rendered by ἐν. But the early books of LXX favour ἐπὶ, e.g. Exod. v. 23, Deut. xviii. 5, 19, 20 etc. Note, however, Deut. xviii. 20 ἐν ὀνόματι θεῶν ἐτέρων and prep. ἐν omitted in Deut. xviii. 7, 22. In 2 Chr. xiv. 11 (Asa speaks) "O Lord, . . . we rely on thee, and *in* (ἐπὶ) *thy name* are we come against this multitude," R.V. marg. refers to 1 S. xvii. 45 (David speaks to Goliath) "I come unto thee *in* (ἐν) *the name of the Lord*," and we might have expected ἐπὶ in both, to denote reliance "*on*" God. But it is not so. In Deut. xxi. 5 LXX ἐπὶ, Field assumes that Aq., Sym., and Theod. would use ἐν as the literal rendering of the Hebrew. The tradition of Mark and Luke about the words of John the son of Zebedee may have preserved the Semitic preposition, while such words of Christ's reply as Mark alone records were handed down in a separate tradition following the LXX in style.

The scriptural Hebrew "*in the name*" must be distinguished from the later Hebrew "*to the name*," exemplified in Mt. x. 41 "he that receiveth a prophet *to the name of a prophet* (εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου)"—on which see Wetstein *ad loc.* and Dalman *Words* pp. 306, 123, 183—meaning "looking to his character as a prophet." Of this Gesenius (1027—8) gives no instance. But see *Oxyr. Pap.* 37. 17 (A.D. 49) βούλεται ὀνόματι ἐλευθέρου. . . ἀπενέγκασθαι, "she wishes to take away the child *on the ground that it was free-born*." This is a legal use apparently borrowed from the Latin "*nomen*" meaning "account" (also applied to a safe and responsible debtor who is "a good *name*"). It is also used of "property standing in the name of," or "to the account of," with ἐξ 247. 31, 265. 45, 1274. 11, with ὑπ(έρ) 1288. 22, also ἐπ' ὀνόματος 1102. 23, ὀνόματος without prep. 1135. 2, 1192. 4 etc. It appears to have passed through Latin and Greek legal usage into later Hebrew where "*operam dat legi in nomen ejus* (לשמו)" means (*Berach.* 17 a) studying the Law *as being the Law* (Wetstein).

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§ II. "If thine eye offend thee," in Mark and Matthew¹

There is no very obvious connection between Mark's tradition about the "reward" for "a cup of water" and Mark's next

¹ In Mark, verses 44 and 46 (which are identical with verse 48) are omitted by R.V., following "the best ancient authorities."

Mk ix. 42—50
(R.V.)

(42) And whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me (*many anc. auth. omit on me*) to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone (*lit. a millstone turned by an ass*) were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

(43) And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having thy two hands to go into hell (*lit. Gehenna*), into the unquenchable fire.

(45) And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life halt, rather than having thy two feet to be cast into hell (*lit. Gehenna*).

(47) And if thine eye cause thee to

Mt. xviii. 6—9, v. 13
(R.V.)

(xviii. 6) But whoso shall cause one of these little ones which believe on me to stumble, it is profitable for him that a great millstone (*lit. a millstone turned by an ass*) should be hanged about his neck, and [that] he should be sunk in the depth of the sea.

(7) Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling! for it must needs be that the occasions come; but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh.

(8) And if thy hand or thy foot causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the eternal fire.

(9) And if thine eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is good for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into the

Lk. xvii. 1—2,
xiv. 34—5
(R.V.)

(xvii. 1) And he said unto his disciples, It is impossible but that occasions of stumbling should come: but woe unto him through whom they come!

(2) It were well for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.

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words, which may be rendered for brevity's sake "whosoever shall *offend* one of these little ones¹." Moreover Mark has combined the warning against "offending little ones" with a

Mk ix. 42—50
(R.V.) *contd.*

stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell (*lit.* Gehenna);

(48) Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

(49) For every one shall be salted with fire [*many anc. auth. add* and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt].

(50) Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltiness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.

Mt. xviii. 6—9, v. 13
(R.V.) *contd.*

hell (*lit.* Gehenna) of fire.

(v. 13) Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men.

Lk. xvii. 1—2,
xiv. 34—5
(R.V.) *contd.*

(xiv. 34) Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?

(35) It is fit neither for the land nor for the dung-hill: [men] cast it out...

¹ Lk. xvii. 1 "It is impossible that offences should not come" follows (xvi. 1—13) a warning to use wealth with a view to salvation in the next world; and then (*ib.* 14—18) a passing allusion to the avarice of the Pharisees, and to John the Baptist and the law of divorce (as to which the Pharisees had not supported the Baptist in his protest against Herod Antipas); and then (*ib.* 19—31) the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

Hence, in the Synopticon, it will be found that Lk. xvii. 1 "It is impossible..." comes just after the passage where, in the parallel Mark, Jesus speaks about the "reward" for giving "a cup of water," and where, in Luke, Dives cries "Father Abraham...send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue." Perhaps this was not thought an accidental coincidence by the author of *Joseph the Carpenter* who says (§ 1) "A single cup of water, if a man shall find it in the world to come, is greater and better than all the wealth of this whole world."

warning against allowing one's own members to "offend" oneself. The two sins appear at first sight so distinct that the combination is somewhat perplexing—apparently suitable to a verbal index rather than to a record of doctrine. Luke has omitted the whole of the warning against what may be called "self-offending." Clement of Rome quotes the Synoptists freely to warn the Corinthians against "offending," not "little ones," but "the elect," by schism and discord¹. Justin Martyr on the other hand (in his *Apology*) quotes Matthew on "self-offending" as a specimen of Christ's inculcation of purity².

The doctrine of "offences," as set forth in the Three Gospels and in the Fourth, has been previously discussed³. But an answer is due here to the special question "What, if anything, does John teach, as equivalent to the Marcan doctrine about 'the eye' and other bodily members as causes of 'offence'?" The answer is that John goes to the spiritual root of all Mark's precepts by substituting for all these members the single word "flesh." Luke omits the only Synoptic tradition about the antithesis between the flesh and the spirit⁴. John emphasizes it. First, he himself introduces a suggestion of it in the Prologue to his Gospel⁵. Then he represents Jesus as intro-

¹ Clem. Rom. *Cor.* § 46 ἵνα τί διέσκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ... εἶπεν γάρ, Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύλον καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου διαστρέψαι. Clement is here giving the first place to a late utterance placed by Mark (xiv. 21) and Matthew (xxvi. 24) (comp. Lk. xxii. 22) at the Lord's Supper; he gives the second place to a version of the earlier utterance in Mk ix. 42, Mt. xviii. 6, Lk. xvii. 2 in which he substitutes "elect" for "little ones." Clement of Alexandria 561 follows the Roman Clement. The passage placed first by Clement (Mk xiv. 21 etc.) refers, in effect, to the "offence" that was on the point of being caused to Christ's disciples by Judas Iscariot (Gal. v. 11 "the offence of the cross").

² Justin Martyr *Apol.* § 15 περὶ μὲν οὖν σωφροσύνης τοσοῦτον εἶπεν· ὅς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ... followed by εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου (Mt. xviii. 9).

³ See *Law* chap. v. §§ 9—10.

⁴ Mk xiv. 38, Mt. xxvi. 41.

⁵ Jn i. 13 οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς... ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ is bolder than οὐκ ἐκ σαρκὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ πνεύματος.

ducing more than a suggestion of it in the dialogue with Nicodemus about Regeneration¹. Jesus also repeats it in the doctrine about giving His own flesh and blood for the life of the world; and in this last instance there occurs the first of the two Johannine mentions of "offending," thus, "Doth this offend you? . . . It is *the spirit* that quickeneth, *the flesh* profiteth nothing²."

What is the outcome of all this? It is—as elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel—that we are not to rest in negatives but to pass upward to affirmatives. We are not to cut off and cast away the flesh of the body of man; we are to take into ourselves the flesh and blood of the body of the Son of Man. It was in order that we might be "begotten," not "from the will of the flesh" but "from God," that "the Word became flesh." It is written that, after the first Genesis, "*all flesh* corrupted God's way upon the earth," and Philo's comment is "Above all things, the name of 'flesh' is given to man when devoted to self-love³." This is what John assumes all through his Gospel. And the remedy for this "self-love," John teaches us, is, not to destroy self, or the love of self, but to take into ourselves another love and another self, the love of the Father brought into our hearts by the Son—in whose Spirit we are to receive another self, being born again from above⁴.

¹ Jn iii. 6 "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

² Jn vi. 61—3.

³ Gen. vi. 12, on which Philo says "Ante omnia hominem amoris sui deditum carnem dixit." When Jesus says (Jn viii. 15) "Ye judge according to *the flesh*," the meaning is "according to *the fleshly eye*," which sees only that which suits one's own love of self. That is the "eye" which, according to Mark, we are to "cast out." Such a person is "*alone*" when he judges. Jesus says (*ib.* viii. 16) "If I judge, my judgment is true; for I am *not alone*, but I and the Father that sent me."

⁴ As all the Synoptists mention the doom pronounced on the man that should "offend" one of the "little ones," there is no reason why John should intervene about it. Yet it is worth noting that John's first instance of "offending" is followed by a mention of the falling away of many disciples, and then by a mention of "one of the

§ 12. "*The unquenchable fire,*" in Mark

"The *unquenchable* fire," in Mark, here corresponds to "the *eternal* fire" in the parallel Matthew¹. Yet Matthew and Luke have "*unquenchable*" in their records of John the Baptist's teaching, "But the chaff he will burn up in *unquenchable* fire²," following "fire," without "unquenchable," in both Gospels, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is cut out [of the ground³] and cast into *fire*⁴."

What are the Hebrew and Greek associations with the word "unquenchable"? In the doctrine of the Baptist, is there any reason why the tree should be cast only into "fire," but the chaff be burnt up in "unquenchable fire"? In the doctrine of Jesus, is there any connection between Matthew's alteration of "unquenchable" into "eternal," and Matthew's subsequent omission of the Marcan words "Where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched⁵"? On these last words, as found in Isaiah, what has Jewish tradition to say, and is there any evidence to shew how they were regarded by Jesus? These are the questions now before us.

Twelve" who is described (vi. 70) as "a devil." The context seems to me to indicate that Judas is regarded as in some degree causing this "offence."

¹ Mk ix. 43 ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, Mt. xviii. 8 βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον.

² Mt. iii. 12, Lk. iii. 17 τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακάσει πυρὶ ἄσβεστον.

³ Mt. iii. 10, Lk. iii. 9 ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. In Dan. iv. 14, ἐκκόπτειν=Aram. "cut *down* [a tree]" נָגַד (but "the stump" is to be left). This is an exceptional meaning for ἐκκόπτω. It might=כָּרַת, "eradicate," or (as Aq. in Deut. xix. 5) "cut *out* [branches for firewood]," חָטַב. In Rom. xi. 22, 24 it is used of "cutting *out* [a branch from one tree to graft on another]."

⁴ "Into *fire*," not "into *the* fire." Comp. 1 Pet. i. 7 "tried by *fire*." The insertion or omission of "the" in the phrase "in [the] fire" may depend not only on Greek context but also on precedents in Hebrew—where "in *the* fire" is almost universal (Mandelk. 156 gives Ezek. xxiv. 12 "her rust goeth not forth [even] *in fire*" as almost the only exception). See below, p. 103, n. 1.

⁵ Mk ix. 48 ὅπου ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται (comp. Is. lxvi. 24).

AND "LITTLE CHILDREN"

In LXX, the adjective "unquenchable," *asbestos*, occurs only in Job (most MSS) "A fire *not blown* [by man] shall devour him," where the Targum has "the fire of Gehenna which is not blown [by man]¹." Elsewhere, Biblical Hebrew and Greek use the verb "quench," occurring for the first time in the Law of the whole burnt offering enacting that the fire "shall be kept burning," and "shall not be quenched²." This is also used of quenching metaphorically a destructive flame or one kindled by the wrath of God³. In particular, Isaiah, after he has said to Israel about the Gentiles "They shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations for an offering unto the Lord... as the children of Israel bring their offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord..." concludes his prophecy with a mention of fire that shall not be quenched: "And they shall go forth [from Jerusalem] and shall look upon the carcases of the men that have rebelled⁴ against me; for their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh⁵." This accords with words near the commencement

¹ Job xx. 26, לא נפח, B א² ἀκαυστον, L. S. "unburnt," "incombustible," but used in B to mean "not kindled [by man]."

² Lev. vi. 9 "The burnt offering shall be on the place of burning (מוקרה) upon the altar all night unto the morning, and the fire of the altar shall be burning (תוקר) thereon (*lit.* in it, as A.V., בו)—LXX adds "it shall not be quenched"—"... (12) the fire upon the altar shall be burning (תוקר) in it, it shall not be quenched (לא תכבה)... (13) fire continually (תמיד) shall be burning (תוקר) on the altar, it shall not be quenched (לא תכבה)."

Rashi's remark "He that quenches the fire on the altar *transgresses two negative precepts*," is worth noting in view of the fact that the LXX interpolates "*it shall not be quenched*" so as to make three (not "two"), and that many MSS of Mk ix. 43—50 have interpolated two repetitions of Mk ix. 48 ("where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched").

³ Gesen. 459 (including references to Is. lxvi. 24 "bodies of renegade Israelites," Is. i. 31 "people and idols" etc.)

⁴ Is. lxvi. 24 "rebelled," R.V. has "transgressed against me" (as also LXX παραβαίνω). But the same phrase בי פשע is rendered by R.V. "rebelled against me" in Is. i. 2; and "transgressed" does not so well express "renegades" or "treaty-breakers." See Son 3499 (ii) b.

⁵ Is. lxvi. 20—24. *Tehill.* (on Ps. iv. 8, Wü. i. 48) defends Isaiah

"THE KINGDOM OF GOD"

of the book of Isaiah: "I have...brought up children and they have *rebelled*¹ *against me*...I will...thoroughly *purge away thy dross and will take away all thy tin*...Zion shall be redeemed with judgment...But the destruction of the *rebellious and the sinners* shall be together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed...and the strong shall be as tow, and his work as a spark; and they shall both burn together, and *none shall quench them*²."

So far, there is nothing to shew why Matthew and Luke, in the doctrine of the Baptist, insert the Greek *asbestos*, "unquenchable," to describe the fire when burning up the chaff, but not to describe it when burning the tree. But the impression left by the distinction is, that the simple "fire" is used about burning an unfruitful "tree," of no use for fruit, yet good for fuel as long as it lasts; but "unquenchable fire" is used about "fire that will not be quenched till it has completely done its purifying work." It is a paradox. "Chaff" could be consumed in a momentary flame, a tree could not. But if "chaff" means "every particle, however small, of impurity," then we can understand the paradoxical insertion. This explanation accords with the style of the Mark-Matthew tradition, which is Hellenic not Hebraic. English Biblical words ending in *-able* and beginning with *in-* or *un-*, generally point to a Greek origin³. They are foreign to Hebrew, which prefers to say "there is no quenching." *Asbestos* is inappropriate in Mark's tradition, where the context speaks of *Gehenna*. But it is appropriate in the

against the charge of ending his prophecy in gloom by saying "He is treating of the Gentiles." But the context indicates that they are (as Gesen. 459) "renegade Israelites."

¹ Is. i. 2 "rebelled," ἡθέτησαν, *i.e.* broken the unwritten compact of family affection (ἀθετέω freq. = "set aside a treaty," "break a compact"). Heb. פָּשַׁע (Tromm.) = ἀθετέω 11 times and παραβαίνω nowhere except Is. lxvi. 24.

² Is. i. 2—31. Ibn Ezra says "They that rebel (פּוֹשְׁעִים)" are worse than "sinners (חַטָּאִים)." The former might naturally mean apostates.

³ Exceptional words in O.T., *e.g.* "unsearchable" and "incurable," are represented in Hebrew by "there is not (*or*, was not)" and nouns.

Matthew-Luke tradition if the intention is to imply—as to “quenched”—not only “*it is not*” but also “*it cannot be*.”

In Greek literature, *asbestos* is applied to anything that is “irrepressible” (including “laughter¹”). But it is also used literally by Philo and Plutarch, who severally apply it to the sacred flame in the Tabernacle of Israel, and in the Temple at Delphi². The various uses of *asbestos* in early Greek, and the absence of the word from the LXX, may explain why, in recording the doctrine of Jesus, Matthew prefers some other word or phrase³, why Luke prefers no epithet at all⁴, and why *asbestos* is rarely used by early Fathers and Apologists⁵.

¹ See Steph. *Thes.* on ἄσβεστος, to which add Euseb. vi. 41. 16—18, ἀσβέστω πυρὶ . . . κατεκάησαν, of martyrs burned with “unslaked lime,” quoted from a description of the Decian persecutions by Dionysius. Such a use of the term, if common among early Christians, might prevent its application to the fire of Gehenna.

² Philo i. 378, and Plutarch *Vit.* 66 B, quoted by Wetstein on Mt. iii. 12. To these add Philo ii. 254 quoting Lev. vi. 9 as πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καυθήσεται διὰ παντὸς ἄσβεστον.

³ Mt. xviii. 8, xxv. 41 τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον: elsewhere v. 22, xviii. 9 τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός, xiii. 42, 50 τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός.

⁴ Lk. xii. 49.

⁵ Ἀσβεστος, in the Early Fathers (apart from Hermas *Sim.* ix. 10. 1 “unslaked lime”), occurs (Goodspeed) twice. Ignatius *Eph.* § 16 ὁ τοιοῦτος, ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει is in a passage said by Lightfoot to be “founded on” 1 Cor. iii. 16 foll., vi. 9, 10, 19. The passage implies that the “corrupters” of God’s “house” are οἰκοφθόροι (explained by Hesychius as μοιχοί, comp. Orig. *Cels.* vii. 63 φθείρειν . . . οἶκον). But it seems also to be founded on 1 Cor. iii. 13—15 which connects the “work” of the Christian builder with “fire” thus: “The day shall declare it, because it is revealed *in fire*; and *the fire* itself shall prove each man’s work of what sort it is. . . . If any man’s work shall abide. . . he shall receive a reward. If any man’s work shall *be burned* he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved; yet so as *through fire*.” Then comes the warning (1 Cor. iii. 17) “If any man *destroyeth* the temple of God, him shall God *destroy*.”

The work is supposed to be a building. The builders are to build up Man, or Humanity, to be a temple for God. Paul, playing on the double meaning of φθείρειν “*corrupt*” or “*destroy*,” distinguishes “workers [at the building]”—some of whose work is worthless and “will be burned up (*κατακαήσεται*)” while they themselves will

To these facts we may add that the heretic Simon Magus, who is represented to have quoted from Deuteronomy and the Gospels in support of his doctrine that "consuming fire" was the divine Original, does not mention the word "unquenchable" in the course of this exposition¹. We are thus led to the conclusion that the emphatic expressions about an "unquenchable

be "punished [as it were with fining] (*ζημιωθήσονται*)"—from "*corrupters* (or, *destroyers*) [of the building]" whom God will "*destroy*."

"*Ἀσβεστος* occurs also in 2 Clem. § 17 which says, after quoting Is. lxvi. 24, that the righteous, "when they see how those who have denied Jesus. . . are punished with terrible torments in unquenchable fire, will give glory to their God." (The writer has previously (§ 7) quoted Is. lxvi. 24.)

Apart from a quotation from Homer in Tatian § 8 ("*irrepressible* laughter") and from Mt. iii. 12, Lk. iii. 17 in *Tryph.* § 49, *Ἀσβεστος* occurs only in Justin *Tryph.* § 120, which says that Christ will cut the Jewish nation in two (like Isaiah sawn asunder) and raise some to the place of the Patriarchs but send others "to the condemnation of the *unquenchable fire*." "*Ἀσβεστος* does not occur in *Test. XII Patr.*

¹ Hippol. vi. 4 says that Simon based on Deut. iv. 24 the doctrine that fire was the originating principle, and (later on; *ib.*) says that the fruit has been produced for the storehouse but the chaff for the fire (Mt. iii. 12, Lk. iii. 17). Later on (vi. 11) Simon seems to blend Jn xii. 24 with Mt. iii. 10, Lk. iii. 9 "If a tree *continues alone*. . . it is utterly destroyed. For somewhere near (says [the Gospel]) the axe [is] by the roots of the tree. *Every tree* (says [the Gospel]) that *produces not good fruit is hewn down and cast into fire*." I have not found a mention of "quenching" or "unquenchableness" in these chapters.

It is hard to make sense out of Simon's apparent perversion of the clear metaphor in Jn xii. 24 "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die it abideth by itself alone; but if it die it beareth much fruit." Is it the result of some question like "What if it does abide alone? What then? What is the punishment?" Perhaps Simon transposes the question from the "grain" to the "tree" and says "If the tree remains without the vivifying principle it is handed over to the destroying principle."

For us, the main value of the Simonian doctrines is that they help us to understand why the Fourth Evangelist passed over the Baptist's teaching—and Christ's teaching—about "fire." It was already too fully and too variously recorded in such a way as to originate superstitions and juggleries.

fire" attributed to Jesus by Mark, alone among the Evangelists, did not find favour either with heretics or with the orthodox in the early Church; and yet we see for ourselves that the *thought* of an unquenchable fire was prominent in the ancient Scriptures, both in the Law and in the Prophets.

In the Fourth Gospel "fire" is mentioned but once, and then in a parable about the fate of the unfruitful branches of "the true vine": "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh it away; and every [branch] that beareth fruit, he purifieth it [by pruning] that it may bear more fruit." As to the branches that He "taketh away" it is added "Unless a man abide in me, he is [? at once] cast out like the branch [above-mentioned] and is withered up, and THEY gather them together and cast them into the fire and they are burned¹."

There is a vague suggestion that while the hand that "taketh away" belongs to One, the "gatherers for the fire" are more than one. For the rest, there is nothing to satisfy curiosity about the fire. It is all done in the way of nature. "The fire" is the natural place for that which is useless except as fuel. At the same time the reader is made to feel that this "nature" is not dead machinery but a vital order of things in which he himself is to play a part. He may, if he will, "abide" in the Vine, Christ's love. If he will not abide in it, that is, in the Law of brotherhood, "he is cast out and withered." What casts him out? In the main, he himself, but also the hand of the Husbandman. There is a curious interlacing—and there may be some uncertainty in the disentangling—of metaphor (or personification) and literal statement; but there can be no uncertainty at all about the moral and spiritual lesson. Man is part of a whole, a living part of a living whole, and the destiny of each part is to help by being helped.

¹ Jn xv. 1—6. On the aorist ἐβλήθη see *Joh. Gr.* 2443 c, 2445, 2754—5. On "THEY" see *Joh. Gr.* 2426, *From Letter* 738 a—b etc.

§ 13. *The undying "worm," in Mark*¹

We have seen above that Isaiah's prediction of the "worm" and the "fire"—here reproduced by Mark—was regarded by some Jews as applying to Gentiles on whose torments the Jews were to "look²." It is perhaps not an accidental coincidence that, although Luke does not insert the fire-and-worm tradition, yet, just in the place that would be parallel to it—and following after the Marcan doctrine about the "cup of water"—he inserts a parable describing Abraham, with a faithful Israelite in his bosom, as holding a dialogue with an unfaithful Israelite who is in Hades, suffering torments.

It is probable that many of the Pharisees in Christ's time considered that in the world to come—in the New Jerusalem, or in Abraham's bosom—they would look upon the torments of Gentiles, publicans, and sinners in Gehenna. Luke at all events prefixes to his parable a statement that the Pharisees "who were lovers of money" scoffed at Jesus, who, in the course of a reply, said to them "Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men...that which is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God³." Then, still apparently addressing the Pharisees, after a rapid reference to John the Baptist, whom they had not supported in his protest against "adultery" in high places, Jesus introduces the picture of the "rich man" in Hades and "in torments."

It seems to contain allusions, not at once obvious, to Jewish prejudices. For example, a Jewish tradition bids us take care to be among those who "see" the torment, not among those who "are seen⁴." But here it is Dives in torment who "lifted up his eyes and seeth Abraham⁵." Moreover, whereas some Jewish traditions, and Christian too⁶, imply that those who "see" rejoice over those who suffer, no joy is manifest in

¹ Mk ix. 48 ὁ πονὶς ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ.

² Is. lxvi. 20—24 "they shall look upon the carcasses," see above, p. 91, n. 5 *ad fin*.

³ Lk. xvi. 14 foll.

⁴ See Midrash on Eccles. vii. 14—15 (Wü. p. 103).

⁵ Lk. xvi. 23.

⁶ See above, p. 93, n. 5 *ad fin*.

Abraham. He still calls the sufferer "son." And the sting of brotherly affection forces Dives to pray, even in the midst of his own anguish, that his "five brethren" may not "come into this place of torment." This sting is not mere torture. According to some Jewish traditions, it may be regarded as coming from "the worm¹."

The total result of Luke's narrative is an impression that either the "Hades" that he mentions here is not the same as the "Gehenna" that he once mentions elsewhere, or else that he regards both Hades and Gehenna as places where those who suffer may still be regarded as sons by Abraham and still be capable of an unselfish affection.

Luke's picture of Abraham seeing Dives in torment meets some objections that might be brought against ancient interpretations of Isaiah, and suggests a pathetic—though hardly complete—explanation of the "worm." But it does not illustrate Mark's context—which attacks religious jealousy and exclusiveness and represses "we forbade him" by "forbid him not." Jesus appears to call the man described as "casting out devils" in His "name" one of "His little ones." The attempt of John to "forbid" him He seems to regard as a "causing to stumble," against which His disciples are to be warned. Rather than persist in such action it would be better to perish, for persistence implies entrance into Gehenna, the region of the worm and the fire. When they desire to cast others out from the royal City, the children of the Kingdom are warned that they may be casting themselves out into a place of weeping and gnashing of teeth, the home of remorse and envy.

The Fourth Gospel describes such an act of exclusiveness in detail. The man born blind and healed by Jesus is cast out of the synagogue for refusing, in effect, to adopt the language of the rulers who say "Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner²." But the result is that the outcast sees,

¹ See *Son* 3499 (iv) *a* quoting *Berach.* 18 *b* about "the worm" as painful to "the dead," where the context speaks of a dead father's knowledge or ignorance of the sorrows of his children.

² *Jn* ix. 24. In effect, this is a command to the man to "speak-evil-of (*κακολογεῖν*) Jesus," see above, p. 83.

and the casters out, blind before, become more blind than ever. Such is the "judgment" passed upon them¹. And this thought recurs at the close of Christ's public career: "They were not able to believe," it is said, "for that Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes and he hardened their heart²." Some indeed of the rulers "believed" in Jesus, after a fashion, "but because of the Pharisees they did not confess it lest they should be put out of the synagogue³." Thus "the Jews" were shut out or shut themselves out from the City of God, but concerning the man whom they shut out, the excommunicated, it is said, as of no other in this Gospel, that he "worshipped" Jesus⁴.

§ 14. "*For every one shall be salted with fire,*" in Mark⁵

Matthew and Luke omit these words, and many authorities alter them in Mark—perhaps because they might be interpreted as meaning that every one shall be salted with the fire of Gehenna or Hades. But the Marcan tradition may be explained, both as to its meaning and as to its context, if we suppose Mark to be abridging a doctrine of fire in which this came as a conclusion: "It is not enough to avoid evil; follow after that which is good. Set your thoughts not on the unquenchable fire of Gehenna but rather on the unquenchable fire of the altar of the Lord. Aim not at self-mutilation but at self-devotion. Present your bodies as a continual living sacrifice on that altar⁶. But whoso would present such a sacrifice must be

¹ Jn ix. 39 "For judgment came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind."

² Jn xii. 39—40.

³ Jn xii. 42.

⁴ Jn ix. 38.

⁵ Mk ix. 49 *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται*, with many variations for which see Swete and *Journ. Theol. Stud.* Oct. 1915, pp. 16—7 (Burkitt).

⁶ Comp. Rom. xii. 1 "Present your bodies a living sacrifice," and the following verses—most of them laying stress on positive precepts, but terminating with the contrast "Be not conquered by the evil but conquer the evil with the good." The context (*ib.* 18—20) has the Marcan word, rare in N.T., *εἰρηνεύειν* ("be at peace") and shews how to "heap coals of fire" on the head of an "enemy." A contrast between "peace" and "victory," with a mention of "tribulation" in the context, is found in Jn xvi. 33.

salted with fire. The Scripture says that every sacrifice on the visible altar shall be salted with salt. So every one that would present himself as a sacrifice on the invisible and spiritual altar must be salted with the fire of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of love, trust, and peace—peace even under trials and troubles and persecutions."

At the same time, we must not pass over the Hebrew and Jewish practice of "salting" newly born children. Ezekiel takes this for granted; Jerome writes of it as an existing custom; and so does the Talmud, which permits it to be performed on the sabbath¹. It is very probable that Jesus—with whom the thought of "the little ones" was always near at hand—was referring to the doctrine of regeneration. In this there is nothing incompatible with the doctrine of sacrifice. Unless a human being is born again he cannot "present his body as a sacrifice" to God. If Jesus referred to the new birth as a "salting," it would seem to be only one of many homely metaphors adapted for Galilaean hearers, women as well as men.

Philo somewhat resembles Mark in the order of some observations about a sacrifice of praise or thanks, and a mention of salt. For he places first the Levitical commandment to keep the fire burning and "unquenched." He tells us that "the sacred flame is the symbol of thanksgiving (*lit.*

¹ See Ezek. xvi. 4 "In the day that thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to cleanse thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all." The Targum accepts all these statements as literal. Jerome says *ad loc.* "The tender bodies of infants... are wont to be salted by midwives (*solent ab obstetricibus sale contingi, ut sicciora sint et restringantur*). Then he quotes Mt. v. 13 ("Ye are the salt of the earth"), Coloss. iv. 6, and Lev. ii. 13 ("omne sacrificium vestrum sale salietur"), but not Mark. In *Sabb.* 129 b, the "salting" is allowed on the sabbath. Rashi, on Ezek., like Jerome, uses the present tense as of a present custom ("hinc est quod sale fricent infantem"). *Enc. Bib.* ii. 1503 describes the "salting" as "still kept up to the present day." Hastings (iv. 632) about "the newborn infant in the East," says that "during the first week salt water is applied daily to the lips and flexures of the body," as "a hardening process."

of the eucharist)¹"; and then he adds "*After this*, it [*i.e.* the Law] says 'On every offering ye shall offer salt².'" As a fact, the injunction to add "salt" comes much earlier than the law of the burnt offering; but the order followed by Philo is natural where the first thought is about a sacrifice and the second thoughts are about how, and in what spirit, it is to be presented.

Plutarch, supplementing Philo, may help us to understand how the Marcan doctrine of "salt" might be expanded for Greek-speaking Christians in other traditions than those of Matthew and Luke. For Plutarch reminds us that Homer called salt "divine³," and that Plato declared "the body of salt" to be "most beloved by the Gods in accordance *with the Law of human nature*⁴." Plutarch adds that men ascribe a divine nature to things that are common and wide-reaching in application to their needs—as, for example, *the water, the light, the seasons*," and that such ascription is specially due to salt, since it has the divine quality of preserving for a long time the bodies of the dead, and since it "arrays itself against death." Salt, he says, does as it were "the work of the soul," keeping together what would otherwise fall to pieces. This praise of salt he concludes by calling attention to the fact—or what is alleged by him as a fact—that lightning has the same power of preserving bodies from putrefaction, and by asking "What wonder, therefore, if salt, *having the same power as the divine fire*, was itself also supposed to be divine by the ancients⁵?"

The Fourth Gospel, though it nowhere mentions "salt," implies a sympathy with the feeling that would ascribe "a

¹ Philo ii. 254 quoting Lev. vi. 9 thus πῦρ . . . καθήσεται διὰ παντὸς ἄσβεστον.

² Philo ii. 255 Μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν . . . (Lev. ii. 13).

³ *Iliad* ix. 214.

⁴ Plut. *Mor.* 684 F Πλάτωνος δὲ τῶν ἁλῶν σῶμα κατὰ νόμον ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλέστατον εἶναι φάσκοντος, from Plato *Tim.* 60 D—Ε ἁλῶν κατὰ λόγον νόμον θεοφιλὲς σῶμα (οἱ κατὰ λόγον νόμον see Archer-Hind).

⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 685 B—D. Comp. Plato *Symp.* 177 B ἐνῆσαν ἅλς ἔπαινον θαυμάσιον ἔχοντες, which suggests that "praises of salt" were not uncommon. See Pliny *H. N.* xxxi. 102 on the proverb that for certain diseases "nihil esse utilius sale et sole."

divine nature" to the elemental things that help us. It does not shrink from representing Jesus as saying, in effect, "I am the Light," "I am the Bread," "I am the giver of the Water." In all these cases the epithet "living" is implied if it is not expressed. The Light is "the life of men." The Bread is expressly called "living." Plutarch might tell us that this meant "bread made with salt" as distinguished from the bread of the Egyptian priests¹. The Fourth Evangelist (we may be sure) would have in view no such literal details as these. But he would not think the epithet "living" a small detail, and he would probably tell us that he included in it what Mark meant by "salt" and "salting." It was a form of expressing the influence of the Holy Spirit, which invigorated life besides being a preservative against death.

§ 15. *"Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another," in Mark²*

Matthew and Luke differ from Mark as to the contexts in which they mention "salt." Matthew apparently takes salt to mean a purifying influence exerted by the prophets of the old Dispensation and to be exerted by the preachers of the Gospel. Both the prophets and the preachers he regards as being themselves purified by persecution and preserved from the corruption of sloth and self-will: "Blessed are ye when [men] shall reproach you...for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. *Ye are the salt of the earth*³." This is

¹ Plut. *Mor.* 684 F τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἱερέας ἀγνοῦς ὄντας ἀπέχεσθαι τὸ πᾶμπαν ἁλῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἄναλον προσφέρεισθαι.

² Mk ix. 50 ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. Elsewhere in N.T. εἰρηνεύω occurs only in Rom. xii. 18 εἰ δυνατόν...μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες, and 2 Cor. xiii. 11 εἰρηνεύετε, 1 Thess. v. 13 εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (prob. not meaning "in yourselves," but "among yourselves," though it suggests an inclusion of the former meaning as well). On the strange reading ἐν αὐτοῖς see Lightfoot *ad loc.*

³ Mt. v. 11—13. Luke is parallel as far as Mt. v. 12 (Lk. vi. 23), but breaks off there, and does not mention "salt" till much later, as the moral appended to Lucan parables (the Building of the Tower and the Plan of Campaign) illustrating the Doctrine of Renunciation (Lk. xiv. 25—35).

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in the Sermon on the Mount. The parallel Luke makes no mention of salt. Later on, when multitudes are following Jesus on the way to Jerusalem, Luke represents Him as “turning” to them and teaching them that those who come to Him need special renunciation. They must think before they begin to build the “tower” or wage the “war”: “Whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple; *salt therefore is good*: but if even the salt hath lost its savour...¹”

This question—as to what is done if the salt loses its savour—is found also here in Mark, and Matthew includes it in the Sermon on the Mount. But Matthew and Luke hardly give a positive answer to the question. They imply that little or nothing can be done. The salt must be thrown away—though perhaps, says Matthew (according to a doubtful modern interpretation), it may help to make a footpath. Apparently they were not satisfied with the answer given by Mark: “Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.” Perhaps they were in doubt as to its meaning. Hermas uses the precept “*be at peace among yourselves*” to forbid those who are in authority in the Church to set a bad example by dissension². With a similar application, Clement of Rome exhorts any member of the Church of Corinth who feels that he is a cause of discord to say “I will depart where ye will—only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the appointed presbyters³.” If early Christians narrowed down the precept “have salt in yourselves” so as to make it mean simply “avoid discord among yourselves,” it is not surprising that Matthew and Luke omitted it as being hardly weighty enough to come at the close of a very solemn warning.

We pass to the examination of Johannine doctrine corresponding to the Marcan metaphors of “salt” and “fire” and to the precept “be at peace one with another.” Is John’s con-

¹ Lk. xiv. 33—4.

² Hermas *Vis.* iii. 9. 2—10.

³ Clem. Rom. § 54 ἄπειμι οὐδ' ἐὰν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· μόνον τὸ ποιῶνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνενέτω μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων.

ception of "peace" like that of Mark? And whence is that "peace" to be obtained? And has John anything to say that bears on Matthew's apparent axiom, that "persecution" helps to make the preachers of the Gospel "the salt of the earth"?

§ 16. *Johannine doctrine on fire*¹

The Matthew-Luke tradition of the Baptist's doctrine on fire says, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into (lit.) fire²." Taken literally, this would condemn to fire every tree—including cedars and oaks—that does not bear "good fruit." Another difficulty is the insertion of "good." This, at first sight, seems superfluous. But it is explicable if the sentence is as it were against hypocritical fruit-trees, trees that profess to bear eatable fruit but in fact produce only that which is uneatable. It is obvious that the Baptist meant "every *fruit-tree*." But, more particularly, he probably had in mind the Vine of Israel, in contrast with the wild vine mentioned in the word of the Lord to Ezekiel,

¹ In Jn xv. 6 *εἰς τὸ πῦρ βάλλουσιν*, may we infer anything from John's insertion of the article (*τὸ πῦρ*) as contrasted with Mk ix. 22 *εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν*, Mt. iii. 10 (rep. Mt. vii. 19), Lk. iii. 9 *εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται*? The question is complicated by the fact that the lit. Hebrew almost without exception (Mandelk. 155—6) says "in (or, with) *the fire*" (*when the phrase is used absolutely*) whereas LXX says "in *fire*." Also in Greek, as in English, one may speak of a child "falling into *the fire*" (as in Mt. xvii. 15, but not in the parall. Mk ix. 22 "into fire...into waters") meaning "*the fire* [*on the hearth*]" (comp. Acts xxviii. 5 "shaking off (the viper) into *the fire*"). It is worth noting that in O.T. the only instance of Heb. "in *fire*," *used absolutely*, is Ezek. xxiv. 12, where the meaning is "not [*even*] in *fire* [much less in water]," and the only instance of "in *water*," *used absolutely*, is (Mandelk. 670) Ezek. xvi. 4 "not [*even*] in *water* wast thou washed." Perhaps John wished to avoid the suggestion that "into *fire*" here meant "not into water." He preferred to say "into *the fire*"—as being the natural place for the unfruitful vine-branches.

² Mt. iii. 10, Lk. iii. 9 *πάν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλόν*, but W. H. bracket *καλόν* in Luke, and Origen (*Comm. Joann.* vi. 14, Lomm. i. 219) expressly says that "good" is omitted in Luke, because there the words are addressed to the multitudes, and the meaning is fruit of any kind.

"Son of man, what is the vine tree more than any tree, the vine branch that is among the trees of the forest¹?" This means, as Rashi says, "I do not speak unto thee about the vine of the vineyards that beareth fruit, but about the branches of the [wild] vine that groweth in the forest." The context implies that the wild vine is appointed by nature to be burned ("the vine tree, among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel") and is of no other use. But the Baptist is speaking of Israelites as trees appointed to bear fruit, for whom it is a condemnation to degenerate, falling back as it were into the wild vine and out of the cultivated vine—the Vine of the Vineyard of the Lord. Isaiah had accustomed Israelites to this personification or allegory of the degenerate and ungrateful Vine, bound to produce "fruit" worthy of the name, and failing to produce anything but "wild grapes²," and this thought perhaps is latent under the Baptist's expression "good fruit."

The Fourth Gospel takes us back to the positive doctrine about the Vine, which, in the Prophets, is more common than the negative doctrine. John makes no mention of the "wild vine" or the "tree that bringeth not forth good fruit." But beginning from the true Vine, he describes the Husbandman, God, as "cleansing" those branches that bear fruit and taking away those that bear none³. This is metaphor. But he passes on into allegory when he implies that the "branches" have a power of "abiding" or "not abiding" in the Vine: "*The branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine,*" "I am the vine, ye are the branches: *he that abideth in me, . . . the same beareth much fruit,*" "If a man abide not in me he is [[?]at once]⁴ cast forth outside like *the branch* [above mentioned] and is [at once] withered; and THEY [then]⁵ gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned⁶."

¹ Ezek. xv. 2, comp. Jerem. xxiv. 2.

² Is. v. 2—4.

³ Jn xv. 2.

⁴ "At once," see above, p. 95, n. 1.

⁵ "THEY," see *Joh. Gr.* 2426. Nonnus supplies αἰθέριοι δροσῆρες. Comp. Rev. xiv. 18 ἄγγελος . . . [ὁ] ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός. In Jn xv. 6 "the branch" = τὸ κλῆμα (R.V. has "a branch").

⁶ Jn xv. 1—6.

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This is the only mention of the Greek word "fire" in the Fourth Gospel, and it cannot be said that this "fire" purifies. The pruning-knife purifies, the fire destroys. It is only in a symbolical form, if at all, that the Evangelist suggests the thought of fire as a purifying influence. He speaks of a "[fire] of coals" on two occasions, first, when Peter denied his Master, and secondly, after Christ's resurrection, when the same Apostle received not only the food that was to prepare him for following Christ but also a special command to "follow." Thus, says Ephrem Syrus, in a fiery trial Peter fell, and by a fiery purification he was uplifted and strengthened¹.

A mystical suggestion of this kind was not likely to add to heretical perversions (such as those mentioned above²) of the fire-doctrine of the Synoptists. And the "fire of coals" is well adapted to suggest the stinging of a conscience that does not pain openly and momentarily, but gnaws like a worm that will not cease, or burns like embers that will not expire, until nothing remains to be consumed. For the most part, however, the Fourth Evangelist prefers other ways of expressing what Mark calls the "salting" that the disciples of Christ are to "have in themselves³."

§ 17. *How John expresses "salting with fire"*

John's non-use of the metaphor of fire to express purifying influence is probably based on other grounds beside the fear of heretical perversion of fire-doctrine. The Fourth Gospel is, in one aspect, the Gospel of Nature. Earth and the fruits of the earth including bread and wine; water and especially water that is pure and running, or (as the Greek and Hebrew have it) "living"; wind or spirit or the breath that we breathe—these three elemental metaphors are well suited to express in a homely and natural way that invisible life of the soul which

¹ Jn xviii. 18, xxi. 9 "[fire] of coals," ἀνθρακιά, on which see *Son* 3369 *a—e*. Modern prosaic sobriety shrinks from discrediting John with such allusions. But the Fourth Gospel is not modern and not prosaic.

² See above, p. 94, n. 1.

³ Mk ix. 50.

corresponds to the visible life of the body. Fire is not so well suited. The other three elements, or their products, represent internal sources of life; fire represents an external influence.

Yet something more is wanted beside food and breath for the development of the body, and similarly something more is needed for the soul. Both want exercise. Both must learn to "endure hardness," and to cast off everything that conduces to sloth and uselessness, preventing fruitful action. Let us consider whether this finds any expression in the Johannine metaphor of the Vine that is to bear fruit, with its accompanying thought of pruning.

"Pruning" is not indeed mentioned. And perhaps pruning is not exactly the process implied. John may be alluding to the Hebrew Law, which regards a fruit-tree in the Promised Land as having a kind of Hebrew humanity, so that it has to be "circumcised" before it takes its place in the service of the nation. The Law said that for three years after an Israelite had planted a fruit-tree he was to "*treat-as-uncircumcised its uncircumcision* [namely], its fruit." In other words he was to take it away and destroy it. This the LXX paraphrases as "Ye shall cleanse [by taking from] around [it] its uncleanness¹." This explains the extraordinary expression in John, who applies the verb "cleanse" (nowhere else used in the New Testament in any sense) to the cleansing of the fruit-bearing branches of the Vine: "Every branch that beareth fruit, he cleanseth it that it may bear more fruit²."

Philo quotes the Levitical passage as enjoining complete dependence upon God, the only Planter, and as bidding us "cleanse the uncleanness" of what we suppose we ourselves have planted: "For it bids us cut away self-conceit, and self-conceit is unclean by nature³." Elsewhere Philo refers to the

¹ Lev. xix. 23 לָרִץ, LXX περικαθαριείτε τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ, followed by ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ... The translators have ἀκροβυστιείτε τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν αὐτῶν. See Gesen. 790 b. Heb. לָרִץ = (Tromm.) ἀκρόβυστος (1), ἀπερικάθαρος (1), ἀπερίτμητος (26).

² Jn xv. 2 καθαίρει αὐτὸ... .

³ Philo i. 53 κελεύει καθαρίσαι τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ, τὸ δοκεῖν φυτεύειν. Ἀποτεμεῖν γὰρ οἷσιν ἐπαγγέλλεται, οἷσις δὲ ἀκάθαρτον φύσει.

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Law still more fully, with repeated mentions of "cleansing," and "clean," and "cleansing around¹." No instance is given in the Greek Thesaurus of "cleanse" applied to a tree, either in the sense of pruning, or in the sense of discarding immature fruit in saplings. It may be added that LXX uses "cleansing around" (in two forms) concerning literal "circumcising" and concerning circumcising "the heart²." The same Greek word is also applied to the "cleansing" of the sins of Isaiah by fire from the altar, and to the forbidden worship of Moloch by a father "causing" his son "to pass through the fire³."

In setting forth this doctrine of "abiding" in the Vine and of being "cleansed" in it in order to bear much fruit, Jesus says "Now are ye *clean* because of the word that I have spoken unto you⁴." This appears to refer to the words "Ye are *clean*, but not all⁵"—uttered previously, after Jesus had washed the feet of the disciples, and had communicated to all but Judas some share in the New Covenant of brotherly love which, He said, was to be the sign of their discipleship. The offscouring⁶ from the washing of their feet Jesus had as it were taken upon Himself, when He wiped it upon the napkin with which He had girded Himself, and symbolically admitted them into this New Covenant. In both utterances—in the simile of the Washing and in the simile of the Vine—there is an allusion to the New and cleansing Covenant of the circumcision of the heart, a heart created anew in the Spirit of the new Love that Jesus had brought into the world ("even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another⁷").

It remains to consider whether John expresses in any other form that training and disciplining of the soul which corresponds

¹ Philo i. 344—6 *κάθαρσις, ἀκάθαρτος, περικαθαίρεσθαι, ἀπερικάθαρτος*.

² Josh. v. 4 *περικαθαίρω* (מול), Deut. xxx. 6 *περικαθαρίζω* (מול).

³ Is. vi. 7 *περικαθαρίζω* (כפר), Deut. xviii. 10 *περικαθαίρω* (עבר hi.).

⁴ Jn xv. 3.

⁵ Jn xiii. 10—11.

⁶ This would naturally be called, in the language of 1 Cor. iv. 13, *περικάθαρμα* or *περίψημα*, terms said by Origen (*Comm. Joann.* xxviii. 14, Lomm. ii. 355) to be more applicable to Jesus than to any apostle.

⁷ Jn xiii. 34.

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to the Marcan "salting with fire" and to the Johannine "cleansing [of the vine]."

§ 18. "*Tribulation*"¹

We have seen above that Matthew, in the Sermon on the Mount, placed before the words "Ye are *the salt* of the earth" an exhortation to rejoice under persecution. This suggests the thought that persecution had "salted" the Prophets of old and would similarly "salt" the preachers of the Gospel: "Rejoice... for so *persecuted* they the prophets that were before you. *Ye are the salt* of the earth²." "The earth" is "the world³." It may be fairly replied that the persecuting world can no more "salt" a prophet so as to keep him "the salt of the world," than it can "enlighten" a prophet so as to keep him "the light of the world." Yet still the world's persecution of the prophet may be made by God the instrument for keeping the prophet unworldly.

Luke, later on, says "*Salt therefore is good*," but does not connect the saying with any mention of "persecution" (having, instead, several precepts enjoining self-renunciation)⁴. "*Tribulation*" is used synonymously with "persecution" for the sake of the Gospel in the explanation of the Parable of the Sower, where Mark and Matthew say "When there cometh to pass *tribulation or persecution* because of the Word"; but Luke has "in time of *temptation*⁵." And in the Discourse on the Last Days, where Mark and Matthew predict "*tribulation*," the parallel Luke predicts "*distress*" (literally "*necessity*" or "*straits*")⁶. Luke never uses the word "tribulation" in his Gospel.

¹ "*Tribulation*" is used as the rendering of *θλίψις* throughout this section.

² Mt. v. 12—13. If the two verses are to be regarded as disconnected, then "Ye are the salt" (Chrys.) may be taken as introducing *ἐγκώμια* after *παραίνεσις*. See McNeile, *ad loc.* on the paradox in "salt of the earth" in view of Ps. cvii. 34 "a salt desert."

³ See *Son* 3442 c—h on "The earth" variously interpreted.

⁴ Lk. xiv. 34.

⁵ Mk iv. 17, Mt. xiii. 21, Lk. viii. 13.

⁶ Mk xiii. 19, Mt. xxiv. 21 *θλίψις*, Lk. xxi. 23 *ἀνάγκη*.

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Yet he uses it several times in the Acts—twice in Stephen's speech, once in his own description of the persecution that followed Stephen's martyrdom, and twice in the Pauline declarations: "Through many *tribulations* we must enter into the kingdom of God," and "Bonds and *tribulations* await me¹." In none of the Gospels does "tribulation" occur except in utterances of Christ, and Luke may have been influenced by the fact that the word does not appear to have been in literary use before the end of the first century; and, as then used—meaning literally "pressure" or "squeezing"—it may have seemed to him not quite appropriate for a historian recording utterances of Jesus². The following parallels seem to shew Luke drawing out from Mark's brief and vernacular "tribulation" (or "pressure") all that seemed to him implied in the original:—

Mk xiii. 24 (R.V.)	Mt. xxiv. 29 (R.V.)	Lk. xxi. 25—6 (R.V.)
After that <i>tribulation</i> the sun shall be darkened...	After the <i>tribulation</i> of those days the sun shall be darkened...	There shall be signs in sun...and upon the earth <i>distress</i> of nations, in <i>perplexity</i> ... men <i>fainting</i> (or, <i>expiring</i>) for fear, and for <i>expectation</i> ... ³

Origen tacitly explains Luke's motive in his comment on the first of the very numerous instances of "tribulation" in the Psalms. "The divine Scripture," he says, "with a meaning of its own...seems to give the name of '*tribulation*' to that which environs and meets the saint for the purpose of training, whereas that which befalls the sinner it calls '*scurge*.' For it

¹ Acts vii. 10, 11, xi. 19, xiv. 22, xx. 23.

² See Steph. *Thes.* on *θλίψις*.

³ "Distress" = *συνοχή*, "perplexity" = *ἀπορία*. In LXX, *θλίψις* freq. = צרה or צר; *συνέχω* = (1) צור, (1) צרר; *συνοχή* (a rare word) = (2) מצור, (1) (by error) צר (read as צר); *ἀπορία* = (1) צרה; *ἀποροῦμαι* = (1) צרר.

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says 'Many are the *tribulations* of the righteous' and 'Many are the *scourges* of the sinner¹.'"

Origen's view agrees with such inferences as would naturally be drawn from Scripture and Jewish tradition. The first Biblical mention of (LXX) "tribulation" is where Jacob says "I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my *tribulation* (R.V. *distress*)²." The Midrash on an earlier passage in Genesis remarks that the elect Patriarch (Jacob) and the elect Prophet (Moses) were both subjected to fear and anxiety. God had promised to be with them, but "*the righteous must not build upon that in this world*," "*In this world the righteous must have no self-confidence*³."

Let us turn to the Fourth Gospel. Above we find it suggesting "tribulation" under the metaphor of "cleansing" the fruitful boughs of the Vine—an act that Philo described as the "cutting away" of "self-conceit." Now looking on a little we find a mention of "persecution" where Jesus says to the disciples "If they *persecuted* me they will also *persecute* you⁴," thus strengthening them that they might not "stumble⁵," and preparing them for a general antagonism with "the world⁶." And at this point, in quite a new metaphor, the naturalness and the ultimate fruitfulness of some kind of suffering and "tribulation" are brought before us in a sentence alluding to the ancient "sorrow" of childbirth predicted for Eve, but describing it as swallowed up in the joy that follows: "The woman when she is bringing forth [a child] hath *sorrow* because

¹ Origen on Ps. iv. 1, quoting Ps. xxxiv. 19, xxxii. 10. "With a meaning of its own" = *ιδίως*.

² Gen. xxxv. 3.

³ See *Gen. v.* (Wü. p. 373) on Gen. xxxii. 7. "Self-confidence (Selbstvertrauen)" appears to mean here what a man of the world might call "confidence in his fortune," while a man calling himself religious, yet feeling the same thing, might disguise it under the phrase "confidence in God."

⁴ Jn xv. 20.

⁵ Jn xvi. 1 *ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῆτε*, comp. Mk iv. 17 *γενομένης θλίψεως, ἣ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται* (sim. Mt. xiii. 21).

⁶ Jn xvi. 20 "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice."

her hour is come, but when she is delivered of the little-child she no longer remembereth the *tribulation* for the joy that a man is born into the world. And ye now therefore have *sorrow*, but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice and your joy no man shall take from you¹."

Soon after this, comes the final mention of "tribulation," at the conclusion of Christ's Last Discourse. It is in a sentence closely resembling the Midrashic comment quoted above on Jacob's "*tribulation*" as being, "*in this world*," inevitable: "These things have I spoken unto you that in me ye may have peace. *In the world* ye have *tribulation*: but be of good cheer; I have gained the victory over the world²." Thus the final mention of "peace" by Christ before His crucifixion is connected with a mention of "victory" that implies war, and with a "tribulation" through which that victory is to be achieved.

All these Johannine words are far removed from the words of Mark. But they accord not only with Hebrew and Jewish thought, but also with Mark himself when Mark is interpreted in accordance with the thought that underlies his brief traditions.

¹ Jn xvi. 21—2. W. H. txt ἀρεῖ "shall take." "Bringing forth" = τίκτω, "sorrow" = λύπη. The first Biblical mention of λύπη is combined with τίκτω in Gen. iii. 16 "Multiplying will I multiply thy sorrows...in sorrows shalt thou bring forth children (ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα)."

² Jn xvi. 33 "Ye have (ἔχετε)" is given by W. H. without alternative, but naturally it has been altered by many authorities into the future, the meaning being probably "ye have [in store]." SS has "that there may be to you in me peace, and [yet that] in the world there may be to you distress," perhaps meaning "that ye may have peace in me, and this in spite of inevitable tribulation in the world."

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

[Mark x. 1—16]

§ 1. *Divorce, the discussion of, how originated*¹

MARK and Matthew say that certain Pharisees questioned Jesus in public on the lawfulness of divorce, and mentioned the

¹ Mk x. 1—12 (R.V.)

(1) And he arose from thence, and cometh into the borders of Judaea and beyond Jordan: and multitudes come together unto him again; and, as he was wont, he taught them again.

(2) And there came unto him Pharisees, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away [his] wife? tempting him.

(3) And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you?

(4) And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away.

(5) But Jesus said unto them, For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment.

(6) But from the

Mt. xix. 1—10
v. 31—2 (R.V.)

(xix. 1) And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words, he departed from Galilee, and came into the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan;

(2) And great multitudes followed him; and he healed them there.

(3) And there came unto him (*many auth. ins. the*) Pharisees, tempting him, and saying, Is it lawful [for a man] to put away his wife for every cause?

(4) And he answered and said, Have ye not read, that he....

(7) They say unto him, Why then did Moses command to give her a bill of divorcement, and to put [her] away?

(8) He saith unto them, Moses for your

Lk. xvii. 11, xvi. 18
(R.V.)

(xvii. 11) And it came to pass, as they were (*or, as he was*) on the way to Jerusalem, that he was passing through the midst of (*or, between*) Samaria and Galilee.

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ordinance of Moses, but do not add any reference to the divorces that had preceded the marriage of Herodias to Herod Antipas.

Mk x. 1—12
(R.V.) *contd.*

beginning of the creation, Male and female made he them.

(7) For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife (*some anc. auth. omit* and shall ... wife);

(8) And the twain shall become one flesh; so that they are no more twain, but one flesh.

(9) What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

(10) And in the house the disciples asked him again of this matter.

(11) And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her:

(12) And if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.

Mt. xix. 1—10,
v. 31—2 (R.V.) *contd.*

hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it hath not been so.

(4) And he answered and said, Have ye not read, that he which made (*some anc. auth. created*) [them] from the beginning made them male and female,

(5) And said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh?

(6) So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

(9) And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: (*some anc. auth. saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress, as in v. 32*): and he that marrieth her when she is put away committeth adultery (*some anc. auth. omit the last sentence*).

(10) The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man...

Lk. xvii. 11, xvi. 18
(R.V.) *contd.*

(xvi. 18) Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

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In Mark the Pharisees ask "Is it lawful for a man to *put away his wife?*" but Matthew has "*put away his wife for every cause.*" Luke omits the question altogether.

Afterwards Mark (and Mark alone) tells us that in private "the disciples asked him again of this matter." And now Jesus modifies the phrase in such a way as to suggest a reference to Herod:—"Whosoever shall put away his wife *and marry another*, committeth adultery." Matthew also has—not as in private, but as part of the public doctrine—"put away his wife...*and marry another.*" And this same combination is given by Luke, but in quite a different context. Luke represents Jesus as saying consecutively, in an attack on the covetousness of the Pharisees, (1) "The law and the prophets [were] until John," (2) "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall," (3) "Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery¹."

This indicates that the Pharisees described by Mark and Matthew as questioning Jesus are to be regarded as putting a dilemma before Him. Either He must dissent from John the Baptist's condemnation of Herod (which they knew He would not do) or else He would come into collision with Herod

Mk. x. 1—12
(R.V.)

Mt. xix. 1—10,
v. 31—2 (R.V.) *contd.*

Lk. xvii. 11, xvi. 18
(R.V.)

(v. 31) It was said also, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorce-ment.

(32) But I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress: and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery.

¹ Lk xvi. 14—18.

and probably share the Baptist's fate¹. This also explains Mark's brief language, which assumes that "put away his wife," in the lips of the Pharisees, meant in general "put away his wife at his own pleasure," and was meant to include the particular question, "Was it lawful for Herod Antipas to put away his wife [*as he did*] and [*i.e. in order to*] marry another?" Further, it explains Matthew's amplification of the first part of Mark's text (adding "for every cause²") and his alteration of the second part ("if she herself put away her husband"), if the latter referred to the divorce of a husband by Herodias—an act assumed by Mark to be referred to, but quite exceptional, and not contemplated by Jewish Law.

A tacit allusion to John the Baptist in Mark and Matthew (corresponding to the one expressed in Luke) is not incompatible with Christ's general condemnation of the Rabbinical laxity in allowing divorce, and also with His condemning a continued adherence to the letter of the ancient Law itself³. Luke, when he says that "not a tittle of *the Law* shall fall," seems to mean, not the Law permitting divorce, but the Law

¹ Some motive, not quite clear, seems to underlie the variations in Mk x. 1, Mt. xix. 1 "into the borders of Judaea and (Mt. *om.* and) beyond Jordan" (Mt. has "*from Galilee and came into the borders . . .*" comp. Lk. xvii. 11 "between (*διὰ μέσον*) (?) Samaria and Galilee"). The text may have originally meant that Jesus was on the point of passing out of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, and that the Pharisees desired to bring down on Him the hostility of Antipas before He entered Judaea. See *Corrections* 438 (i)—(v). John may perhaps be said to intervene as to "beyond Jordan" which Luke never uses (*Joh. Voc.* 1714 b, 1813 b). But the question is complicated by the possibility of allusion, see below, pp. 152—5.

² Origen, on Mt. xix. 3 (Lomm. iii. 303), says that Mark has *ἰσοδυναμοῦν*. Probably he regarded Mark as using *ἐξέσταιν* to mean "there is absolute power," which Matthew expressed by adding "for every cause," *i.e.* any cause that might seem sufficient to the husband.

³ Deut. xxiv. 1 "If she find no favour in his eyes because he hath found some unseemly thing in her (*ὅτι εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα*)" on which *Hor. Heb.* (on Mt. xix. 3) says (*J. Sotah* fol. 16. 2) "The school of Shammai permitted not divorces but only in the case of adultery."

forbidding adultery, which Law he regards as having been broken by Herod Antipás and Herodias.

There are good reasons why John would not intervene here. First, there is the non-logical nature of the argument from Genesis, and the very different "precept of Moses," and the Jewish interpretations of that "precept"; secondly, there is the fact that some of the utterances of Jesus on this subject were bound up with the special case of Herod Antipas, a name not mentioned in his Gospel; thirdly, some of these utterances referred to the connivance of the Pharisees at Herod's conduct contrasted with the Baptist's condemnation of it—a condemnation mentioned by all the Synoptists but not by John¹.

Incidentally, it would be true to say that (1) in this passage Mark, followed by Matthew, represents Jesus as appealing from the Law of Moses to that which was "from the beginning"; and (2) somewhat similarly, as to healing on the sabbath, John represents Jesus as going back, in thought at least though not in word, to "the beginning," by saying "My Father worketh hitherto and I work²." There is no such argument anywhere in Luke. But as regards the main subject, divorce, Johannine intervention was not to be expected and does not exist.

§ 2. "*And he blessed them,*" in Mark³

This is the only instance in which Jesus is described by Mark as "blessing" persons. Matthew does not retain (nor

¹ Mk vi. 18, Mt. xiv. 4, Lk. iii. 19.

² See *Son* 3583 (i) quoting Mk x. 6, Mt. xix. 4, Jn v. 17.

	Mt. xix. 13—14,	
³ Mk x. 13—16	xviii. 1—3, xix. 15	Lk. xviii. 15—17
(R.V.)	(R.V.)	(R.V.)

(13) And they brought unto him little children, that he should touch them; and the disciples rebuked them.

(14) But when Jesus saw it, he was moved with indignation, and said unto them, Suffer the little

(xix. 13) Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should lay his hands on them and pray: and the disciples rebuked them.

(14) But Jesus said, Suffer the little children, and forbid

(15) And they brought unto him also their babes, that he should touch them: but when the disciples saw it, they rebuked them.

(16) But Jesus called them unto him, saying, Suffer the little children to come

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does he describe elsewhere) the act of "blessing" persons, though he retains here the "laying on" of "hands¹." Luke retains neither, and does not describe Jesus as "blessing" persons till after His resurrection². Here Luke also alters "children" into "babes." He introduces the incident, after a contrast between a proud Pharisee and a humble Publican, abruptly, thus: "But he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. And they brought unto him even their (*lit.* the) babes that he might touch them³." "Touching" (which is

Mk x. 13—16
(R.V.) *contd.*

children to come unto me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

(15) Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein.

(16) And he took them in his arms, and blessed them, laying his hands upon them.

Mt. xix. 13—14,
xviii. 1—3, xix. 15
(R.V.) *contd.*

them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.

(xviii. 1) In that hour . . . Who then is greatest (*lit.* greater) in the kingdom of heaven?

(2) And he called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them,

(3) And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

(xix. 15) And he laid his hands on them, and departed thence.

Lk. xviii. 15—17
(R.V.) *contd.*

unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

(17) Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein.

Mt. xviii. 1—5 is also parallel to Mk ix. 34 foll. See above, p. 70 foll.

¹ Mk x. 16 καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ κατευλόγει τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά, D προσκαλεσάμενος, SS "and he called them," b "convitans," c, d, f, ff, q, r (Swete) "convocans," see above, chap. ii. § 9. The parall. Mt. xix. 15 καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐπορεύθη ἐκείθεν includes a parall. to Mk x. 17 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ. Luke omits this, but has προσεκάλεσάτο in Lk. xviii. 16.

² Lk. xxiv. 50, 51.

³ Lk. xviii. 15 προσέφερον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βρέφη ἵνα αὐτῶν ἅπτηται

also Mark's word) might seem to Luke different from Matthew's parallel phrase, "laying on hands," and a less formal act. Hence Luke might omit Mark's "blessed" as being also too formal. Matthew's omission of "blessing" may be explained in the same way. At the beginning of his narrative he has "that he might lay his hands on them and *pray*." "Praying for" is different from, and less formal than, "bestowing a blessing on," and does not imply any conscious act, or even conscious receptiveness, in the person for whom the prayer is offered.

But all these divergences from Mark excite a reasonable suspicion that Mark is diverged from because difficult, and that here, as often, the difficult version is the right one. This is confirmed by Mark's very rare and very strong word, inadequately rendered "blessed." It is very hard to say why Mark uses it. It does not occur in the New Testament elsewhere, nor even in LXX except in Tobit¹. Goodspeed does not give it as occurring in any Apologist or early Father. The Thesaurus gives no instance of it outside Tobit and Plutarch². In Plutarch it is used thrice, and always of exaggerated eulogy ("*pour-out-praise*"). One of these instances occurs in a discussion where some one, depreciating marriage, declares that legislators, because citizens are needful for the state, "*pour out praise*" on marriage. The defender of marriage has previously exclaimed "Marriage and the coming together of husband and wife, than which there neither is nor ever has been a holier yoke—dost thou call this shameful?" Now in

(Mk ἀψηται, and παῖδια without τὰ). R.V. renders τὰ βρέφη, as Greek idiom necessitates, "their babes." Who "they" are is not stated. But probably they are the mothers of babes in the "multitudes" mentioned in Mk x. 1 as being taught by Jesus.

¹ Tob. xi. 1, 17.

² L. S. "Plut. 2. 66 A, LXX, etc." is misleading. The "etc." should have come after "A" to shew that there are two other instances in Plutarch, viz. *Mor.* 750 C, 1069 C (or E).

³ Plut. *Mor.* 750 C Καὶ ὁ Δαφναῖος, Αἰσχιστον δὲ καλεῖς, ἔφη, γάμον καὶ σύνοδον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς, ἧς οὐ γέγονεν οὐδ' ἔστιν ἱερωτέρα κατάξευξις; Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, εἶπεν ὁ Πρωτογένης, ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς γένεσιν ὄντα, σεμνύνουσιν οὐ φαύλως οἱ νομοθέται καὶ κατευλογοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς.

the Synoptic passage under consideration, this blessing of children is preceded almost immediately in Matthew by an argument of the disciples that "it is not expedient to marry" and by Christ's reply¹. This suggests that the blessing of children described by Mark was part of a series of Christ's acts and sayings bearing on marriage and the birth of children, and that Mark has omitted some argument against marriage that called forth an emphatic protest from Jesus.

This suggestion is favoured by the fact that the first two Biblical instances where God is introduced as "blessing" are connected with the propagation of animal life; and the second of these connects "blessing" and "multiplying" with a creation of man in the image of God, expressly mentioning "male" and "female"². This passage Mark (followed by Matthew) has in the previous context represented Jesus as quoting³, in reply to the Pharisees, and apparently in the presence of the multitudes whom He had been teaching⁴. Now it would seem that some of the mothers in the crowd—after hearing Christ's maintenance of the divine ordinance of matrimony—press forward that He may "touch" their little ones. The disciples, engaged in discussing the divorce question, obstruct the parents. Jesus, resenting the interference of the obstructing disciples, does more than "touch" the children. He "*blesses*" them, or "*pours forth blessing*" on them. Thus not only does He sanction the inference that the faith of parents can avail for their infant children, but He appears indirectly to teach the disciples and the multitudes an object lesson, saying, in effect,

¹ Mt. xix. 10—12.

² Gen. i. 22, 28. Neither of these verses about "blessing" occurs in the Index to Philo (ed. Richter).

³ Mk x. 6 ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως (quoting Gen. i. 27) ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν [αὐτούς], Mt. xix. 4 οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι ὁ κτίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς; Mark favours the view that "male and female" were so created "from the beginning" (and not the male before the female). Matthew's arrangement of the words does not favour it. Rashi says "Est autem *expositio mystica* quod creaverit illum *duas facies habentem* ab initio sed *postea illum separaverit*."

⁴ Mk x. 1.

what the Epistle to the Hebrews says, that "marriage" is to be "had in honour¹."

The First Epistle to Timothy speaks of certain Christians as "forbidding to marry²." Paul himself, under the pressure of a missionary life, and with an overhanging uncertainty as to the day of the Coming of the Lord, is dubious as to the general propriety of marriage for Christians³. Luke, in his version of the Parable of the Refusal of the King's Invitation, inserts as one excuse "I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come⁴." From these facts, and from Matthew's peculiar tradition about "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (which seems out of place or erroneously reported) we may infer that some readers would not easily understand the strong language in which Mark describes Christ as "pouring-out-blessing" on children—if it meant that He blessed them not only for their own sakes, but also as being the representatives of the concord and affection of family life.

In the previous context of both Mark and Luke, the typical meaning of "little children" is expressed in an ambiguous

¹ Heb. xiii. 4 *τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσιν*, on which see Westcott.

² 1 Tim. iv. 3.

³ Comp. Epictet. iii. 22. 67 foll. praising marriage as an institution in an ideal city (*σοφῶν πόλιν*), but regarding it as perhaps unfit for the Cynic in the present battle of good against evil if he is to be "without distraction (*ἀπερίσπαστον*)" (comp. 1 Cor. vii. 35) and "wholly given to the service of God."

⁴ Lk. xiv. 20, not in Mt. xxii. 5. The tradition peculiar to Matthew (xix. 12) about "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" is perhaps out of place, and separated from context that would make it intelligible. Apart from historical passages in Jeremiah (xxix. 2 etc.) the only mention of "eunuchs" in the Prophets is in Is. lvi. 3—4 "neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. For thus saith the Lord of the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths...." In the Pauline Epistles, the question about marriage is raised, not by Paul himself, but by the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 1 "the things whereof ye wrote") consulting Paul. If it were raised by Jewish missionaries of Christ, after Christ's resurrection, the answer would naturally be in a tone of consolation, as in Isaiah, regarding the eunuch's condition as an evil, but an evil that might be overruled to good. See McNeile's note on Mt. xix. 12.

sentence "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child¹." "Child" might be, but is not, the object. Matthew clears away the ambiguity, but narrows the interpretation, thus, "Except ye turn and become as little children," and then adds, as explanation, "Whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of the heavens²." But in truth it is not a conscious "self-humbling," or "making oneself little," that is contemplated by Jesus. It is the affectionate clinging of the little one to the parents, or to the mother's breast, as is indicated by an ancient comment on Mark³.

Turning to the Fourth Gospel, we see that so far as the first part of Mark's tradition about "receiving the kingdom of God as a little child," John is not bound to intervene by the rule of Johannine Intervention. For Luke follows Mark *verbatim*. But the whole of the Fourth Gospel, from the Prologue onwards, is permeated with the thought of the Word, or Son, above, "in the bosom of the Father," and with the thought of men, below, as receiving the Son from above, and thereby receiving authority to become "God's children⁴."

As regards the second part of Mark's tradition, which represents Jesus as "pouring out blessing" on the little children brought to Him, the question is whether we accept the suggestion

¹ Mk x. 15, Lk. xviii. 17. See Origen *Comm. Matth.* xiii. 19 (Lomm. iii. 247) ἀμφίβολος ἢ λέξις and *Comm. Matth.* xv. 9 (Lomm. iii. 345) σχεδὸν δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσι καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, μάλιστα τὰ τελευταία, ὡσαύτως ἐξέθετο. Neither in these passages, nor elsewhere, does he quote Mk x. 16 "blessed."

² Mt. xviii. 3—4. This is also parall. to Mk ix. 36.

³ See Cramer on Mk x. 13 containing Victor's collection of traditions about the typical child: "When it is whipped by the mother the child still seeks her, and honours her above all things, and even though you shew him a crowned queen he does not prefer her to his mother in rags." It adds "And it is well said 'He took them in His arms and poured blessing on them.' For [by that act] there is brought back again as it were into the arms of the Creator His handiwork, which had been separated from Him in the beginning and had fallen away from [His arms, or bosom] (χωρισθέν αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκός)."

⁴ Jn i. 1, 12, 18 etc.

that the "blessing" indirectly upholds the sanctity of marriage, about which Jesus has previously quoted from Genesis the words describing the creation of mankind as male and female. If we do, Johannine intervention may be asserted, not indeed of a verbal, but (as often) of a dramatic kind. For John is the only Evangelist that describes Jesus as present at "a marriage¹." The marriage takes place at the conclusion of the Johannine Hexaemeron that corresponds to the six days of Creation in Genesis². Jesus does not indeed pronounce a verbal blessing on the marriage, but, at the request of His mother, He bestows a practical and typical blessing on the wedded pair by supplying them with "the good wine³."

¹ Jn ii. 1.

² On "the new Hexaemeron" see *Joh. Gr.* 2624.

³ Jn ii. 10. "Wine" is connected with the thought of "blessing" in many passages of Scripture. Gesen. 139 *b* under "blessing" refers to "new wine" implied in Is. lxxv. 8. See also Levy i. 268 *a* and *b* "*the cup of blessing*," a term used both in Heb. and Aramaic, to mean *a cup of wine over which a blessing was spoken*, and used by Paul (1 Cor. x. 16) in connection with the Christian Eucharist as a term with which his readers would be familiar.

CHAPTER IV

HOW TO ENTER INTO THE KINGDOM

[Mark x. 17—52]

§ 1. "And Jesus looking upon him loved him," in Mark¹

IN the narratives printed below², describing how a rich man failed to enter the Kingdom, there are several striking differences,

¹ Mk x. 21.

² Mk x. 17—22
(R.V.)

(17) And as he was going forth into the way (*or*, on his way), there ran one to him, and kneeled to him, and asked him, Good Master (*or*, Teacher), what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?

(18) And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, [even] God.

(19) Thou knowest the commandments, Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honour thy father and mother.

(20) And he said unto him, Master (*or*, Teacher), all these things have I ob-

Mt. xix. 16—22
(R.V.)

(16) And behold, one came to him and said, Master (*or*, Teacher: *some anc. auth. prefix* Good), what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?

(17) And he said unto him, Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good (*some anc. auth.* Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, [even] God): but if thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments.

(18) He saith unto him, Which? And Jesus said, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt

Lk. xviii. 18—23
(R.V.)

(18) And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Master (*or*, Teacher), what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

(19) And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, [even] God.

(20) Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and mother.

(21) And he said, All these things have I observed from my youth up.

(22) And when Jesus heard it, he said unto him, One thing thou lackest yet: sell all that

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some of which imply verbal transpositions. (1) Where Mark and Luke have "*Good Master*, what shall I do?" Matthew has "Master, what *good thing* shall I do?" with a corresponding difference in Christ's reply¹. (2) Mark and Luke represent Jesus as saying "*One thing is lacking* (Luke, *wanting*) to thee," but Matthew's only mention of "lacking" is "*What lack* I yet?" and Matthew represents Jesus as adding "If thou wouldest be perfect²." (3) In Mark and Luke, Jesus mentions several of the Commandments, but Matthew alone inserts "Thou shalt

Mk x. 17—22
(R.V.) *contd.*

served from my youth.

(21) And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.

(22) But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful: for he was one that had great possessions.

Mt. xix. 16—22
(R.V.) *contd.*

not bear false witness,

(19) Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(20) The young man saith unto him, All these things have I observed: what lack I yet?

(21) Jesus said unto him, If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.

(22) But when the young man heard the saying, he went away sorrowful: for he was one that had great possessions.

Lk. xviii. 18—23
(R.V.) *contd.*

thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.

(23) But when he heard these things, he became exceeding sorrowful; for he was very rich.

¹ Mk x. 17, Lk. xviii. 18 διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω (Lk. ποιήσας); Mt. xix. 16 διδάσκαλε, τί ἀγαθόν ποιήσω; It would be easy to confuse ΑΓΑΘΕ with ΑΓΑΘΘ (i.e. ἀγαθόν). But we should still have to suppose that Matthew (or Mark and Luke) altered Christ's reply (as well as the order of the words in the question).

² Mk x. 21 ἐν σε ὑστερεῖ, Lk. xviii. 22 ἔτι ἔν σοι λείπει, Mt. xix. 20 τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ; Confusion would be easy between ἔτι (i.e. ἐν τι) and εἶτι. Mt. xix. 21 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι implies, but does not assert, that something is "lacking."

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love thy neighbour as thyself¹." (4) Mark alone inserts "Do not defraud²."

Besides these variations, all of which concern words of Jesus, there is a statement, peculiar to Mark, which imputes a motive to Jesus, "And Jesus, looking stedfastly upon him, loved him³." "Looking stedfastly" appears to imply Christ's insight into the mind of the man whom He was intending to test. The man professed to have kept all the Commandments from his youth, including (according to Matthew) the Commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself⁴. Can it be denied that if the man was honest, he thought too well of himself and deceived himself⁵? He was rich, and Mark himself elsewhere speaks of "the deceitfulness of riches⁶." It has been therefore suggested in a previous part of this work that Mark has erroneously substituted "loved" for the very similar word

¹ Mk x. 19, Lk. xviii. 20, Mt. xix. 18—19.

² Mk x. 19 *Μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς*, Del. *רשע*. Comp. Lev. xix. 13 "Thou shalt not (A.V.) *defraud* (R.V. *oppress*) thy neighbour, nor rob him; the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night" (where Rashi explains *רשע* as "defraudat mercenarium mercede"), and Deut. xxiv. 14 *רשע*, A *ἀποστερήσεις*, B *ἀπαδικήσεις*, of a hireling's pay. The word is also Aram. and Syr. SS and many authorities omit the clause in Mk x. 19, probably because it seemed wrong to add to "the Ten Commandments." Josephus, however (*Ant.* iii. 5. 4), says that it was "not lawful" for him to set down their exact words, but only their "import." In Mk, the word seems appropriate to "their import." The rich man would not be tempted to "steal," but he might be tempted to "keep back" what was morally "due" to neighbours or dependants.

³ Mk x. 21 *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν*. Comp. Mk x. 27 *ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, where Jesus is regarded as not only "looking stedfastly" at the disciples but also having insight into their feelings.

⁴ Origen (on Mt. xix. 22, Lomm. iii. 367) uses *ἠγάπα*, but in a different context, *ἔχων κτήματα πολλὰ ἅπερ ἠγάπα*.

⁵ Comp. Gal. vi. 3 "if any man seemeth [to himself] to be something when he is nothing he *deceiveth* (*φρεναπατᾷ*) *himself*," and Jas i. 26 "*deceiving* (*ἀπατῶν*) his own heart."

⁶ Mk iv. 19 (Mt. xiii. 22) *ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου*—the only mention of *ἀπάτη* in the Gospels.

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(in Greek) "deceived," and that the original stated that Jesus looked stedfastly at the man and saw that "*he deceived himself*¹."

How does John deal with this Marcan tradition about a would-be disciple whom "Jesus loved"? Only indirectly perhaps, but still effectively. Some would say that he intervenes directly, since he is the only other Evangelist that describes Jesus as "loving"; and he mentions an actual, not a would-be, "disciple whom Jesus loved²." But putting that aside as a mere verbal coincidence, we may regard the Johannine Nicodemus as in some respects a parallel to the Synoptic questioner. Luke describes the latter as "a ruler"; all the Synoptists say that he was rich, and they all agree that he came to Jesus saluting Him as "teacher," and asking to be taught the way to eternal life. John says of Nicodemus that he was "a ruler of the Jews"; that he came to Jesus saluting Him as "rabbi" and "a teacher come from God," and receiving from Jesus instruction as to the way of entering into the kingdom of God³; and later on, John, agreeing with Jewish tradition, leads us to infer that he was rich since he joined with Joseph of Arimathaea in giving to the body of Jesus a costly burial⁴.

But John represents Jesus as giving to Nicodemus a very different reply from that which the Synoptists describe as given to their "rich man." Instead of the Synoptic "one thing is lacking to thee," or "if thou wouldest be perfect," the Johannine reply is, in effect, "The one thing needful for thee is that love of God and man which belongs to those who are

¹ See *Beginning* pp. 263—4 where this is given among several explanations. It is also suggested that the original of Mk x. 21 may have meant "*one thing* is lacking to thee" in a different sense from that which is commonly attached to the words, so that Jesus meant "Thou lackest *the one thing needful*" (comp. Lk. x. 41—2).

² Jn xi. 5, xiii. 23 etc. If John knew of the Marcan tradition as now extant and regarded it as erroneous he might see an additional reason for emphasizing the reticence of "the disciple" whom Jesus really "loved." The Marcan young man is by no means reticent.

Strong's Concordance has "*loved*" Mt. (o), Mk (1), Lk. (1), Jn (22).

³ Jn iii. 1—2 foll.

⁴ Jn xix. 38—9. On the wealth of Nicodemus, see *Corrections* 519.

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born from above." And the end corresponds to the beginning. Nicodemus is described at the end as joining with Joseph of Arimathaea in burying Jesus, but there is a distinction; Joseph is called "a disciple of Jesus" (though "secretly for fear of the Jews"). Nicodemus, even with such a qualification of secrecy, is not so called¹. On the whole it may be said that the Fourth Evangelist, whether consciously alluding or not alluding to the Marcan peculiar tradition, makes it more difficult for us than before to suppose that Jesus regarded with special "love" the rich man here mentioned by the Synoptists².

§ 2. "*Children, how hard it is,*" in Mark³

The word here translated "hard" means etymologically "squeamish," and hence "crossgrained" about persons, and

¹ Jn xix. 38—41. It may be argued that the stand-point of Nicodemus has been already described. But has it? Do his words (Jn vii. 51) "Doth our law judge the man [accused] except it first hear from himself...?" describe any definite "stand-point"? Do they not rather suggest an oscillation, or an attempt to be just and coldly impartial, putting aside the previously uttered conviction (iii. 2) "we know that thou art a teacher come from God"?

² It must be admitted that in one very important respect the rich young ruler differs from the rich Nicodemus. The former came to Jesus openly, not "by night"; and his combination of a love of righteousness with a love of wealth, and of complacency with self-distrust, may have drawn forth from Jesus a special compassion and pitying love. But against this view is the hard fact that Matthew and Luke omit the words "Jesus, looking upon him, loved him."

³ Mk x. 23—7
(R.V.)

Mt. xix. 23—6
(R.V.)

Lk xviii. 24—7
(R.V.)

(23) And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!

(23) And Jesus said unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

(24) And Jesus seeing him said, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!

(24) And the disciples were amazed at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, Children, how

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“awkward” or “difficult” about things¹. It is frequent in literary Greek, but from Old Testament Greek it cannot be illustrated

Mk x. 23—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

hard is it for them that trust in riches (*some anc. auth. omit for...riches*) to enter into the kingdom of God!

(25) It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

(26) And they were astonished exceedingly, saying unto him (*many anc. auth. saying among themselves*), Then who can be saved?

(27) Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for all things are possible with God.

Mt. xix. 23—6
(R.V.) *contd.*

(24) And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

(25) And when the disciples heard it, they were astonished exceedingly, saying, Who then can be saved?

(26) And Jesus looking upon [them] said to them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible.

Lk. xviii. 24—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

(25) For it is easier for a camel to enter in through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

(26) And they that heard it said, Then who can be saved?

(27) But he said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.

The *Diatessaron*, besides inserting “those that rely on their possessions,” transposes the text as follows (as also D transposes Mk x. 24 and 25):

“And when Jesus saw his sadness, he looked towards his disciples, and said unto them, How hard it is for them that have possessions to enter the kingdom of God!

“Verily I say unto you, it is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. And I say unto you also, that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. And the disciples were wondering at these sayings. And Jesus answered and said unto them again, My children, How hard it is for those that rely on their possessions to enter the kingdom of God! And those that were listening wondered more, and said amongst themselves, being agitated, Who, thinkest thou, can be saved? And Jesus looked at them intently, and said unto them, With men this is not possible, but with God [it is]: it is possible for God to do everything.”

¹ Mk x. 24 τέκνα, πὼς δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.

except from a translation of the saying of Elijah to Elisha "Thou hast asked a *hard thing*," i.e. a thing *against nature*¹. In the present passage the entrance into the Kingdom of God is described as being, not indeed impracticable, but effected "*with difficulty*," or "*awkwardly*," or "as it were *against nature*." It is not Hebraic Greek, but vernacular, and almost confined to Hermas among early Christian writers².

This fact bears on the interpretation of the phrase rendered by R.V. "*they that have riches*." The parallel Matthew has "*a rich [man]*," and this would lead the English reader to infer that the three Synoptists had, in effect, the same word ("*rich*," "*riches*"). But the Marcan word (used also by Luke) does not mean "*riches*." From LXX we can learn little about it³. But in literary and vernacular Greek it means "*money*," often in a bad sense⁴. When used elsewhere in the New Testament, where it is confined to the Acts, it means "*price*" (once) in the singular, and a bribe of "*money*" (thrice) in the plural (concerning "*money*" offered by Simon Magus to Peter and hoped for by Felix from Paul)⁵. It is found in Greek proverbs corresponding to

¹ 2 K. ii. 10 LXX ἐσκήρυνας τοῦ αἰτήσασθαι, but ἄλλος has δύσκολον ἡτήσω. The only other instance is Jerem. xlix. 8, where LXX renders צָרָה "calamity" by δύσκολα.

² Δύσκολον (adj. and adv.) occurs (Goodspeed) in Ign. Rom. § 1 and Smyrn. § 4 "if haply they may repent—which [indeed] is difficult, but [still] the Lord Jesus Christ hath power to effect this," elsewhere only in Hermas (about 10 times) (mostly δυσκόλως).

³ In canon. LXX, χρήματα (plur.) occurs about ten times and = four different Heb. words. In Dan. xi. 13, 24, 28 רֶכֶּשִׁים, LXX has χρήματα, Theod. ὑπαρξίς. It does not occur in the Pentateuch, nor in the Prophets outside Daniel.

⁴ Steph. Thes. quotes Aristot. Eth. iv. 1 χρήματα λέγομεν πάντα ὧν ἡ ἀξία νομίσματι μετρεῖται, and Pind. Isthm. ii. 17 (also Alcae. 50, L.S.) χρήματα, χρήματ' ἀνὴρ. Thuc. ii. 60 κρείσσων χρημάτων and χρήμασιν νικᾶσθαι, and Eurip. Hec. 865 χρημάτων δοῦλος illustrate the freq. unfavourable use of the word. Comp. Epictet. Mosch. 5 οὐ τὰ χρήματα φίλοι ἀλλ' ὁ φίλος χρήματα. Ib. Stob. 33 (Schweig. 10) τὸν μὲν τοῦ σώματος δεσμὸν λύει...κακία διὰ χρημάτων seems to mean "releases by means of bribes."

⁵ Acts iv. 37 τὸ χρῆμα, "the price"; viii. 18, 20, xxiv. 26 χρήματα, "money."

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such English ones as "*money makes the man.*" Perhaps Mark intends to accentuate the unfavourable sense he attaches to it by a previous use of a less unfavourable phrase, "*great possessions.*" Now perhaps he represents Jesus as pronouncing a warning to "*the monied class*¹."

Side by side with this vernacular Greek form of Christ's utterance is a Hebraic one, in all the Synoptists, about a "*rich man*" and a "*camel.*" Mark alone has placed between the two a third utterance in which Jesus says to the disciples, "*Children, how hard it is [for them that trust in riches] to enter into the kingdom of God!*" Many authorities omit the bracketed words. For their insertion, we may argue "*Jesus must have meant 'them that trust in riches,' not 'the rich,' for*

¹ Delitzsch gives as the rendering of "*them that have money,*" "*the masters of (בעלי) money.*" Comp. Eccles. vii. 12 "*Wisdom is a defence [even as] money is a defence, but...wisdom preserveth the life of its master (בעלי),*" v.r. τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτήν (A B ■ τὸν παρ' αὐτῆς mistaking the noun for the prepositions ב and על) R.V. "*the life of him that hath it.*" The Heb. בעל, baal, is rendered by ἔχω in Eccles. x. 20 ὁ ἔχων (B ὁ τὰς) πτέρυγας, "*that which hath wings,*" lit. "*a master of wings*" (where Aq. has ὁ κυριεύων πτέρυγας, Sym. τὸ πτερωτόν, Theod. ὁ ἔχων πτέρυγας). So in Dan. viii. 6, 20 LXX and Theod. have "*the ram...that had the horns,*" where Heb. has "*that was master of the horns.*" It will be perceived that "*the master of*" means, not "*the possessor of*" anything whatever, but "*the possessor of*" *some characteristic*, so that "*the masters of money*" might mean those who are notable for their money and for nothing else.

*ἔχω, in LXX, represents 59 different Heb. words or idioms. It seems prob. that Mark had some reason for not using πλούσιος here, which the parallel Mt. adopts, and which Mark himself has in the context. "*Masters, or lords, of money*" might be interpreted as "*proud of their money,*" "*trusting in money*" (Cramer, p. 381 ἀντεχομένους χρημάτων). Thus the Marcan variations might be explained.

On the Marcan peculiarity (x. 23) περιβλεψάμενος see *Beginning* p. 263, *Proclam.* p. 361, and especially *Introd.* p. 93. When it represents a mere gesture, it would not be likely to be reproduced in the Fourth Gospel, but its use in Mk xi. 11 is different and will be discussed in its place

² See W. H. *Notes on Select Readings* p. 26. But add that SS has twice (Mk x. 23, 24) "*them that trust in their wealth.*"

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Abraham was '*rich*.'" Against their insertion, we may argue "If Jesus had meant '*them that trust in riches*,' He would have said that their entrance into the Kingdom was '*impossible*,' not '*difficult*.'" And would not such an explanation have banished all "astonishment" from the disciples? It will be seen above that the Diatessaron, which adopts the doubtful explanatory clause, alters the order so as to make it the climax of Christ's utterances. But the result is a *non sequitur*: "Those that were listening *wondered more*." They ought to have "*wondered less*." And they ought to have said—not "Who then can be saved?"—but "Now the Lord's lesson is clear. If we are rich we must not trust in our riches."

It seems certain that Jesus must have uttered something much stronger than a condemnation of "them that trust in riches," some warning against "money" in itself as being a dangerous temptation to the soul that does not constantly turn to God as the Giver, and hear His voice, as Abraham heard it, promising Himself as man's "reward¹." Though we may be uncertain of the exact nature and order of Christ's words, we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the rich self-righteous young ruler, who was confident that he had performed all the commandments, would be regarded by Jesus as being on the level of Ephraim, whom Hosea represents as saying "Surely I am become rich, I have found me wealth; in all my labours they shall find in me no iniquity...²." Measuring spiritual things by "money," the young man thought himself really rich—rich in goodness—and able to "do" some "good thing" at will. He was willing perhaps to give alms to the amount of several hundred denarii—to "inherit eternal life."

This implied offer to do some "good thing" was, in effect, of the nature of a bribe, an offer of "money" to Jesus for the poor in order to secure from Him a verdict that would ratify

¹ Gen. xv. 1 "I am...thy exceeding great reward."

² Hos. xii. 8. Comp. Zech. xi. 5 "they that sell them (*i.e.* the flock) say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich," and Rev. iii. 17 "Because thou sayest, I am rich...and knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and poor...."

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the man's good opinion of himself; and Jesus, knowing that the man would fail to pass His test, and that he would gain by failure, tests him so that he fails. It is in the light of the failure of this rich young man that we must interpret the following words of Jesus, "Children, how hard it is," and the rest. The man was a type of "*them that have money.*" It is true that Abraham (or rather Abram) might also be said to have "had money." In the first Biblical passage that uses the word "rich," we find that "Abram was very *rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold*¹." But Abraham was *not of the class of "them that have money."* He was of *the class of them that have righteousness and faith.* He was not the typical "rich man" but the typical "friend of God²." Before he became "rich" Scripture says that he had obeyed the voice of God bidding him become an exile³.

Our conclusion is that Jesus, beginning from the occasion of the failure of the rich young man, goes on to impress on His disciples the hardness of entering into the Kingdom, *for all, not only for the rich*, as amounting to an "impossibility"⁴ unless they receive the Spirit of God. Those who lightheartedly asked to "enter" were in a position resembling that of Elisha when he "asked" from Elijah "a hard thing," a thing "against nature" in some sense, and not to be accomplished except with supernatural help. This it is that makes the disciples exclaim "Then who can be saved?"—because their Master had declared that it was "hard"—"hard," not for the rich, but "hard" absolutely—to enter into the Kingdom.

All this, from a different point of view and with some difference of language, John sets forth in the Dialogue with Nicodemus, where the Synoptic "hard" is latent under the Johannine "not possible" (literally "not able"). Jesus begins by saying "Except a man be born from above, it is *not possible*

¹ Gen. xiii. 2.

² Is. xli. 8, Jas ii. 23.

³ Gen. xii. 1. It was also an early Jewish belief that he had been thrown into a furnace by Nimrod for refusal to worship false gods, see *Son* 3501 *g*, *Light* 3822.

⁴ Mk x. 27 "With men it is impossible, but not with God."

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for him to see the kingdom of God," and the last saying of Nicodemus is "How is it *possible* that these things should be¹?"

§ 3. "He shall receive a hundredfold...with persecutions,"
in Mark²

The noun rendered "*persecutions*" occurs nowhere else in the Gospels except in the Mark-Matthew phrase "when tribulation or *persecution* ariseth," where Luke has "in time of

¹ Jn iii. 2—9. Note the reiterations: (2) οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται..., (3) οὐ δύναται..., (4) πῶς δύναται...; μὴ δύναται...; (5) οὐ δύναται..., (9) πῶς δύναται...; Nicodemus recognises that it is "impossible" for any man to work such "signs" as Jesus worked without the aid of God; but he does not recognise that it is "impossible" to enter the "Kingdom of God" without the action of God in a still more wonderful way, not externally aiding but internally regenerating. This is differently expressed in Mt. vii. 13 εἰσελθετε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, Lk. xiii. 24 ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας, where Luke's ἀγωνίζομαι emphasizes the need of human co-operation. John emphasizes the need of divine operation.

■ Mk x. 28—31
(R.V.)

(28) Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.

(29) Jesus said, Verily I say unto you,

Mt. xix. 27—30
(R.V.)

(27) Then answered Peter and said unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee; what then shall we have?

(28) And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

(29) And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother (*many anc. auth. add or wife*), or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall

Lk. xviii. 28—30,
xiii. 30 (R.V.)

(xviii. 28) And Peter said, Lo, we have left our own (*or, our own [homes]*), and followed thee.

(29) And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you,

There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the gospel's sake,

(30) But he shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and

There is no man that hath left house, or wife, or brethren, or parents, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake,

(30) Who shall not receive manifold more in this time, and in the world (*or, age*) to come eternal life.

temptation¹." In literary Greek the noun means "pursuing" or "chasing." Plutarch uses it when describing Antiochus as separated from his friends "while following the hounds *and* [engaged] in [the] chase²." In LXX, it occurs once as a rendering of "he that pursueth evil³." In Goodspeed, the noun occurs

Mk x. 28—31
(R.V.) *contd.*

mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world (*or*, age) to come eternal life.

(31) But many [that are] first shall be last; and the last first.

Mt. xix. 27—30
(R.V.) *contd.*

receive a hundred-fold (*some anc. auth.* manifold), and shall inherit eternal life.

(30) But many shall be last [that are] first; and first [that are] last.

Lk. xviii. 28—30
xiii. 30 (R.V.) *contd.*

(xiii. 30) And behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.

The phrase peculiar to Mark (x. 30) "*with persecutions*" is commented on at great length by Clem. Alex. (who appears to have had a different reading from our present text, see below, p. 140, n. 8) but not by Origen (as far as Lommatzsch's Index shews) nor by Tertullian (as far as Rigaud's Index shews) nor in Jerome's commentary on the parall. Matthew. Origen's only reference (in Lomm.) to Mk x. 30 is in a statement that Jesus did *not* include "wife" (as the parall. Lk. xviii. 29 does), *Exhort. ad Mart.* § 16 (Lomm. xx. 254) οὐ γὰρ εἴρηται· Πᾶς ὅστις ἀφῆκεν ἀδελφούς, ἢ ἀδελφὰς, ἢ γονεῖς, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγρούς, ἢ οἰκίας, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος μου, πολλαπλασίονα λήψεται· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν οὕτε γαμοῦσιν... (Mt. xxii. 30, Mk xii. 25).

Victor, on Mark, has preserved a tradition that justifies "renouncing the *wife*" in some circumstances, as also Jesus bade disciples "lose, or destroy, their life (ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν)." It explains "persecutions" as a word "darkly hinting (αἰνίττεσθαι)" at distractions and temptations placed in the way of believers by their families: Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοὺς διωγμοὺς ἐνταῦθα αἰνίττεσθαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ πατέρες εἰς ἀσεβείαν ἔλκοντες παῖδας, καὶ γυναῖκες ἄνδρας, ὅταν ταῦτα κελεύσωσι, φησὶ, μήτε γυναῖκες ἔστωσαν, μήτε πατέρες· ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἔλεγεν, "εἰ δέ καὶ ὁ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωρίζεσθω."

Victor's use of αἰνίττεσθαι suggests Origen's comment on "persecutors" in Ps. cxix. 157 (see below, p. 140, n. 8, *ad fin.*) ἐχθροὺς ὁπατοὺς καὶ ὁρατοὺς αἰνίττεται.

¹ Mk iv. 17, Mt. xiii. 21, parall. Lk. viii. 13.

² Plutarch *Mor.* 184 F ἐν τινὶ κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ διωγμῷ.

³ Prov. xi. 19 מְרַד. LXX has διωγμὸς δὲ ἀσεβοῦς, "the pursuit, i.e. the aim, of the impious man." In Lam. iii. 19, διωγμός is a

only twice. In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, it apparently refers not to external, but to internal "persecution¹."

The verb "persecute" is never used by Mark. Matthew attributes it four times to Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount; but Luke, in at least three of these four instances, has some different word². Where however Matthew has, later on, "ye [*i.e.* Jews] shall pursue [them] from city to city," the parallel Luke has "shall pursue" without any modifying clause, apparently taking "pursue" as having a local meaning³. In the Discourse on the Last Days, Mark and Matthew represent Jesus as saying "If any man saith unto you 'See, here is the Christ,' or 'See there,' do not believe"; but a passage in Luke (not in that Discourse) has "Do not go away nor pursue," *i.e.* "do not follow them"—the only instance in the New Testament where "pursue" is applied to a personal object in a friendly sense⁴. On the other hand, in the same Discourse, where Mark and

misrendering of מרורי (*leg.* as מררף, which perhaps occurs (Gesen. 923 a) in Is. xiv. 6, but Targ. *leg.* מררת).

¹ Clem. Rom. Cor. § 3. The preceding context describes the degeneracy of the Church: "All glory... was given unto you, and that was fulfilled which is written (Deut. xxxii. 15, very freely quoted): 'My beloved ate... and kicked.' Hence jealousy and envy, [and] strife and sedition, persecution and tumult, war and captivity"—that is, a repetition of the history of rebellious Israel. In *Mart. Polyc.* § 1 it refers to external persecution of Christians.

² Mt. v. 10 οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, Lk. om.; Mt. v. 11 ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν, Lk. vi. 22 ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς... καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν; Mt. v. 12 οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφῆτας, Lk. vi. 23 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τοῖς προφῆταις; Mt. v. 44 τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, Lk. vi. 27 τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς.

³ Mt. xxiii. 34

ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταν-
ρώσετε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν
ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν καὶ διώξετε
ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν.

Lk. xi. 49

ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώ-
ξουσιν (AD ἐκδιώξουσιν).

⁴ Mk xiii. 21, Mt. xxiv. 23, Lk. xvii. 23. Luke places the saying, as one addressed to the disciples, after a similar one addressed to Pharisees "Men shall not say, 'See here' or '[See] there.'"

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Matthew do not mention "persecution," Luke alone represents Jesus as expressly predicting it¹.

These facts, indicating that Luke differs from Matthew in his use of the verb "persecute," make it probable that he does not take the same view of the noun "persecution" as was taken in Mark's Original—both in the Parable of the Sower, and here in the statement that a Christian's reward is to be "with persecutions." Mark appears to assume "persecution" as a condition of reward. So does the Sermon on the Mount². Paul says to the Galatians, "We, brethren, as Isaac was, are children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh *persecuted* him [that was born] after the Spirit, even so it is now³." This appeal to precedent implies something like a rule or law. "Persecution" is not mentioned in the literary Greek of the Wisdom of Solomon; but the author assumes that the righteous man will be "grievous" to the unrighteous, who will treat him despitefully and "condemn him with a shameful death⁴."

The Pauline assumption of a kind of Law of Persecution may be illustrated from a passage of Ecclesiastes, as rendered

¹ Mk xiii. 9	Mt. xxiv. 9	Lk. xxi. 12
παράδωσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συνα- γωγὰς δαρήσεσθε...	παράδωσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλίψιν καὶ ἀποκτε- νοῦσιν ὑμᾶς...	ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ διώξουσιν παραδι- δόντες εἰς τὰς συνα- γωγὰς καὶ φυλακὰς...

Comp. Dan. iv. 25 "that *thou shalt be driven* (דָּרַךְ) from men," Theod. καὶ σὲ ἐκδιώξουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, LXX (see context) "his angels run down against thee and shall lead thee away into prison (εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξουσί σε) and send thee into a desolate place," *ib.* 32 Theod. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σε ἐκδιώκουσιν, LXX οἱ ἄγγελοι διώκονται σε.

In Mark and Luke, but not in Matthew, the context proceeds to say that the disciples shall be brought before kings (Mk σταθήσεσθε, Lk. ἀπαγομένους—which is used by LXX alone).

² Mt. v. 12 "for so persecuted they the prophets," see above, p. 101.

³ Gal. iv. 28—9. Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 12 "All that would live godly in Christ Jesus shall *be persecuted*."

⁴ Wisd. ii. 12—20. Διώκω in Wisd. means (1) "chase away," as the mists chased by the sun, (2) "chase" as criminals, runaway slaves etc.

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by the Targum and Jewish Midrash, as well as by LXX, "God shall seek after *him that is persecuted*¹." The Midrash exemplifies God's action from the instances of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Israel, and adds that similarly God accepts as offerings only those beasts that are "chased" (or "persecuted"), but not those that "chase" (the "persecutors"), thus playing on the meaning of *râdaph*, "*pursue*" or "*chase*²."

Modern readers may be pardoned if they fail to perceive how Abraham and Isaac are types of the "*persecuted*." But all Jews believed that Abraham was persecuted by Nimrod³. Paul also, as we have seen, assumes (strangely, but unmistakably) the "persecution" of Isaac by Ishmael⁴. And Genesis describes Isaac as badly treated by the Philistines until they recognised that God was with him⁵.

Here we must note a verbal similarity between Genesis and Mark. Mark alone says that the reward shall be "a hundredfold." Genesis says about Isaac that he "sowed in that land and found in the same year *an hundredfold*, and the Lord blessed him⁶." This is not only the first, but also, with one exception, the only Old Testament instance of "a hundredfold⁷." In the other instance it is used of divine increase. It is appropriately used by Mark in describing the Christian's reward as corresponding to that of Isaac whom God "blessed." But Luke, and perhaps Matthew, have substituted "manifold."

¹ Eccles. iii. 15 R.V. "God seeketh again *that which is passed away*," marg. "Heb. *driven away*" (nif. of רָדַף "chase," "pursue"), Gesen. 923 a, "seeketh the *pursued* (i.e. *what has disappeared, is past*, but dub.)." Rashi interprets it as "*the persecuted*."

² See *Pesikt.* (Wü. pp. 96—7) and *Lev. v.* (Wü. pp. 186—7) on Lev. xxii. 27 "a bullock or a sheep."

³ See *Son*, 3501 g, *Light* 3822.

⁴ See Gen. xxi. 9 and Rashi's numerous explanations of Ishmael's "mocking."

⁵ Gen. xxvi. 1—33. *Pesikt.* recognises Isaac's persecution as coming from the Philistines (and does not mention persecution by Ishmael).

⁶ Gen. xxvi. 12.

⁷ The other is 2 S. xxiv. 3 "Now the Lord thy God add unto the people... *an hundredfold*."

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These apparently petty verbal details are not petty if they are used as adjuncts to the consideration of the similarity between the picture of Peter, and the picture of Abraham (with Isaac in the background), both in the attitude of expectants of reward. In Mark, it is true, Peter does not mention "reward." He merely says to Jesus "Behold we have left all things and have followed thee." But Mark implies, and Matthew adds, "What then shall we have?" In Genesis, Abraham says merely "O Lord God, what wilt thou give me¹?" but he implies a reference to what has preceded, as if saying, "Thou hast said unto me, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house²,' and I have renounced all these things at thy word." Commenting on this utterance of the Patriarch, Philo represents him as saying to God, "Thou, Lord, art my country and my kinsfolk and my father's hearth³"; and this thought would naturally be connected with the thought of their forefather by pious Jews, who would see in the lives of Abraham and Isaac, and in the whole history of faithful Israel, God's divine recompense, "a hundredfold," for all the earthly blessings that Abraham renounced⁴.

Regarded in this light—as an allusion to the "persecution" of all the saints, from Abel downward, and to the "reward" promised for the first time to Abraham and in part fulfilled by the birth of Isaac—the Marcan tradition "along with persecutions" is seen to give us the only Marcan glimpse of a doctrine that actually played a large part in Christ's teaching.

¹ Gen. xv. 2.

² Gen. xii. 1.

³ Philo i. 477.

⁴ Philo connects the mystical use of "a hundred" with Abraham's "planting" as well as with Isaac's "sowing" thus (i. 607) Ἀλλὰ καὶ "Ἀβραὰμ ἄρουραν φυτεύει" (Gen. xxi. 33 LXX) χάματος, ἑκατοστῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ "ἑκατοστεύουσιν εὗρίσκει κριθήν" (Gen. xxvi. 12 LXX), and he comments elsewhere (i. 619) on Gen. xxvi. 12 "Isaac found in the same year"—not "reaped" but "found"—"a hundredfold." In the context, he contrasts αἰὼν with χρόνος apparently taking "the same year" to mean the latter. Philo's distinction between αἰὼν and χρόνος corresponds to Mark's distinction between αἰὼν and καιρός. I have not found any explanation of "a hundredfold" in connection with Abraham's planting.

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Jesus recognised for Himself, and endeavoured to impress on His disciples, that the Teacher of the truths of heaven and eternity and the spirit must come into collision with the children of the earth and the hour and the flesh, and that, on earth, and during the hour, and in the flesh, the latter must gain a temporary victory. But Mark's brief phrase was likely to be ignored amid the great differences in the Synoptic contexts¹, and also because it contradicted the views of those who regarded Christ's words as promising a Millennium on earth ("in this time") in which there would be no room for "persecutions²."

In the Fourth Gospel, though "persecution" is never mentioned, and "persecute" only twice, the Law of Persecution is clearly recognised, and accepted as it were by Jesus for Himself and His disciples in the words "If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before [it hated] you... If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you³." The

¹ On these, see *Corrections* 446—7. But the verbal facts there collected must of course be supplemented by others, such as the influence exerted by Jewish traditions about persecution, and about the renunciations of Abraham, and about the "hundredfold" that Isaac "found." Questions might also arise as to the renunciation of "wife," mentioned by Luke (xviii. 29) alone.

² Origen, on Gen. xxvi. 12, besides commenting at great length on "barley" and its allegorical meaning in the Gospels, has a brief comment on a "hundredfold": "Isaac, the word of the Law [as distinct from the word of the Gospel], sows barley and yet even in the [inferior produce of] barley itself finds a hundredfold return. For even in the Law you find *martyrs, whose [privilege] is the hundredfold return.*" This assumes an allegorical connection between "a hundredfold" and "persecutions."

That Origen is alluding to the "hundredfold" in Mark is made probable by the fact that in *Comm. Rom.* i. 4 he calls attention to the fact that "Mark seems to make a distinction between Christ and the Gospel" in Mk. x. 29 "propter me vel propter Evangelium." Elsewhere he says (*Exhort. ad Mart.* § 14) "that I may receive *manifold* (Mt. xix. 29 v.r.) or, as Mark says (x. 30), a *hundredfold*." Subsequently he alternates between the two words, saying once (*ib.*) "*manifold*, or, to speak definitely, a *hundredfold*."

³ Jn xv. 18—20.

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reason alleged for the beginning of this persecution is Christ's act of healing on the sabbath, "For this cause the Jews *began-to-persecute* Jesus because he was doing these things on the sabbath"; and the deadly nature of their "persecution" is indicated in what follows about their "seeking to kill him¹." Christ's prediction of "persecution" is preceded by a promise of the Paraclete² and of present peace ("my peace I give unto you")³, and by a suggestion that it is of the nature of a "cleansing," or pruning, of the fruitful branches of the Vine that they may "bear more fruit⁴"; and by a bestowal of the title of "friends," appointed to "bear fruit⁵"; and then, after a frank preparation of the disciples for an internecine conflict with the hostile religious "world" ("whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God⁶") the Discourse terminates with the assurance, "These things have I spoken unto you that in me ye may have peace. In the world ye [must] have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have gained the victory over the world⁷."

Indirectly these last words give the Johannine answer to the question of the disciples, expressed or implied by the Synoptists, "What shall we have?" The answer is "peace." But it is not peace of an ordinary kind. It is peace in the Son ("in me ye may have peace"); and it implies such unity with the Father that the Son says to them "If ye shall ask anything of the Father, he will give it you in my name... Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be fulfilled⁸."

¹ Jn v. 16, 18.

² Jn xiv. 16.

³ Jn xiv. 27.

⁴ Jn xv. 1—2.

⁵ Jn xv. 15—16.

⁶ Jn xvi. 2.

⁷ Jn xvi. 33.

⁸ Jn xvi. 23—4. Space does not allow a discussion of the comment made by Clement of Alexandria on *μετὰ διωγμῶν*. He twice quotes Mk x. 30 with *ἔχειν* thus (949): *Ταύτης δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχεται τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἐπόμενον* "Νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχειν *μετὰ διωγμῶν*." Then, after saying that Jesus did not call on His disciples to give up their "brethren" etc. literally, he adds *Τὸ δὲ μετὰ διωγμῶν ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔχειν ἀποδοκιμάζει*, apparently meaning "But He disapproves of our retaining these things *'along with persecutions.'*" [Perhaps a negative has dropped out, "*not along with persecutions.*" Clark's rendering is "And the expression

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§ 4. "But many that are first shall be last," in Mark and Matthew¹

This sentence is ambiguous because "first" and "last" may be used either in respect of time, or in respect of metaphorical place, that is to say, rank, or dignity. In Mark, the context does not indicate what the meaning is. It may be (1) "Many that are *first in the time of coming to me* shall be *last in the time of receiving their reward*," or (2) "Many that are *first in the time of coming to me* shall be *last in rank and dignity in the Kingdom of God*," or (3) "Many that are *first in rank and dignity now, i.e. in the Kingdom of this World*, shall be *last in rank in the Kingdom of God*." The conjunction "but," used by Mark and Matthew, is not adversative. It might differ little from "and." SS reads "for" instead of "but."

['with persecutions' rejects the possessing of each of those things.'] Then he proceeds to define two kinds of persecution, (1) one proceeding from enemies, (2) but another, and far worse, from one's own soul and its passions (ὁ δὲ χαλεπώτατος ἔνδοθέν ἐστι διωγμὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκάστω τῆς ψυχῆς προπεμπόμενος).

The comment—whatever may be its precise meaning—indicates that in very early days the Marcan tradition must have caused difficulty, and that it would be likely to elicit Johannine intervention. Origen, on Ps. cxix. 157 "many are my persecutors," says τὸ πλῆθος ἐχθροὺς ὁρατοὺς καὶ ἀοράτους αἰνίττεται.

¹ Mk x. 31, Mt. xix. 30 πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ [οἱ] (Mt. om. οἱ) ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, SS "for" instead of "but"; and in Mt., a, b, Corb. have "sunt," Corb. "enim"; Lk. xiii. 30 καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἱ ἔσονται πρῶτοι, καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἱ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι.

² Mark's omission of οἱ at first, and (bracketed) insertion of it subsequently, suggest that his exact meaning may have been "Many shall be, [though now] first [in the kingdom of this world], last [in the Kingdom of God], and the last [i.e. last in the kingdom of this world], [shall be] first [in the Kingdom of God]." This would agree with Lk. xvi. 15 "that which is exalted among men," [namely wealth greedily grasped and giving power to the graspers], "is an abomination in the sight of God." If that is the meaning, δέ, in Mark, differs little from καί. It may be rendered "now" or "and indeed" (like the parall. Lk. "and behold"). SS "for" (in that case) gives the meaning at all events better than "but."

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Matthew, who follows Mark in placing this saying at the conclusion of Christ's doctrine about the Reward in the Kingdom, indicates his way of interpreting it by immediately adding "For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder," and by relating how this man, after hiring labourers at different hours of the day, paid them all the same wage and paid the last first ("pay them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first"). Those who were hired first complain, but without success. Then it is added "So the last shall be first, and the first last¹." Here, "first" and "last" refer to time (but with a suggestion also that those who are paid last are treated as last in merit though they were the first to work).

Luke does not follow Mark in connecting this saying with the doctrine about the Reward in the Kingdom. He places it after a saying of Jesus about the exclusion of certain persons from the feast of Abraham amid the faithful of Israel: "Ye shall see... yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and west and from the north and south.... And behold, there are last that shall be first, and there are first that shall be last²." Now the first part of these words is in Matthew also, very similarly. But Matthew, besides having "*the children of the kingdom*," where Luke has "*ye*," places the saying after the expression of Christ's wonder at the faith of the Centurion whom he apparently regards as a type of the Gentile converts to the Church³.

These facts throw light on Luke's interpretation of the ambiguous word "*last*" and of its application to the history of the Church. He appears to use it as it is used in the Odyssey ("*last [men]*" and "*last of men*⁴") to mean *men coming from the extreme boundaries of the earth*, as mentioned in such prophecies of Isaiah as "*Lo, these shall come from far, and these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Sinim*⁵." But he considered that it ought to be placed, not

¹ Mt. xx. 1—16.

² Lk. xiii. 28—30.

³ Mt. viii. 10—12.

⁴ *Odys.* i. 23, vi. 205.

⁵ Is. xlix. 12, comp. Is. viii. 9—10 "all ye of far countries," and xlix. 6 "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou

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in connection with the doctrine of Reward (as in Mark), nor in connection with the Centurion's faith (as in Matthew), but in connection with a warning and reproach uttered by Jesus, while on His way to Jerusalem, and as denoting the Gentiles under the term "*last*," contrasted with the Pharisees who were "*first*¹."

Passing to early Christian writers for their interpretation of Mark's saying about "*first*" and "*last*," we find Clement of Alexandria, in a detailed exposition of the whole Marcan narrative, quoting the words and saying that they are "full as a flood both as to meaning and as to [need of] explanation," but that they do not come within his scope because he is dealing with the question of a rich man's salvation, and these words go beyond that question and are of general application². Irenaeus, in an argument about the Incarnation, after contrasting Eve and the Virgin Mary—and speaking (very ob-

mayest be my salvation *as far as the utmost part* (קצה) of the earth (ἕως ἔσχατου τῆς γῆς)." Ἐσχατος, about "the *utmost* (ἔσχατου) [part] of the earth," occurs in N.T. only in Acts i. 8 "ye shall be my witnesses...*as far as the utmost [part] of the earth*," and xiii. 47 (Paul and Barnabas quoting Is. xlix. 6 "*as far as the utmost [part] of the earth*").

¹ The thought of Israel as a Missionary, or at all events as an instrument for the recognition of God as (1) a chastising Judge, or (2) a Saviour, may be illustrated from the expression "*ends of the earth*" (Gesen. 67 a אַרְץ אַפְסִי) (1) in Deut. xxxiii. 17, 1 S. ii. 10 etc., and (2) in Mic. v. 4 "great unto the ends of the earth," Jerem. xvi. 19 "unto thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth," Is. xlv. 22 "look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth," 1b. lii. 10 "all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God." The Heb. אַפְסִי (pl.) is found only in this phrase. It is variously rendered by forms of ἔσχατος (2), ἄκρος (5), πέρας (6), but in almost every case it refers to the spread of God's glory. In one instance, Gk ἔσχατος represents Heb. "far off," Is. viii. 9 "all ye of far countries" (there in hostile sense, but illustrative of Eph. ii. 13 "ye [Gentiles] that were far off," in friendly sense).

² Clem. Alex. 950 ἔσονται οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι [sic Klotz, but Hinrichs, Leipzig 1909 ἔσονται οἱ πρῶτοι ἔ. καὶ οἱ ἔ. π.]. τοῦτο πολύχουν μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ τὸν σαφισμὸν, οὐ μὴν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι τὴν ζήτησιν ἀπαιτεῖ, οὐ γὰρ μόνον ῥέπει πρὸς τοὺς πολυκλήμονας, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίστευ καθάπαξ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόντας.

scurely) about a "first compact" as "loosing" from a "second tie," and of a "second tie" as taking the place of the "first," which has been cancelled—says "For this reason did the Lord declare that *the first indeed should be last and the last first*. And the Prophet too signifies this same thing, saying, Instead of thy fathers there are born unto thee children. For the Lord being born [as] *first begotten of the dead* and receiving into His bosom the fathers of old time [before the flood] regenerated them into the life of God, becoming Himself the beginning of the living since Adam had become the beginning of the dying¹." All this is justly described by editors of Irenaeus as fanciful and obscure, but it has a historical value. It shews us that in the days of Irenaeus the Marcan tradition actually called forth what Clement calls "a flood," in the form of explanatory comment; and it suggests that, already in the days of Matthew and Luke, the "flood" had begun in Matthew's parable of the Workmen and the Denarius which Luke does not insert. It was perhaps an Apostolic Targumistic exposition of Christ's brief words, which words it repeated at its close.

Origen, on Matthew, begins by saying that the words about "first" and "last" make some kind of sense when taken as referring to time, according to their simple meaning, namely, that those who are called early to Christ's service must be diligent not to fail in their course so as to fall behind others whose call comes later². Then he proceeds to apply the "first" and "last" to the Jews and the Gentiles. After this, he discusses the question whether the "first" may not mean "angels," many of whom "were [originally] first with respect to men [yet] become last with respect to some men³." It is remarkable that Jerome, in his commentary on Matthew, says nothing about the meaning of "first" and "last." He leaves us in doubt whether he thought that the "flood" of comment

¹ Iren. iii. 22. 4, on which see Grabe. Clark's transl. quotes Massuet's opinion that the writer's remarks are "*paulo subtiliora*."

² Origen on Mt. xix. 30, *Comm. Matth.* xv. 26.

³ Origen *Comm. Matth.* xv. 27 πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγγέλων οἱ πρῶτοι ἦσαν ἀνθρώπων γίνονται τινῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔσχατοι. On πρῶτος thus used with gen. see *Joh. Gr.* 2665—7.

mentioned by Clement might now profitably be left without further addition, or whether he thought it already superabundant and fanciful¹.

We now pass to the question whether Biblical precedent and Jewish interpretation throw any light on the antithesis between "the first" and "the last." It resembles the antithesis between "*the great*" and "*the little*," which has previously come before us in a passage where all the Synoptists agree that the disciples had been discussing who was to be "*greater [than the rest]*," but Mark alone adds that Jesus (apparently assuming "*greater*" to be synonymous with "*first*") said to them "If any one desireth to be *first* he shall be last of all and servant of all²."

Now this points back to the ancient story of the birth of Rebecca's children, and to the prophecy (quoted by Paul) "The *elder* shall serve the *younger*," rendered by LXX "The *greater* shall serve the *less*³." The context in Genesis proceeds to describe Esau as being born "*the first*" of the two: "*The first came forth*." This is the exact and literal rendering; for the Hebrew word regularly means "first," "former," etc. and never "firstborn." But the LXX renders it here uniquely "the firstborn son⁴."

¹ See Jerome's *Letters* xlvi. 10 where, after saying that Jerusalem is the Christian Athens, he adds, "We ourselves are among *the last*, not *the first*; yet we have come hither to see the *first* of all nations." Then after describing the concourse of many nations, he says "Yet amid this great concourse, . . . all strive after humility, that greatest of Christian virtues. Whosoever is *last* is here regarded as *first*."

² Mk ix. 35. Mt. xxiii. 11 is similar, but comes in a different context. See the parallels above, p. 70 foll.

³ Gen. xxv. 23 where R.V. marg. refers to Obad. 18—21, as well as to the quotation in Rom. ix. 12. Hos. xii. 3 ("took his brother by the heel") refers to the narrative. LXX has ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. See *Son* 3521 foll. on the various meanings of "greater" and "less" in Hebrew and Greek.

⁴ Gen. xxv. 25 ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος πυρράκης ὅλος ὥσει δορὰ δασύς. Πρωτότοκος = בכור more than a hundred times, but here ὁ υἱὸς ὁ π. = הראשון, "*the first*," or "*the former*." This (Gesen. 911 b) is given as the first Biblical instance of ראשון "*former*"

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The LXX here commits what Jews would regard as a fatal error; for the Jews would regard Esau as "first" indeed in this world, but *not* "first" in God's sight, and not really "firstborn." The Talmud appears rarely to refer to Esau's being "first," but the Midrash repeatedly mentions it in a bad sense, contrasting it with "first" in a good sense applied to God, or the Temple, or the Messiah. Thus Pesikta represents God as saying to Israel in effect, "If ye begin the Feast of Tabernacles for me on the *first* day, I will appear to you as 'the FIRST' (*i.e.* God), and avenge you on '*the first*' (*i.e.* Esau), and will build for you 'the first' (*i.e.* the Temple) and will bring unto you 'the First' (*i.e.* the Messiah)¹."

In contrast with Esau, who is regarded as firstborn only in a literal and earthly sense, Scripture presents David as "the little one" in his father's house, but one whom the Psalmist describes as "*made firstborn*" (a unique combination of words) "by God²." In Hebrew poetry and Jewish tradition there were probably frequent contrasts between the false firstborn (Esau) and the true firstborn (David). Some of these might extenuate the fancifulness of Origen, who detects a contrast of meaning in the identical epithet "red" or "ruddy"—applied to the two, but implying murderous hatred in Esau while it implies beauty and goodness in David³. At all events this epithet "red" is

[*in time*]." Tromm. gives ראשון as = *prōtos* more than a hundred times, also *prōteros* (15), but *prōtōtokos* only here.

¹ *Pesikt.* § 28 *ad fin.*, quoting Lev. xxiii. 40, Is. xli. 4, Gen. xxv. 25, Jerem. xvii. 12, Is. xli. 27. *Pesach.* 5 *a* is to the same effect. So are *Gen. v.* on Gen. xxv. 24—5 and on Gen. xxxii. 2, of which the latter implies that everything about Edom (*i.e.* Esau) was "red," and alludes to Is. lxiii. 2 "red in thine apparel," as predicting the vengeance to be exacted from Edom. *Sim. Exod. v.* (on Exod. xii. 2), *Lev. v.* (on Lev. xxiii. 40).

² 1 S. xvi. 11 (see *Son* 3522 *b*) Heb. "the little one," Ps. lxxxix. 27 "I also will make him *firstborn* (בכור)." Gesen. 114 *a* gives a few other instances of the figurative use of "*firstborn*" but none of "*firstborn*" with "*make*."

³ Origen on 1 S. xvi. 12 (Lomm. xi. 286). Elsewhere, on Ps. xxii. 9 "thou art he that took me out of the womb," he contrasts this phrase, implying God's election, as follows, τῶν ἁλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ

applied in Scripture to none but Esau and David¹. And the Midrash on Genesis contains a tradition of R. Abba bar Kahana about the alarm of Samuel, before anointing David to be king, when he saw the youth for the first time. "Why was Esau 'red'? Because it was as if he would be a shedder of blood. When Samuel found David 'red,' he feared and said 'Is this man also a shedder of blood like Esau?' But God said to him, 'He is beautiful in the eyes².'"

These facts suffice to shew that Christ's doctrine about the "first" and the "last" goes back to Hebrew Scripture and probably to Jewish tradition, and that its exposition in the Synoptic Gospels varied in such a way that we might naturally expect some further exposition in the Fourth Gospel.

§ 5. "*First Simon*" in Matthew³, and "*first*" in John

I have found no early comment of importance on the epithet "first," assigned by Matthew alone to Simon, except that of Jerome: "The order of the Apostles, and the merit of each one, was for Him to distribute who searches the secrets of the heart." That Matthew did not mean merely first in order of calling (that is, by the sea of Galilee) or first in order of naming (that is, "naming as an apostle," or naming by a new name, "Peter") but "first in rank," appears from several considerations.

Matthew alone represents Jesus as saying to Peter "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven⁴." "*First*" would be superfluous if attached to a name placed first in a list and meaning merely "first in the list." In Chronicles, when

ἐκσπασμένων (sic) ἀλλ' ἐξερχομένων, "ἐξῆλθε γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Ἡσαῦ (Gen. xxv. 25)."

¹ Gesen. 10 ὁ אַרְמֹנִי, Gen. xxv. 25, 1 S. xvi. 12, xvii. 42 (again applied to David).

² Gen. v. on Gen. xxv. 25 referring to 1 S. xvi. 12. "A good eye," or "a beautiful eye," implied kindness (the opposite of "an evil eye," which implied envy).

³ Mt. x. 2 Τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστιν ταῦτα· πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος...

⁴ Mt. xvi. 19.

"*first*" (A.V.) is attached to a name in a list of names it corresponds to the Hebrew "*head*," "*chief*," "*ruler*," and is rendered "*chief*" by R.V. and "*ruler*" by LXX¹. In other passages the LXX "*first*" corresponds to the Hebrew "*head*" or "*chief*" applied to persons². The word was also applied by Jews to the president of a course of priests that happened to be serving, or of a court of justice, or of a synagogue³. There can be little doubt that Luke, who uses the Greek "*first*" to mean "*chief*" or "*principal*" rather freely in the Acts⁴, would understand Matthew's "*first*" as claiming some priority of rank for Peter. Luke does not insert it in his apostolic list. As Mark also does not insert it, the word does not belong technically to the province marked out by the rule of Johannine Intervention; but while inquiring into Johannine doctrine generally about "*the first*," we shall find it profitable to inquire whether John has anything to say about the word in connection with the calling, or naming, of Peter.

John does not use the word "*first*" in the sayings of Christ, and (apart from "*the last day*") he does not use the word "*last*" at all. But he uses "*first*" in the sayings of the Baptist in such an antithetical way as to suggest "*later*," or "*last*," giving it a peculiar and spiritual significance in connection with the nature of Christ: "This was he [of] whom I said, He that cometh *behind me* is become *before me*, because he was *my First*," "This is [indeed] he in whose behalf I [myself] said, *Behind me* cometh a man (*vir*) who is become *before me*, because he was *my*

¹ 1 Chr. xii. 9. This happens to be not only the first of several instances but also one in which the number is "eleven" (unique in such lists, Gesen. 911 a). This might remind early Christian Hebraistic Evangelists of the number of Christ's apostles, reckoned without Judas Iscariot. For "*first*" A.V. = "*chief*" R.V., see 1 Chr. xxiii. 19, 20, xxiv. 21.

² 1 Chr. xi. 11 LXX "*first* (πρῶτος) of the thirty," Heb. שָׂרָא, R.V. "*chief*," Nehem. xii. 46 πρῶτος τῶν ἀδόντων, also 2 K. xxv. 18, 2 Chr. xxvi. 20 etc. "*chief* priest."

³ See Schürer II. i. 184, 221, 257, II. ii. 64.

⁴ Acts xiii. 50, xxv. 2, xxviii. 17, comp. xvi. 12, xvii. 4, xxviii. 7. Πρῶτος pl. means "*chief*" in Mk vi. 21, Lk. xix. 47 (comp. Lk. xv. 22 στολὴν τὴν πρώτην). In Mk x. 44, Mt. xx. 27, "*chief(est)*" A.V. = "*first*" R.V.

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*First*¹." These sayings distinguish "first" from prior in mere time and from prior in mere place, and give it the meaning of priority in nature. Also, by using the word as a quasi-noun, the Evangelist suggests to the reader the thought of "the First" as thrice used by Isaiah in the title "*the First and (or, and with) the Last*"²." Thus the opening utterance in the drama of the Fourth Gospel—for no one has spoken hitherto—coming immediately after the Prologue, suggests to any reader familiar with the language of prophecy a conception of "first" as *being not opposed but preparatory to "last,"* and of both as being included in the divine Nature, which is threefold:—"first" and "midst" and "last," or "was" and "is" and "will be"³."

Incidentally, the Fourth Gospel discourages those who regarded Simon Peter as being called to be an apostle, or called by the name Peter, with some kind of priority implied in Matthew's title of "*first*." A compromise might have been suggested, namely, that Simon was called, along with his brother Andrew, first in order of time, just before the calling of the sons of Zebedee. But this suggestion John puts aside by saying that Andrew and an unnamed companion came to Jesus before any other disciples, and that "*Andrew first found his own brother Simon,*" and "*brought him unto Jesus,*" saying to him "*we have found the Messiah*"⁴." He adds that Jesus

¹ Jn i. 15 (for various readings see *Joh. Gr. Index*) λέγων—οὗτος ἦν ὁ εἰπών—'Ο ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν, i. 30 οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον 'Οπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.

² Is. xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 12 (Gesen. 911 b). The LXX has severally (xli. 4) ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐγὼ εἰμι, (xliv. 6) (θεὸς σαβαὓθ) Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν θεός, (xlviii. 12) ἐγὼ εἰμι πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

³ Revelation thrice uses ἔσχατος in this phrase i. 17, ii. 8, xxii. 13 supplementing it severally thus (1) καὶ ὁ ζῶν, (2) ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν, (3) ἐγὼ τὸ "Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ "Ω, [ὁ] πρῶτος καὶ [ὁ] ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. It also has xxi. 6 ἐγὼ τὸ "Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ "Ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, and iii. 14 τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἀμὴν... ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁴ Jn i. 41 "he *first* findeth his own brother," see *Joh. Gr.* 1901 b, 1985. W. H. read πρῶτον. But whatever be the reading, the text implies that Andrew, after becoming a convert, brought Simon to

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did not exactly name Simon "Peter" ("thou art *Peter*") but said "Thou art Simon, the son of John, thou *shalt be called Cephas* (or, *Peter*)¹," and that, later on, He momentarily withdrew the title, saying "*Simon, son of John, lovest thou me*²?" Also, he represents Peter as making a confession of faith to Jesus, not in his own name singly, but in that of all the disciples³. And immediately after Christ's resurrection, the disciple that first "believed" is not Peter, but Peter's unnamed companion⁴, of whom it is twice⁵ said that he "came *first*" to the sepulchre after "outrunning" Peter. In all this there is a desire, not to disparage Simon, the apostle of impulse and utterance and action, but to distinguish him from the unnamed apostle of insight and reticence, and to exhibit the two, at the close of the Gospel, as serving Jesus in their several ways, one "following," the other "tarrying"⁶.

But all this incidental doctrine about Andrew and the unnamed disciple, as being the "first" to do this or that, is altogether subordinate to the thought of Christ as being our FIRST, in whom we are to be all one. This FIRST is also COMING; "Abraham," says Jesus, "exulted in order that he might see my day"; yet He says also "Before Abraham was I AM⁷." As for the way in which the FIRST is to become

Jesus before the latter had become a convert and before he was named Peter. "In some sense, if priority could be claimed by the first disciple to bring another disciple to Jesus, it could be claimed by Andrew"—such is the impression produced on the reader. Comp. *Introd.* pp. 143—4.

¹ Jn i. 42.

² Jn xxi. 15—17.

³ Jn vi. 68—9 "Lord, to whom shall we go?... Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we perfectly (*Joh. Voc.* 1629, *Joh. Gr.* 2475) believe and know that thou art the Holy One of God."

⁴ Jn xx. 8 "and he saw and believed." Of Peter it is said (*ib.* 6) "he beholdeth," but not "he believed."

⁵ Jn xx. 4, 8.

⁶ Jn xxi. 22—3.

⁷ Jn viii. 56, 58. On Jn i. 9 *ἐρχόμενον*, prob. to be taken with *φῶς*, "the light...[continually] coming," see *Joh. Gr.* 2277, 2508. Its technical sense of "coming from God" or "coming as the Deliverer" may in part explain the omission of *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* by many authorities in Jn x. 8 *πάντες ὅσοι ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ*. The meaning "came [professing

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LAST, it is set before us in the Washing of Feet, not as a penalty or degradation, but as an act of divine service wherein the Son represents to us the Father in heaven, and shews us how we are to conform ourselves to His image as His children on earth¹. If we do this, there can be no first or last in the worldly sense among those about whom Jesus says to the Father "I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one²."

§ 6. *"And Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed," in Mark³*

This passage has been discussed above with other Marcan

to be the Deliverer]" may have seemed deducible from ἡλθον—without *πρὸ ἐμοῦ*, which some heretics might interpret as definitely condemning all the ancient heroes of Israel.

¹ Jn xiii. 4—17.

² Jn xvii. 23.

³ Mk x. 32—4
(R.V.)

Mt. xx. 17—19
(R.V.)

Lk. xix. 28, xviii.
31—3 (R.V.)

(32) And they were in the way, going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed (*or*, but some as they followed) were afraid. And he took again the twelve, and began to tell them the things that were to happen unto him, [saying],

(33) Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles:

(34) And they shall mock him, and shall spit upon him,

(17) And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem,

he took the twelve disciples apart, and in the way he said unto them,

(18) Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and scribes; and they shall condemn him to death,

(19) and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify: and the

(xix. 28) And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.

(xviii. 31) And he took unto him the twelve, and said unto them,

Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all the things that are written by (*or*, through) the prophets shall be accomplished unto the Son of man.

(32) For he shall be delivered up unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and shamefully en-

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passages of the same kind¹, and it has been shewn that John prefers to describe the wonder inspired in the disciples by their Master as a feeling caused by His "grace and truth," rather to be called "reverence" than amazement or "fear" as here ("they that followed were afraid"). But it is worth noting that on this occasion the amazement and "fear" recorded by Mark might have a correspondence with a particular passage in the Book of Joshua, where it is said about the first Jesus when he led Israel across the Jordan (LXX) "The Lord magnified Jesus before the face of all Israel and they *feared him*, as they *feared Moses*...²." This passage appears to be almost unique in Scripture. Nowhere else does Scripture speak thus of "*fearing*" persons—in the sense of honouring or reverencing them—except in the Levitical precept "Ye shall *fear* every man his mother and his father³." Scripture describes Israel as fearing to "come nigh" Moses when they saw that "the skin of his face shone⁴," but not as "fearing him."

The long account of Israel's crossing the Jordan under Joshua begins thus: "This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee⁵." Origen, describing John the

Mk x. 32—4
(R.V.) *contd.*

and shall scourge him, and shall kill him; and after three days he shall rise again.

Mt. xx. 17—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

third day he shall be raised up.

Lk. xix. 28, xviii.
31—3 (R.V.) *contd.*

treated, and spit upon:
(33) And they shall scourge and kill him: and the third day he shall rise again.

¹ Mk x. 32, on which see above, Chap. II. § 3.

² Josh. iv. 14 LXX ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ὥσπερ [AF + ἐφοβοῦντο] Μωυσῆν.

³ Lev. xix. 3. Gesen. 431 *b* gives under this heading only these instances of "fear" with accus. of person. In 1 K. iii. 28 ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ β., the LXX correctly renders the Heb. which has not the accusative.

⁴ Exod xxxiv. 30.

⁵ Josh. iii. 7. Mk x. 1 "cometh...and beyond Jordan (ἐρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου)," though obscured by the insertion of "and," leaves no doubt, when it is combined with Mk x. 46 "and they come to Jericho," that Jesus had been "beyond,

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Baptist as baptizing "beyond Jordan," breaks off to devote a long section to Israel crossing Jordan under "Jesus," *i.e.* Joshua, as being typical of Christian baptism¹; and this, for Christians, would be a natural application². The Baptist, "in the Wilderness," would represent the Law; Jesus, in the Jordan, being baptized in it, and also the first of those baptized by the Holy Spirit, would represent the Gospel. When Jesus passed "over the Jordan" at any time He might be regarded as passing to the conquest of the Promised Land. But on the occasion we are now considering He had recently passed over it for the last time, going up to the glorious victory of the Cross in Jerusalem. Moreover, like a spiritual Joshua, immediately after crossing the Jordan, He might be said to take Jericho in a spiritual capture, bestowing sight on the blind, and leading the multitude onward in His train, rejoicing in His triumph. Might not all this recall to the earliest disciples in their Christian hymnal worship the first crossing of the Jordan by the Leader whom the Lord "magnified" in the sight of Israel so that they "feared him as they feared Moses"?

In the Fourth Gospel, apart from descriptions of the acts of John the Baptist, the phrase "across Jordan" occurs only once, "And he went away again *beyond Jordan* into the place where John was at first baptizing³." Christ's first "crossing

i.e. eastward of, Jordan" just before He "came to Jericho" which was westward of Jordan. If so, He had crossed the Jordan just before He "came to Jericho."

The parall. Mt. xix. 1 omits "and" (ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄ. τῆς ἰ. πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). This might mean "He came to...*passing-over* the Jordan," as in Jn x. 40 ἀπῆλθεν πάλιν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Comp. πέραν with verb of motion in Jn vi. 17 and especially xviii. 1 "went forth *passing-over* Cedron." Here, Westc. says, "probably with a significant reference" to David crossing the Kidron. It is not improbable that also in Mk-Mt. here—a unique Synoptic use of "over" or "passing across" in connection with Christ's movements—there is a "significant reference" to Joshua, the first "Jesus," crossing Jordan to Jericho.

¹ Origen *Comm. Joann.* vi. 26.

² See [Tertull. *Reply to Marcion* iii. 80—90 (Clark iii. 346—7)].

³ Jn x. 40.

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of the Jordan" from this place is implied but not expressed¹. It is at this place ("Bethany beyond Jordan") that Jesus receives the news of the sickness of Lazarus and says "Let us go into Judaea again." This would involve a second "crossing of the Jordan." The disciples remonstrate and Thomas says "Let us also go that we may die with him²." If this journey "into Judaea" had ended in Jerusalem, a case might be made out for supposing that the Johannine journey ("across Jordan") coincided with that under discussion in Mark, and that the alarm expressed by the disciples and Thomas in John, corresponded to the amazement and fear of Christ's disciples and followers in Mark. But the feelings ascribed to Thomas and his companions differ too much from those described in Mark to allow, in this instance, the inference of any Johannine allusion or intervention of this particular kind. It would be nearer the truth to say that in the Fourth Gospel the disciples are never represented as "fearing" except when they have been separated from their Master and fail to recognise Him as He approaches them³.

It is otherwise as to the general use of the phrase "beyond Jordan." Here John probably intervenes for Mark against Luke who never uses it. Luke, as a historian, might object to it because of its geographical ambiguity⁴. But John would not be likely on that account to sacrifice a phrase *r  plete* with Scriptural poetic associations, and capable of being freed from ambiguity by a careful arrangement of the context⁵. It was from beyond Jordan that Jesus, like Joshua advancing to victory over the kings of Canaan, Himself advanced to victory over

¹ The first "crossing of the Jordan" would take place when Jesus (Jn i. 43) ἡθ  λησεν   ξελθε  ν ε  ς τ  ν Γαλιλα  αν. This was (*Beginning* p. 213), according to Origen, "to find the lost, namely, Philip."

² Jn xi. 16.

³ Jn vi. 19—20.

⁴ See *Joh. Voc.* 1714 *b*, 1813 *b*. John also supports Mk-Mt. against Luke in the phrase "sea of Galilee" (*Joh. Voc.* 1811 *d*), not "lake" as Luke.

⁵ Jn i. 28 "Bethany beyond Jordan" clearly means "Bethany E. of Jordan" contrasted with Bethany W. of Jordan, near Jerusalem, and iii. 26, x. 40 clearly refer to the former.

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death, as typified in the raising of Lazarus. At the same time John is careful to fortify his readers against the objection "In departing from 'beyond Jordan,' that is, Peraea, Jesus was fleeing from Herod Antipas, who ruled over it¹." John tells us, in effect, that this was not so. The great danger was from the Jews, as the disciples implied, when in answer to their Master's words, "Let us go into Judaea again," they replied "Rabbi, the Jews were but now seeking to stone thee; and goest thou thither again?²?"

§ 7. *"With the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized," in Mark³*

It will be seen, in the texts printed below, that Matthew omits mention of baptism, not only here in Christ's promise to

¹ Comp. Lk. xiii. 31, where "certain Pharisees" say to Jesus "Get thee out, and go hence; for Herod would fain kill thee."

² Jn xi. 7—8. See above, p. 65.

³ Mk x. 35—40
(R.V.)

Mt. xx. 20—23
(R.V.)

Lk. om.

(35) And there come near unto him James and John, the sons of Zebedee, saying unto him, Master (*or*, Teacher), we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall ask of thee.

(36) And he said unto them, What would ye that I should do for you?

(37) And they said unto him, Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and one on [thy] left hand, in thy glory.

(38) But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be

(20) Then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her sons, worshipping [him], and asking a certain thing of him.

(21) And he said unto her, What wouldest thou? She saith unto him, Command that these my two sons may sit, one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand, in thy kingdom.

(22) But Jesus answered and said, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I am about to drink?

Comp. Lk. xii. 50
(R.V.)

But I have a baptism to be baptized

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the sons of Zebedee, but also before in His question to them (Mark) "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink, or to be baptized...?" where Matthew stops short at "drink¹." Luke omits the whole narrative. This is therefore a case where we might expect some kind of Johannine intervention as to the sons of Zebedee, and, more particularly, as to the "baptism" wherewith they were to be "baptized."

Why should Matthew omit the mention of baptism? One reason may be that he found the Marcan tradition already used—as it was before the days of Irenaeus—by heretics who introduced new rites of "redemption." These might affirm not only that the Lord said "I have another baptism to be baptized with," but also that He "*appointed as an addition this redemption* to the sons of Zebedee...saying, 'Can ye be baptized with the baptism which I shall be baptized with?'"² Another reason may be that Christians in the first century found it hard, as Origen appears to have done³, to define the

Mk x. 35—40
(R.V.) *contd.*

baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?

(39) And they said unto him, We are able. And Jesus said unto them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized:

(40) But to sit on my right hand or on [my] left hand is not mine to give: but [it is for them] for whom it hath been prepared.

Mt. xx. 20—23
(R.V.) *contd.*

They say unto him, We are able.

(23) Hesaith unto them, My cup indeed ye shall drink: but to sit on my right hand, and on [my] left hand, is not mine to give, but [it is for them] for whom it hath been prepared of my Father.

Lk. om..

with: and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!

¹ Mk x. 38—9, Mt. xx. 22—3.

² Iren. i. 21. 2, quoting Lk. xii. 50 and Mk x. 38.

³ Origen on Mt. xx. 22 (Lomm. iv. 15 foll. and i. 266). In the latter passage (*Comm. Joann.* vi. 37) the words *ἵνα γὰρ τολμηρότερον βασανίζων τὸν λόγον στῶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων ὑπονοούμενα* indicate his dissent from the prevalent interpretation.

difference between the cup and the baptism, and the way in which the sons of Zebedee actually drank the cup and were baptized with the baptism. James the son of Zebedee died as a martyr and might be said to have fulfilled Christ's prediction, but how was it fulfilled by John the son of Zebedee, who was believed to have lived to a great age and to have died a natural death?

In attempting to explain Matthew's omission we must start from ancient facts and not import into them modern notions. The Greek word *baptizein*, rendered by us "baptize," means literally "immerse," and metaphorically implies for the most part immersion *in evil of some kind*¹. In canonical LXX it occurs only once literally and once corresponding to Heb. "frighten"²; but Aquila uses it metaphorically in Job³ "Yet wilt thou *immerse* me in the ditch," where the word rendered "*ditch*" means "[the] *pit* [of Sheol]" and recurs in the Psalms (R.V. txt) "Thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol; neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see *corruption* (marg. *the pit*)"⁴. The word therefore, when used metaphorically and paradoxically with "fire," might be connected with something bordering on Sheol, something suggestive of extreme and depressing humiliation, as well as fiery trial.

In attempting to define Christ's meaning more closely we are hampered by the want of evidence in the New Testament. For Matthew nowhere represents Jesus as using the word "baptize"—or "baptism" except about "John's baptism"⁵—till after the Resurrection, and then in a tradition that he alone

¹ See Steph. *Thes.* ii. 109, which shews that it means "*plunged*" in debt, sleep, drinking, perplexity etc.

² 2 K. v. 14 "dipped [himself]," Is. xxi. 4 "hath affrighted."

³ Job ix. 31 "immerse," טָבַל, "pit" שֶׁחַת (see Gesen. 1001). Heb. תָּשַׁח = (Tromm.) βόθρος, βόθυνος (4), φθορά, διαφθορά etc. (12), θάνατος (5). Βαπτίζω occurs also in Jerem. xxxviii. 22 (Sym.) ἐβάπτισαν εἰς τέλμα τοὺς πόδας σου, Heb. "thy feet are *sunk* in the mire," Aq. κατέδυσαν (hif. of טָבַע), LXX καταλύσουσιν (prob. error for κατακλύσουσιν). See also Ps. lxi. 2 (Sym.).

⁴ Ps. xvi. 10 (LXX διαφθοράν) is quoted about Christ in Acts ii. 27, xiii. 35.

⁵ Mt. xxi. 25 "the baptism of John."

has recorded¹. Luke omits the whole of the Marcan story under consideration. But he represents Jesus elsewhere as saying on the only occasion when He mentions baptism (except about "John's baptism"), "I came to cast fire on the earth... But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished²!" This, so far as it goes, indicates that Jesus used the term metaphorically, in the sense of a fiery trial. It points to the conclusion that, in Mark also, "baptism" should be interpreted as something approaching to temporary "immersion in the pit," that is, in Sheol, or as the Psalmist says, in "the dust of death³."

Now turning to the preceding context in Mark we see that it predicts for the Messiah not only death but also painful humiliation and "mocking" before death; and this is what is predicted at great length in the Psalm just quoted⁴. It would therefore be quite consistent that Mark should represent Jesus as first predicting, in language that was clear to Himself though not to the disciples, the cup of humiliation and the immersion in Sheol, and then as saying immediately afterwards to the sons of Zebedee "Are you prepared to drink my cup and to undergo my immersion?"—not meaning a baptismal purification like that introduced by John the Baptist, nor like the familiar immersion of hands or feet on certain occasions, but meaning a "plunging in the pit" or a "bringing down to the dust of death." A trace of this thought, in the use of the word "buried," may be found in the Pauline Epistles, "All we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his

¹ Mt. xxviii. 19 "baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

² Lk. xii. 49—50.

³ Ps. xxii. 15 "My strength is dried up... and thou hast brought me into the dust of death. For dogs..." What Justin Martyr calls "the whole Psalm," almost verse by verse, is applied by him to Christ, *Tryph.* §§ 98—106 (§ 99 "I will demonstrate to you that the whole Psalm refers thus to Christ"). Origen's frequent expositions of the italicised words (*ad loc.* and *Comm. Joann.* xx. 31 etc.) indicate that he regarded them as referring to the Fall of Man as well as to Christ's death, and Jerome refers them to the Incarnation as well as to the Descent into Sheol.

⁴ Mk x. 34, Ps. xxii. 7—18.

death; we were buried therefore with him through baptism into death," and "Having been buried with him in baptism¹." But it is not surprising that the dark aspect of the word "*baptize*" was at once subordinated, and soon ignored, in early Christian literature, imbued as it was with the conception of baptism as an "enlightening" of the soul².

In the Fourth Gospel baptism is practically not mentioned except in connection with the Baptist or with a statement that the Baptist's practice was carried on by Christ's disciples; as to which it is noteworthy that the Evangelist first describes Jesus as "baptizing," and then, instead of cancelling it as an error, adds a correction, "Howbeit Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples [did]³."

But as regards the applicability of "baptism" (in the sense of martyrdom) to John the son of Zebedee, the Gospel may possibly imply something of the kind—if at least we may regard him as identical with "the disciple whom Jesus loved"—in the comparison tacitly drawn between this disciple and Peter at the close of the Gospel. Peter is bidden to "follow" Christ in a special way after Jesus has predicted "by what manner of death he should glorify God," namely, by crucifixion. The beloved disciple, though not bidden to follow, is seen "following"; and about him Jesus says to Peter "If I will that he tarry while I am coming, what is that to thee? Follow thou me⁴." Hence, says the Gospel, "this saying went forth among the brethren, that that disciple should not die." The best interpretation of this obscure passage appears to be that the unnamed disciple lived to a great age and did not "follow" Christ by a martyr's death, but that he "followed" Him in a different way while "tarrying," by living a martyr's life⁵.

¹ Rom. vi. 3—4, Col. ii. 12.

² See *Joh. Gr.* 2532 c on *φωτίζω* and *Son* 3407 (vii) a quoting Justin Martyr *Apol.* § 61 "this washing is called *enlightening* (*φωτισμός*)."

³ Jn. iv. 1—2.

⁴ Jn xxi. 19—23, see p. 302, n. 2.

⁵ See Jerome's comment on Mt. xx. 23 indicating early doubt as to the applicability of the "cup" to John, because, in his case, "the persecutor did not shed blood." The Fourth Gospel appears tacitly to protest against such technical distinction.

§ 8. "*Not mine to give but for those for whom it hath been prepared,*" in Mark and Matthew¹

Matthew, after "prepared," adds "by my Father," and Origen discusses "what things are given by the Saviour [and] what things by the Father²." Also the best Latin MSS, and the Syro-Sinaitic, have rendered ΑΛΛΟΙC, in Mark, as "for others" (which would be its usual meaning)³. Jerome, on Matthew, takes "prepared by my Father" as referring to the worthy: "Whoever shall have so conducted himself as to be worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven." It is "prepared," he says, "not for a person but for a life." He strenuously dissents from unnamed critics who thought that the reference was to "Moses and Elias whom they [*i.e.* the sons of Zebedee] had recently seen speaking with Him on the mountain."

John appears to intervene in the only passage in which he uses the word "prepare." There Jesus says "In my Father's house are many abiding-places" and then (in an obscure context) twice uses the phrase "go to (*or*, go and) prepare a place for you⁴." Whatever may be the exact interpretation of the sentence, the context indicates a perfect unity between the Father and the Son, so that what the Son speaks of "preparing," the Father Himself might be said to be "preparing," or to have already "prepared⁵." And here we may note that Jews would see a sacred meaning, not obvious to Gentiles, in this thought of a "prepared place." For the verbal noun *mâcoun*, derived from *coun* "prepare," while meaning etymologically "prepared place," means regularly "the fixed place of Jehovah's abode

¹ Mk x. 40 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοιμάσται, Mt. xx. 23 + ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

² Origen on Mt. xx. 23 (Lomm. iv. 14).

³ That is to say, ἄλλοις would occur in Greek literature much more frequently than ἀλλ' οἷς. For confusion between ἄλλα and ἀλλά in Jn vi. 23 see *Law* p. 60 foll.

⁴ Jn xiv. 2—3, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2080—6.

⁵ Jn xiv. 9 "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," *ib.* 13 "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son."

on earth," the Temple¹. To be in that "prepared place" was to be in a region that excluded all favouritism—all thought of what Jerome called "preparation for a person" as distinct from "preparation for a life."

Thus the Fourth Gospel indirectly meets all such personal claims as those of the sons of Zebedee, and all misunderstandings arising from the narrative about them. It suggests a unity in which are merged all thoughts of equality, inequality, and rivalry. It admits, at the outset, that the abiding-places in the Father's House are "many"; but it adds simultaneously that the essential object is to be not at the right hand or at the left, but where Christ is ("that *where I am* there ye also may be") and, later on, it declares that the Father and the Son will come and take up their abode in the believer's heart².

§ 9. "*They that are accounted to rule,*" in Mark³

For Mark's "*they that are accounted to rule*" Matthew substitutes "*rulers,*" and Luke "*kings*"; but there is abundant

¹ Gesen. 467 *b* gives, as the first instance, Exod. xv. 17 "the mountain of thy inheritance, the *prepared* [*place*] (מכון) for thy abiding...thy hands *prepared*," LXX ετοιμον, Aq. and Sym. εδρασμα, ...LXX ητοιμασαν, Aq. ηδρασαν.

² Jn xiv. 2, 3, 23.

³ Mk x. 41—5
(R.V.)

Mt. xx. 24—8
(R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 24—7
(R.V.)

(41) And when the ten heard it, they began to be moved with indignation concerning James and John.

(42) And Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them.

(43) But it is not so among you: but whosoever would be

(24) And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation concerning the two brethren.

(25) But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them.

(26) Not so shall it be among you: but whosoever would

(24) And there arose also a contention among them, which of them is accounted to be greatest (*lit.* greater).

(25) And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called Benefactors.

(26) But ye [shall] not [be] so: but he that is the greater

evidence to shew that the Greek phrase meaning literally "those seeming to be rulers" means in effect "those commonly called rulers," or "those reputed to be rulers," with a tacit implication that they are unworthy of the name¹. Luke has also altered Mark's significant words "abuse-their-lordship" and "abuse-their-power" by dropping that part of the verbs which signifies abuse². Thus Luke has taken the sting out of the Marcan tradition and converted it into a statement, perhaps mildly ironical, that "rulers," simply because they are rulers, are called by their flatterers "benefactors"³.

John, though he nowhere uses the phrase "*those seeming to be rulers*" to mean "those whom the world calls rulers," goes

Mk x. 41—5
(R.V.) *contd.*

come great among you, shall be your minister (*or*, servant):

(44) And whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant (*lit.* bondservant) of all.

(45) For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

Mt. xx. 24—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

become great among you shall be your minister (*or*, servant):

(27) And whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant (*lit.* bondservant):

(28) Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

Lk. xxii. 24—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

(27) For whether is greater, he that sitteth-at-meat (*lit.* reclineth), or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth-at-meat (*lit.* reclineth)? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.

¹ Mk x. 42 οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν, Mt. xx. 25 οἱ ἄρχοντες, Lk. xxii. 25 οἱ βασιλεῖς. SS, in Mk, has briefly "Ye know that the chiefs of the peoples are their lords. Not so...." See Wetstein on Mk, quoting Epict. *Ench.* 51 (error for 33) τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δοκούντων and Plutarch *Vit.* 1047 C τὸν καιρὸν, ᾧ δουλεύουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν, besides Gal. ii. 9, *Susann.* 16 etc.

² Mk-Mt. κατακυριεύουσιν, κατεξουσιάζουσιν, Lk. κυριεύουσιν, ἐξουσιάζοντες. Comp. Origen on Mt. (Lomm. iv. 22) οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι τῷ κυριεύειν... κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν.

³ On *εὐεργέτης*, as a title or surname, see Steph. *Thes.* iii. 2248. Epictetus uses it twice, (1) ironically, of Chrysippus whom he regards as a pretender (i. 4. 29) "O, [joy] for [our] great good-fortune! O, [joy] for [our] great benefactor, who points the path out [for us]!" (2) seriously, of our God and Father, whom (i. 6. 42) we fail to recognise as our "benefactor."

to the root of the Marcan thought by introducing (alone among the Evangelists) "the ruler of this world"; whom he regards as the source of all misrule, the ruler for a time, *de facto* but not *de jure*, already "judged," and destined to be speedily "cast out¹."

There is a preparation for this, in the parable of the Good Shepherd, where John assumes that all his readers knew—the Jews from the Psalms and the Gentiles from Homer—that kings were called shepherds of their peoples. There, after Jesus has said "I am the door of the sheep," He adds immediately "All that came before me are thieves and robbers²." The text is disputed³. Some authorities omit "before me"; some omit "all." And the Greek for "*before me*" is, in itself, ambiguous. With most verbs it would naturally mean "before my time." But with some verbs—such as "come," "speak," "do"—the Greek "*before me*," from Homer downwards, might mean "*in my behalf*," or "*representing me*⁴."

That is probably the meaning of the Evangelist in any case. Jesus is regarded as the incarnate Logos, the Shepherd of Humanity, teaching men that all rulers of the type of Nimrod—who claimed for themselves, as a cover for their arrogant self-seeking, that they came in His behalf and stood in His place—were thieves and robbers, false shepherds, rulers sent by "the ruler of this world," not by Him. Mark expressed this by saying that such rulers only "*seem*" to rule, and that they "*abuse their lordship*" and their "*authority*." Luke omitted the words indicating the "*seeming*" and the "*abuse*." But they appear necessary for the full understanding of Christ's

¹ Jn xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11.

² Jn x. 7—8.

³ See Blass, who prints πάντες ὅσοι ἦλθον κλέπτει ἦσαν καὶ λησταί, SS has "and all those that have come are the thieves and the robbers."

⁴ Steph. *Thes.* is not so full on this point as L.S. But both shew that πρὸ ἐμοῦ with a personal object, apart from the phrase οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ [γενόμενοι], would naturally mean in many contexts "for my sake," or "as my representative." Comp. *Iliad* x. 286 πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἄγγελος ἦει, xxiv. 734 ἀθλεύων πρὸ ἀνακτος, Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5. 44 ἐγὼ... πρᾶττων πρὸ ὑμῶν, Soph. *Oed. T.* 10 πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν, Epictet. i. 24. 6 πρὸ σοῦ κατὰσκοπος ἀποσταλεῖς Διογένης.

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doctrine, and John, essentially though indirectly, inculcates the truth that Mark had (perhaps too briefly) implied.

§ 10. "To give his life a ransom for many," in Mark and Matthew¹

These words, and their context in Mark and Matthew, and the parallels in Luke, have been discussed in a previous volume². The conclusion arrived at was that John's attitude toward Luke's version is that of one partly accepting, but partly correcting and supplementing, as though saying, "Jesus did not merely talk about being a minister at the table to the disciples as Luke relates; He also made Himself their minister in fact; He assumed the clothing, as well as the office, of one of the lowest class of those waiting at table³."

Beside this, it has been shewn⁴ in *Diatessarica* that John indirectly answers a question arising out of the difficult word "ransom," which Luke omits, "To whom was the ransom paid?" There was no "ransom" paid to Satan. Our Redeemer laid down His life for us, contending against "the wolf." Ransoms as a rule are paid by the conquered. But our ransom was paid by our Conqueror⁵, conquering and ransoming us by conquering the evil in us.

As a minor point it was shewn that whereas Luke both here and elsewhere avoids speaking about Christ's "soul," John represents Jesus as thrice using the expression "my soul (or, life)⁶." This is a case of Johannine verbal Intervention in a definite matter, more easy to prove than the indirect and non-verbal Intervention as to "ransom." The proof of the latter will depend in part on many other instances where John appears to intervene as to old Synoptic doctrine with new Johannine metaphor. If we consider these cumulatively we may reasonably say, not only that the Synoptic "ransom"

¹ Mk x. 45, Mt. xx. 28.

² *Son* 3267—78.

³ *Son* 3276.

⁴ *Son* 3438—43.

⁵ Christ might be described as conquering us by conquering the evil in us, and at the same time "ransoming" us from our sinful selves (*Son* 3438).

⁶ *Son* 3434.

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is illustrated by the Johannine Shepherd laying down life in conflict against "the wolf," but also that the illustration is intentional.

§ II. "*The son of Timaeus, Bartimaeus,*" in Mark¹

The omission of this name in the parallel Matthew and Luke, the substitution of two blind men for one in Matthew—

¹ Mk x. 46—52
(R.V.)

(46) And they came to Jericho: and as he went out from Jericho, with his disciples and a great multitude, the son of Timaeus, Bartimaeus, a blind beggar, was sitting by the way side.

(47) And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

(48) And many rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried out the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.

(49) And Jesus stood still, and said, Call ye him. And they call the blind man, saying, unto him, Be of good cheer: rise, he calleth thee.

(50) And he, casting away his garment, sprang up, and came to Jesus.

(51) And Jesus answered him, and said, What wilt thou that I should do unto

Mt. xx. 29—34
(R.V.)

(29) And as they went out from Jericho, a great multitude followed him.

(30) And behold, two blind men sitting by the way side, when they heard that Jesus was passing by, cried out, saying, Lord, have mercy on us, thou son of David.

(31) And the multitude rebuked them, that they should hold their peace: but they cried out the more, saying, Lord, have mercy on us, thou son of David.

(32) And Jesus stood still, and called them, and said, What wilt ye that I should do unto you?

(33) They say unto him, Lord, that our eyes may be opened.

(34) And Jesus, being moved with compassion, touched their eyes: and straightway they received their sight, and followed him.

Lk. xviii. 35—43
(R.V.)

(35) And it came to pass, as he drew nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side begging:

(36) And hearing a multitude going by, he inquired what this meant.

(37) And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by.

(38) And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

(39) And they that went before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried out the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.

(40) And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him: and when he was come near, he asked him,

(41) What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.

(42) And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight: thy

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together with the mention of two more blind men described by Matthew elsewhere as simultaneously healed—and the Syriac reading “Timaëus, Bar Timaëus” (that is, “Timaëus, son of Timaëus”), indicate early obscurity. Victor has preserved the following explanation of Matthew’s substitution: “It is possible that Mark and Luke have made mention of the more illustrious of the two, as also Mark has made clear by the name, saying the son of Timaëus, Bartimaëus, a blind man, as being illustrious at that time¹.” This assumes (as Origen does) that Timaëus is derived from the Greek *tímios*, “honourable².” But this explanation is

Mk x. 46—52
(R.V.) *contd.*

thee? And the blind man said unto him, Rabboni, that I may receive my sight.

(52) And Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole (*or*, saved thee). And straightway he received his sight, and followed him in the way.

Mt. xx. 29—34
(R.V.)

Lk. xviii. 35—43
(R.V.) *contd.*

faith hath made thee whole (*or*, saved thee).

(43) And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

Comp. Mt. ix. 27—31 (after the healing of Jairus’ daughter)
(27) And as Jesus passed by from thence, two blind men followed him, crying out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David.
(28) And when he was come into the house, the blind men came to him: and Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They say unto him, Yea, Lord. (29) Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it done unto you. (30) And their eyes were opened. And Jesus strictly (*or*, sternly) charged them, saying, See that no man know it. (31) But they went forth, and spread abroad his fame in all that land.

¹ Cramer on Mk x. 51 ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστέρου μνήμην Μάρκου τε καὶ Λουκᾶν πεποιῆσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὀνόματι δεδήλωκεν ὁ Μάρκος εἰπὼν, τὸν υἱὸν Τιμαίου Βαρτίμαιον τυφλὸν, ὡς ἐπιφανῆ τότε ὄντα.

² Origen *Comm. Matth.* xvi. 12 (Lomm. iv. 38) τὸν τῆς τιμῆς ἐπώνυμον Τιμαίου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Βαρτίμαιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν υἱὸν Τιμαίου. Μήποτε δὲ διὰ τὸ τίμιον τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ... τροπικῶς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ Τιμαῖος....

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antecedently improbable, and is not mentioned by Jerome¹. It is also unusual that a Jew should be called by the same name as his father except in special circumstances².

We have therefore to consider other possibilities, and one is, that the enemies of Jesus might stigmatize this beggar—a conspicuous instance of His miraculous powers—as being under the curse of God, not only because he was a beggar³, but also because he “was *unclean* (*Tâmè*) and the son of the *unclean* (*Bar-Tâmè*)⁴.” The Evangelists might reply, playing on this word and on the Greek *Tîmè*⁵, which is also adopted into late

¹ Jerome, on Mt. xx. 29 foll., allegorizes at great length, but does not mention the Marcan Bartimaeus. In *Onomastica* p. 66 he says “*Barsemia filius caecus, quod et ipsum corrupte quidam Bartimaeum legunt.*” He apparently derives it from Aram. סמיה “blind” (Levy *Ch.* ii. 170 a). *Hor. Heb.*, on Mk, says (*inter alia*) “What if תימיה, *Thima* (*sic*), be the same with סימיה *Simai*, blind...?”

² *Hor. Heb.* (on Lk. i. 59) says that in the case of a deceased husband whose wife bore a son to the husband’s brother, the husband’s name might perhaps be given to the son: “Otherwise, indeed, it was very seldom that the son bore the name of the father.” See *Corrections* 448 d.

³ See Ps. xxxvii. 25 “I have not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed *begging* (בקש) [*their*] bread.” Comp. Ps. cix. 10 “Let his children...*beg* (שאל)...” LXX “*let them be beggars*,” ἐπατησάτωσαν. This is the only instance of ἐπατεῖν in canon. LXX. But it occurs in Sir. xl. 28 “it is better to die than to *beg* (ἐπατεῖν) (Heb. *hithp.* of סלל, besiege with entreaties).” Luke, if we may judge from Lk. xvi. 3 ἐπατεῖν αἰσχύνομαι, appears to use it to mean systematic or importunate beggary. Προσατεῖν occurs in LXX only in Job xxvii. 14 “If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword, and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread (ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρωθῶσιν προσατήσουσιν).” Steph. *Thes.* vi. 1851 quotes Plutarch and Lucian as using προσαίτης, and Suidas as saying that it = ἐπαίτης, but does not enable us to distinguish exactly between them. Προσαίτης is non-occurrent in LXX. It occurs in N.T. only here (Mk x. 46) and Jn ix. 8 (of the man born blind).

⁴ See Gesen. 379—80 shewing the frequency of טמא and its derivatives. Levy ii. 153 b quotes *Sabb.* 67 a “Son of clay, son of (בר) *uncleanness* (טמא)” as names of a demon in an incantation.

⁵ See *Hor. Heb.* which quotes *Esth.* iii. 8 Targ. “no profit (*Timai*)” from Gk τιμή, on which see Krauss p. 264.

Hebrew, "Not so, but *Timaeus*, i.e. honourable, and the son of Timaeus." Horae Hebraicae leaves us free to believe this by saying "Perhaps there was a Timaeus of some more noted name in that age, either for some good report or some bad."

We turn to the Johannine account of Christ's healing a blind man. There the disciples seem to assume that either the man had sinned or his parents, saying to Jesus "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" Jesus replies "Neither did this man sin nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." But John represents the Pharisees as apparently assuming afterwards, in spite of the miracle, that the man *had* sinned, or his parents, or both, so that he was "altogether born in sins¹." This would be equivalent to saying that he was "Unclean and the son of the Unclean, or *Tâmè* and *Bartâmè*." This, judged by the ordinary standard of transliteration from Hebrew to Greek, is not far from "Timaeus and Bartimaeus."

According to the Synoptists, Jesus healed blindness on several occasions, and the scene and details of one such healing may have been confused with the scene and details of another. This might cause early confusion².

¹ Jn ix. 2—3, 34.

² *The Gospel according to St Matthew*, ed. A. H. McNeile, p. 128, contains the following interesting remarks on Mt. ix. 27—31:

"Mk twice relates the cure of a blind man (viii. 22—26, x. 46—52); Mt. twice relates the cure of two blind men (here, xx. 29—34). The second instances in Mk and Mt. are parallels, but the present passage is widely different from Mk viii. 22—26, and cannot be derived from it, although both of Mt.'s narratives appear to contain a reminiscence of Mk viii. 22—26 in the touching of the eyes. Mt. may have derived it from an unknown source, but more probably it is compiled by a later hand from xx. 29—34 and Mk x. 46—52, with i. 43—45. Notice the following points of similarity to ch. xx.: (1) δύο τυφλοί. (2) ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς νιὲ Δαυίδ. The title occurs also in Mk x., where it is not, as in Mt., a characteristic of the evangelist. (3) The Lord asked them a question as a spur to their faith (note ποιῆσαι and ποιήσω). (4) He touched their eyes. (5) He spoke of their faith (Mk; not Mt. in ch. xx.). (6) 'Their eyes were opened'...; xx. 33 'that our eyes may be opened.' Thus all the essential points in the two accounts are the same. But the remainder of the narrative

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We cannot say that John intervenes as to these Synoptic narratives of the healing of blindness, but we may fairly say that he makes suggestions that bear on them. He suggests that the Marcan names were not really names but appellations; that they were applied not to two blind men but to one¹; that the man was really a beggar; that, because he was born blind, he was supposed by the Pharisees to be, but was not, born in sin; and that he was a conspicuous instance of the way in which Jesus, the Light of the World, revealed the light to those that sat in darkness, and combined spiritual with physical healing.

§ 12. "*In the way*," in Mark²

The parallel Matthew omits "in the way"; naturally, for it seems superfluous, if not bathos. Luke substitutes "glorifying God." He also adds that "all the people seeing [it] gave praise to God." This reads like an addition made by Luke in order to obtain an appropriate end to the story. But in early Christian tradition, "the Way" meant "the way of the Christian faith." Hence "he followed Jesus in the Way" might mean "he became a convert." When this poetic play on the phrase failed to be understood the phrase would be dropped (as by Matthew) or altered (as by Luke)³.

There are several minor reasons for thinking that John, in spite of many differences, wrote with some view to Mark's story. In Mark, there is probably an implied contrast between a poor blind man, who had nothing but a cloak to encumber him on his way to Jesus, and a previously mentioned rich ruler, who

seems to be due to Mk i. 43—45; note the uncommon words ἐμβριμᾶσθαι and διαφημίξειν, and the fact that the Lord's injunction was disobeyed, which are the very points that Mt. omits in viii. 2—4."

In addition to these points, note also Mt. ix. 29 ἡψατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, contrasted with xx. 34 ἡψατο τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτῶν. On ὄμμα—in N.T. elsewhere only in Mk viii. 23—see *Law* p. 485.

¹ Matthew's duplication (*Law* pp. 70, 74) may have arisen from a version of Mk υἱὸς Τιμαίου ὁ καὶ Βαπτίμαος, by the omission of ὁ. Mk's txt υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαπτίμαος is a very unusual order of words.

² Mk x. 52, Mt. xx. 34, Lk. xviii. 43.

³ See *Light* 3755 g—h on "The Way."

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had great possessions¹. In John, there is a contrast between a poor blind man, assumed by everybody to be "born in sin" because he was born blind, and Pharisees who say "we see," and who bid the poor man stigmatize as a "sinner" the Healer who has given him sight.

Both narratives are full of passion. "Rabboni," for example, is an appellation that occurs nowhere in the New Testament except in the exclamation of the blind man, in Mark, praying for light, and of Mary Magdalene, in John, when it flashes upon her that she sees the risen Saviour². And if the blind man in the Gospel of Mark is represented to have followed Jesus "in the way," meaning, in the Way of Life and Light, this finds a parallel in the Gospel of John, which tells us that the blind man not only "believed" but also "worshipped" Jesus³.

¹ Mk x. 50—52 (R.V.) "casting away his garment" (not in the parall. Mt.-Lk.) "...followed him in the way." Contrast Mk x. 21—2 "Come, follow me. But his countenance fell...for he was one that had great possessions."

² Mk x. 51, Jn xx. 16.

³ Jn ix. 38.

CHAPTER V

JESUS VISITS THE TEMPLE

[Mark xi. 1—25 (26)]

I. "A colt tied at the door without in the open street,"
in Mark¹

IN the following investigation we shall have to study, in detail, evidence bearing on the Greek word *amphodon*, unique

¹ Mk xi. 1—7 a
(R.V.)

(1) And when they draw nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sendeth two of his disciples,

(2) And saith unto them, Go your way into the village that is over against you: and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt (*πῶλον*) tied, whereon no man ever yet sat; loose him, and bring him.

(3) And if any one say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye, The Lord hath need of him; and straightway he will send (*lit.* sendeth) him back (*or.* again) hither.

Mt. xxi. 1—7 a
(R.V.)

(1) And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and came unto Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then Jesus sent two disciples,

(2) Saying unto them, Go into the village that is over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass (*ὄνον*) tied, and a colt (*πῶλον*) with her: loose [them], and bring [them] unto me.

(3) And if any one say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.

(4) Now this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by (*or,* through) the prophet, saying,

(5) Tell ye the

Lk. xix. 28 b—35 a
(R.V.)

(28) ...going up to Jerusalem.

(29) And it came to pass, when he drew nigh unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount that is called [the mount] of Olives, he sent two of the disciples,

(30) Saying, Go your way into the village over against [you]; in the which as ye enter ye shall find a colt (*πῶλον*) tied, whereon no man ever yet sat: loose him, and bring him.

(31) And if any one ask you, Why do ye loose him? thus shall ye say, The Lord hath need of him.

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in the New Testament, rendered by R.V. "open street¹." It is probably a relic of poetry. But that, in itself, is not incom-

Mk xi. 1—7 *a*
(R.V.) *contd.*

(4) And they went away, and found a colt (πῶλον) tied at the door without in the open street; and they loose him.

(5) And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt (πῶλον)?

(6) And they said unto them even as Jesus had said: and they let them go.

(7) And they bring the colt (πῶλον) unto Jesus....

Mt. xxi. 1—7 *a*
(R.V.) *contd.*

daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, Meek (πραῦς), and riding upon an ass (ἄνον), And upon a colt the foal of an ass (πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου).

(6) And the disciples went, and did even as Jesus appointed them,

(7) And brought the ass (ἄνον) and the colt (πῶλον)....

Lk. xix. 28 *b*—35 *a*
(R.V.) *contd.*

(32) And they that were sent went away, and found even as he had said unto them.

(33) And as they were loosing the colt (πῶλον), the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt (πῶλον)?

(34) And they said, The Lord hath need of him.

(35) And they brought him to Jesus....

For all this detail John substitutes xii. 14—15 "And Jesus, having found a young ass (ἄνθρωπον), sat thereon; as it is written, Fear not, daughter of Zion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt (πῶλον ἄνον)."

¹ Mk xi. 4 καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ εὑρον πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς θύραν ἔξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφοδίου. For ἀμφοδίον, the Latin versions have *platea*, *transitu*, and *bivio*, SS and Syr. (Walton) *platea*. Mk xi. 2, Lk. xix. 30 "as ye enter," imply that the animal will be found at the entrance, not of the house, but of the village. Mt. xxi. 2 omits "as ye enter."

"Ἀμφοδίον is used by LXX only in Jerem. xvii. 27, xlix. 27 to mean "palace," ארמון, but by Sym. repeatedly to mean "street" or "outside place," Heb. רחוב. See *Oxf. Conc.* In Amos v. 16, Sym. ἀμφοδίου = Heb. רחבות, LXX πλατείας. The Egyptian Papyri shew that it regularly means a "quarter" of a city. Wetstein, on Mk, quotes Epiphanius as testifying to the Alexandrian use of the word in the sense of a "square" or "block" of houses. But the usage of Sym. indicates that he took it to mean a "square" in the sense of an open space. And it is so used in Acts xix. 28—9 (D) δραμόντες εἰς τὸ ἀμφοδίον, (d) "currentes in campo"—i.e. the open space at the entrance into the theatre—followed by ὄρμησαν... εἰς τὸ θέατρον. Steph. *Thes.* quotes Polyb. *Exc. Vat.* xl. 7 οὐ θύρα, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφοδίον, where it seems to be used proverbially to imply publicity. These differences of usage throw light on Justin Martyr's apparent allusion to Mark's word, mentioned below, p. 174, n. 3.

On the reasons for rejecting the suggestion that ἀμφοδίον was a

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patible with the historical truth of the context. Historical fact, related in, and modified by, the language of ancient poetry or prophecy, is not to be confused with non-historical narrative derived entirely from ancient poetry or prophecy and having no basis of fact. Mark's narrative may belong to the former class, and may be influenced, in expression, by that prophecy of Jacob about the Messiah in Genesis which speaks of the "tying" of a "foal¹." It will be shewn that the context in Genesis was variously interpreted by the Jews themselves in ancient times so as to introduce some suggestion of such a phrase as Mark's "at the door without in the *amphodon*."

But the historical action of Jesus was probably influenced, not by Jacob's prophecy, but by some words of Zechariah, predicting that the Messiah will come "riding upon an ass, even upon a colt, the foal of an ass²," where the ass appears to be the symbol of "peace³." Matthew, influenced by this prophecy, has rejected the Marcan tradition about "the door" (and "the open street"). He has also quoted in full the prophecy of Zechariah. But, quoting it in Greek, which renders the Hebrew "*even*" (the ambiguous *vav*) by "*and*," he represents the Prophet as mentioning—and Jesus as riding upon—"an ass *and* a colt the foal of an ass." Luke adheres to Mark in mentioning one animal alone, namely, "a colt." But he, like

translation of "Bethphage," as if the latter were "a place of the parting of ways," בֵּית פִּנְעָה, see Dalman, *Words* p. 68.

¹ Gen. xlix. 10—11 (R.V. txt) "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he hath washed his garments in wine, and his vesture in the blood of grapes."

² Zech. ix. 9 (Heb.) "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation (*or*, victory) (Heb. *lit.* saved); lowly, and riding upon an ass, even (*lit.* and) upon a colt the foal of an ass."

³ There appears to be a suggestion of "peace," and of contrast between the "ass" and the "[war] horse," in Zech. ix. 10 "I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the *horse* from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak *peace* unto the nations."

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Matthew, rejects the Marcan tradition about "the door without in the *amphodon*."

§ 2. *The origin of Mark's tradition*

In tracing Mark's tradition we are at a disadvantage because his text is so seldom quoted by ancient authorities. The Diatessaron omits the Marcan phrase together with its context¹. But Justin Martyr (though it is not certain that he elsewhere quotes a single phrase of Mark²) seems to have preserved an allusion to Mark's meaning here when, in his *Apology* and in his *Dialogue*, he says, severally, "the foal of an ass stood bound to a vine at a certain entrance of a village," and "a certain ass in [very] truth, along with its foal, bound to [a wall] in a certain entrance of a village called Bethphage³."

In the *Apology*, Justin has previously quoted the prophecy of Jacob about the foal and the vine, and he ventures to represent Christ's foal as fastened to "a vine"—not mentioned in any Gospel; he also, like Mark, mentions only one animal. In the *Dialogue*, although he quotes Jacob's prophecy ("binding to the vine"), he omits "vine" in describing the fulfilment of it; and, like Matthew, he mentions two animals. Moreover, like Matthew, the *Dialogue* proceeds to quote Zechariah about the King "riding upon an ass and the foal of an ass." In effect, Justin seems to give us two traditions, one, for Gentiles, based on Genesis and agreeing rather with Mark than with Matthew; the other, for Jews, based on Zechariah, and agreeing rather with Matthew than with Mark. But the latter, as well as the former, contains a curious mention of "*a certain entrance*," which we will now examine.

¹ *Diatess.* omits the whole of Mk xi. 4.

² Justin's alleged references to Mk ii. 17 and Mk xii. 25, 30 might refer to Luke and Matthew.

³ *Apol.* § 32 Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνου εἰσθήκει ἐν τινι εἰσόδῳ κόμης πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδεμένος, *Tryph.* § 53 ὄνον δέ τινα ἀληθῶς σὺν πῶλῳ αὐτῆς προσδεδεμένην ἐν τινι εἰσόδῳ κόμης Βεθφαγῆς λεγομένης.

Clark renders ἐν τινι εἰσόδῳ severally "at the entrance" and "in an entrance," but τις does not mean "the," and means (here) more than "an." In *Tryph.*, it has been proposed to emend προσδεδεμένην into πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδεμένην.

§ 3. *The ass and the foal of the Messiah in Genesis*

In Genesis the Hebrew for "foal" is confusable with the Hebrew for "city"; and the Hebrew for "ass" is confusable with a word in Ezekiel meaning "entrance." And that these words were actually confused in very early times, earlier than most traditions of the Talmud, we learn from the Targum of Onkelos, who—according to Rashi¹, combining these two confusions, and taking the vine to be Israel—gives the following paraphrase:—"Israel shall dwell around his [*i.e.* Israel's] city, the peoples shall build his temple, and the righteous shall be round about him, and the doers of the law [shall be abiding] in his doctrine²."

Turning to Ezekiel for the context of the word meaning "entrance," we find that it occurs nowhere else in the whole of the Bible, and that it denotes the "entrance" to the "house" of God; and Rashi declares it to be Aramaic, so called because it "afforded entrance and exit to all that came into the Court³."

¹ Rashi on Gen. xlix. 11. "Onkelos [*locum istum*] interpretatus est de rege Messia (videlicet hoc modo) vitis sunt Israelitae; pullus est (urbs) Hierosolyma; palmes sunt Israelitae (veluti scriptum est) et ego plantavi te palmitem, pullum asinae suae (interpretatus est Onkelos) aedificabunt templum ejus (respexit autem Onkelos quoad explicationem dictionis אֶתְנוֹ ad locum illum) porta הַאֵיתוֹן *i.e.* introitus, in libro Ezechielis (xl. 15)." Jerome mentions the possibility of the former confusion (*Quaest. Gen. ad loc.*) "Pro pullo in Hebraeo possit legi urbem suam." Both might be represented by עֵיר. Also Ezek. xl. 15 "entrance," אֵיתוֹן, or אֶתוֹן, resembles אֶתוֹן "she-ass"; and a play on "entrance" and "she-ass" might possibly (but not very probably) bear on the interpretation (*Gen. v. ad loc.*) that in the Messiah's days the majority of Israel will be in their own land.

² Jer. Targ. I and II have paraphrases quite different from that of Onkelos. They retain the Hebrew "binding," but in an entirely different context:—Jer. I (Etheridge) "He hath girded his loins and descended and arrayed the battle..." Jer. II (Etheridge) "Binding his loins, and going forth to war against them that hate him..."

³ Ezek. xl. 15, Rashi, "Dicitur autem porta introitus, quoniam illa introitum et exitum praebebat omnibus, qui veniebant ad atrium, (vocis Hebraeae) בֵּיתָא id est, introitus, Chaldaica interpretatio est אֵיתוֹן."

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This enables us to understand the phrase in Onkelos "*the peoples shall build his temple*," if the Gentiles are regarded as being bound to the "entrance" of the Temple. The notion of "entrance" would also be connected in the minds of Jerusalem-ites of the first century with the very name of Bethphage; since it is described in the Talmud as a kind of border line or party-wall, called sometimes "within the walls of the city and reckoned as Jerusalem itself" and sometimes "the outmost place in Jerusalem¹."

All this indicates that Mark's accumulation of words signifying externality had a symbolic meaning in early times. Onkelos interpreted and allegorized Genesis from the point of view of a Jew. Early Christians allegorized Christ's action as Christians. For them, the "foal" meant the Gentiles, never subjected to the yoke of the Law, and standing, "bound," outside the gate of the House, or City, of God². As a rule, an ass or foal, thus "bound" or "tied up," would be under shelter. But this is "outside." Origen says "Who is it that is 'outside'? It is the [proselytes] from the Gentiles, who were strangers to the covenants and aliens from the promise of God, [standing] in the open way [*amphodon*] and not resting (*or*, feeding) under shed or roof, bound by their own sins...³."

§ 4. John on the "finding" of the ass

Chrysostom, in his comment on the Johannine Finding of the Ass, asks "How is it that the other [evangelists] say that

¹ *Hor. Heb.* i. p. 81 "outmost (חיצין)." In Prov. i. 20 "Wisdom crieth in the street (בחוץ)," A.V. "without," LXX ἐν ἐξόδου [Sym. ἐν ἀμφόδου, s. Field], Targ. has בשוקא, which occurs in Mk xi. 4, SS, Burk. "in the street."

² Comp. Clem. Alex. 106—7 "And he bound (the Scripture says) the colt to the vine, having bound this simple and childlike people to the Word, whom it figuratively represents as a Vine." Sim. Origen *Hom. Genes.* xvii. 7 "Ipse enim alligavit ad vitem pullum suum qui dixit, *Ego sum vitis vera* (Jn xv. 1)."

³ Origen *Comm. Joann.* x. 18, Lomm. i. 333, where there appears to be a contrast between ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου and ὑπὸ στέγῃ ἢ οἰκίαν ἀναπαύομενοι, indicating that the former implies "left out in the cold (*or*, uncared for)."

Jesus sent disciples and said, 'Loose ye the ass and the colt,' but this [evangelist] says nothing of that kind, but [merely] that, 'having found a young ass, He sat thereon'?" His answer is "Because it was likely that both these things came to pass, and that, after the loosing of the ass, while the disciples were bringing [it], He [Himself], having found [it], sat thereon¹." This, as it stands, is hardly intelligible. But it suggests that Chrysostom has condensed, and obscurely expressed, some early tradition using "found" in a mystical sense and saying that the real Finder was Christ. Origen says something of this kind when he points out the same difference between John and the Three, and says that the language is "somewhat figurative²."

No doubt, if "finding" must always imply some ignorance in the finder, John would not have transferred the act from the disciples to Jesus. But in Scripture Jehovah is repeatedly described—either Himself or through an angel—as "finding" a wandering soul. The angel of the Lord "found" Hagar "in the wilderness³." The Lord Himself "found" Israel "in a desert land and in the waste howling wilderness⁴"; and Hosea

¹ "Οτι ἀμφοτέρα γενέσθαι εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ λυθῆναι τὴν ὄνον ἀγόντων τῶν μαθητῶν, εὐρόντα αὐτὸν ἐπικαθίσαι. Here αὐτόν is prob. emphatic, as in the passage quoted from Origen in the next note.

² Origen *Comm. Joann.* x. 18, Lomm. i. 335 Πλὴν οὗτος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εὐρίσκεισθαι τὸ ὄναριον ἐφ' ὃ καθίεται ὁ Χριστὸς, πλέον τι περὶ τούτου (v. r. τοῦτο) τροπικώτερον δηλουμένου ὄναριου παριστάς, μείζονα ἐνεργεσίαν χωρήσαντος τὴν (Gal. i. 1) "οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." He means that as Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, so also the Gentile world itself, the formerly untrained "colt," was pressed into the service of Christ.

³ Gen. xvi. 7, on which see Philo *Quaest. Gen.* ad loc.

⁴ Deut. xxxii. 10. On this, see *Numb. v.* (on Numb. ii. 2, Wü. p. 14) "A great *finding* hath God wrought over Israel, as it is said (Hos. ix. 10) 'Like grapes in the wilderness did I find Israel.'" It adds "The world was a 'wilderness' before the Israelites came forth from Egypt," perhaps implying that Jehovah had also "found" Israel before the Exodus. [In theory, Hos. xii. 4 "he found him in Bethel," might refer to the Lord as "finding" Jacob, when he went forth as a homeless wanderer, but the Targum and Rashi take Jacob as the person "finding."] Jesus (Jn i. 43) "*findeth* Philip"—to whom (*Son*

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represents the Lord as saying "*I found* Israel like grapes in the wilderness." Such a "finding" is almost equivalent to "saving," and Philo explains it thus when allegorizing the story of Hagar.

John seems here to put aside the finding of the ass by the disciples, on the same principle as that on which, in the Feeding of the Five Thousand, he puts aside the distribution of the bread by the disciples¹. There Jesus was the real Distributer. Here Jesus is the real Finder. The minute distinctions between "ass," and "colt," and the Semitic "son of a beast of burden" (R.V. "foal of an ass")—these, too, John puts on one side, substituting one word *onarion* ("little-ass"). This word was known to disciples of Epictetus as representing the name given by that philosopher to the fleshly body, the drudge of the mind or spirit².

We have seen that Onkelos wholly paraphrased the Binding of the Ass by the Messiah in Genesis as a Building up of the Judæan City or Church. Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria regard the "foal" or "colt" in the Gospels as a type of the Gentiles, or the new childlike people (not yet subjected to the yoke of the Law)³. It was not unnatural that Christians, even in the first century, should connect the Riding of their Messiah into Jerusalem with such thoughts as these. As Onkelos introduced a mention of the peoples or Gentiles, so might Christian Evangelists, from the Christian point of view,

3377 a) according to tradition, He said "Let the dead bury their dead"—and also (Jn v. 14) "*findeth* in the temple" one to whom He says "Sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee."

¹ See *Law* pp. 332, 355—6.

² Epict. iv. i. 79—80 (where *ὄνᾱριον* occurs five times) *ὄλον τὸ σῶμα οὕτως ἔχειν σε δεῖ ὡς ὄνᾱριον ἐπισεσαγμένον*. The context bids us recognise that our "body," "hand" etc. are not our real selves but merely tools. *ὄνᾱριον* occurs also in *ib.* ii. 24. 18 literally, in a remark about the impracticability of playing with an ass; we gambol with little children, but who gambols with an ass? "For even though it be a little-thing (*μικρόν*) it is still a little-ass (*ὅμως ὄνᾱριόν ἐστιν*)."
Steph. *Theos.* gives no instance of it (as distinct from *ὄνιδιον*) except from a comic poet (circ. A.C. 280). It is not in Goodspeed.

³ Justin Martyr *Tryph.* § 53, Clem. Alex. 106—7.

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regarding the Gentiles as corresponding to the "foal" or "colt," and as subjecting themselves to Jesus.

In the Fourth Gospel, immediately after the mention of Christ's literal riding on the ass, when the Pharisees have exclaimed "Lo, the world hath gone after him," "certain Greeks" come to Philip saying, "Sir, we would see Jesus¹." It is a mere hint. Nothing is said of any definite conversion. Nothing of any kind is added about the Greeks. But Jesus replies to their request—conveyed through Philip and Andrew—"The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified." These words certainly imply much more than is written. They point to a not distant time when the gate of the House of God shall be thrown open to the Gentile world which is regarded as, at present, "standing bound, at the door, without, in the open street."

But as to the actual riding on the ass, what are we to conclude? Did Jesus deliberately ride thus, in the conviction that He was riding to some mysterious consummation of His career, and endeavouring, in dumb show, to inculcate on the vast multitude that the consummation would be brought about, not through war symbolized by the war-horse, but through peace—it might be, even after His death—symbolized by the ass? That is in accordance with His antecedent predictions about "the third day" after His death (derived from Hosea), and it accords also with the prophecy of Zechariah, which does not speak of the "ass" without a suggestion that it symbolized "peace," and without an antithetical mention of the "chariot" and the "horse": "I will cut off *the chariot* from Ephraim, and *the horse* from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak *peace* unto the nations²."

¹ Jn xii. 20 foll.

² Zech. ix. 10, quoted by Origen on Jn xii. 15 and on Mt. xxi. 5.

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§ 5. (R.V.) "*Branches (marg. layers of leaves),*" in *Mark*¹

No instance has been alleged where "branches" or "layers of leaves" is the correct rendering of Mark's word². Wherever

¹ Mk xi. 7—10

(R.V.)

(7) And they bring the colt unto Jesus, and cast on him their garments; and he sat upon him.

(8) And many spread their garments upon the way; and others branches (*lit.* layers of leaves), which they had cut from the fields.

(9) And they that went before, and they that followed, cried, Hosanna; Blessed [is] he that cometh in the name of the Lord:

(10) Blessed [is] the kingdom that cometh, [the kingdom] of our father David: Hosanna in the highest.

Mt. xxi. 7—9

(R.V.)

(7) And brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their garments; and he sat thereon.

(8) And the most part of the multitude spread their garments in the way; and others cut branches from the trees, and spread them in the way.

(9) And the multitudes that went before him, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David: Blessed [is] he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest.

Lk. xix. 35—8

(R.V.)

(35) And they brought him to Jesus: and they threw their garments upon the colt, and set Jesus thereon.

(36) And as he went, they spread their garments in the way.

(37) And as he was now drawing nigh, [even] at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works (*lit.* powers) which they had seen;

(38) Saying, Blessed [is] the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.

Jn xii. 12—15 (R.V.) (12) On the morrow a great multitude (*some anc. auth.* the common people) that had come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, (13) took the branches of the palm-trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried out, Hosanna: Blessed [is] he that cometh in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel. (14) And Jesus, having found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written, (15) Fear not, daughter of Zion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

² Mk xi. 8

καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν (*marg.* αὐτῶν) ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν.

Mt. xxi. 8

ὁ δὲ πλείστος ὄχλος ἔστρωσαν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἐστρώωνον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Lk. xix. 36

πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑπεστρώωνον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Jn xii. 12—13 ὄχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν... ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐξήλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτοῦ.

180 (Mark xi. 7—10)

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it is used absolutely, its natural meaning is bedding, mattress, or rug to recline on. Epictetus uses Mark's word thus in a warning to a host, entertaining a few guests: "It is absurd that many souls should wait on a few *stuffed-couches*"—meaning that the waiters, who stand, ought not to be in excess of the guests, who recline¹. This is the regular Greek use. The meaning is illustrated by Juvenal's line about "the *cophinus* and furniture of straw"² of the Jews, that is, their basket and bedding. In Mark, the pilgrims that came up to the Passover would seem to have taken some of the leaves and rushes that they carried in their "*cophini*," and to have scattered them on the ground before Jesus as an extemporised act of homage. That, at least, was probably the original meaning of the tradition in Mark.

But Mark himself may be suspected of not knowing this meaning. For he adds "*having cut them from the fields*," as though the "cutting" were simultaneous with the scattering. Matthew departs still further from it, for he alters "bedding" into "boughs," and "fields" into "trees." Luke omits both "bedding" and "boughs." These alterations or omissions of Mark's text constitute a case for Johannine Intervention.

That John does intervene can hardly be doubted although the correctness of his intervention is uncertain. Without contradicting either Mark or Matthew as to the action of the pilgrims accompanying Jesus *into* Jerusalem, John describes the action of those who came forth to meet Jesus *from* Jerusalem. These, he says, "*took the branches of the palm-trees*" and went out to meet Him.

John's word for "branches"—which, by itself, means palm-branches—has been the subject of much comment³. And

¹ Epict. *Fragm.* 23 (Schw. 33, Schenkel p. 468) Μελέτω σοι ἐν τοῖς σιτίοις ὅπως σοι οἱ ὑπουργοῦντες μὴ πλείους τῶν ὑπουργουμένων ὑπάρχωσιν. ἀποπον γὰρ ὀλίγαῖς σιτίβάσι πολλὰς δουλεύειν ψυχάς, see also Steph. *Thes.* Etymologically it means "pressed [leaves, rushes, straw etc.]," but in practice it means "bedding."

² Juvenal *Sat.* iii. 14, vi. 542, "*cophinus foenumque supellex*."

³ See the very full discussion in Steph. *Thes.* ii. 47—8 on βαῖς, βαῖον, quoting 1 Macc. xiii. 51 μετὰ αἰνέσεως καὶ βαῖων, and Chaeremon

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no one has satisfactorily explained why the Book of Maccabees speaks of a procession "with thanksgiving and *branches* (of palm-trees)" without the article, while John here calls them "*the branches* of the palm-trees." The forms of the Greek word vary and one of them might be confused with the Marcan word for "bedding¹." It is not safe to say that John has correctly explained Mark's original but it is safe to say that he has attempted to explain it².

§ 6. "*Hosanna*," in Mark, Matthew, and John³

It will be seen, in the parallel columns printed above, that Luke omits Hosanna but inserts in its place several words

Stoicus ap. Porphy. De abst. 4, 7 about Egyptian priests, Κοίτη δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σπαδικῶν τοῦ φοίνικος, ἃς καλοῦσι βαῖς, ἐπέπλεκτο. This connects the word with bedding. It occurs as a rendering (for κάλλυνθρα) in Lev. xxiii. 40 כַּפֹּת "branches [of palms]."

¹ If John had before him a tradition about "their bedding and their garments," τὰς στιβάδας καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, the difficulty and uniqueness of τὰς στιβάδας might lead him to read it as τὰς τε βαῖδας (comp. his use of τε in Jn ii. 15 τὰ τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας). When he altered this into βαῖα, he might still retain the article, in spite of its difficulty, explaining it as "the palm-branches usual in processions of honour."

² See 2 Macc. x. 3—7 on the re-dedication, or "cleansing (καθαρισμός)," of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus: Θύρσους, καὶ κλάδους ὠραίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φοίνικας ἔχοντες, ἠὺχαρίστουν τῷ εὐοδώσαντι καθαρίσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον. This is said to have been in imitation of the thanksgiving in the Feast of Tabernacles: "They kept eight days *after the manner of* [the Feast of] Tabernacles (σκηνωμάτων τρόπον)." These "*thursoi*," or "bunches of twigs and branches," appear to correspond to 1 Macc. xiii. 51 βαῖων carried in the (*ib.* 50) "cleansing" of the "Tower" of Jerusalem by Simon who (*ib.* 52) "ordained that that day should be kept every year [with gladness]."

³ For the parallel texts, see above, p. 180.

This section was written before I had read Prof. F. C. Burkitt's note on Mk xi. 9 (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1916), in which he says (p. 142):—

"The conclusions to which these ritual facts seem to point are these:—

(i) 'Hosanna' had come to be a cry for good luck to God at the Feast of Tabernacles, from quite ancient times, before the minor details of the Feast were finally stereotyped.

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suggesting that he regarded it as a doxology, ascribing praise, and might, and glory, to God: "They began to *praise* God with a loud voice for all *the mighty works* that they were seeing, saying...in heaven [may there be] *peace and glory*...¹." This agrees with the earliest Christian use of the word, outside the Gospels, "*Hosanna* to the God of David," in the *Didachè*, near the conclusion of the Eucharistic Service². It agrees also with the earliest Patristic explanation of the word confidently set forth by Clement of Alexandria. It is, he says, "*light, and glory, and praise, along with supplication to the Lord*—for this is the meaning of the [word] *Hosanna*, when interpreted in Greek³."

The explanation of this long paraphrase is to be found in Luke's rare verb "praise," *ainein*, combined with Matthew's noun "praise," *ainos*, in the parallel context. The chief priests blame Jesus for not checking "the children that were crying in the temple and saying *Hosanna* to the Son of David." Jesus

(ii) The fact that the name for the thyrsi is *Hosanna*, not *Hosianna* (הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא not הוֹשִׁיעָהּ נָא), suggests that the Gospels are correct in giving this shortened form as a popular exclamation.

(iii) Psalm cxviii., composed for the Dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus, gives us a hint of the ritual procession to the Temple then made; it confirms 2 Macc. x. 6 in representing this procession as modelled upon the ancient procession at the Feast of Tabernacles.

(iv) Psalm cxviii. 25 is not the ultimate source of the cry *Hosanna*, but *Hosanna* finds a place in the Psalm because the ancient cry of *Hosanna* was used at that Dedication.

(v) It is a fair deduction to suppose that the behaviour of the Galilean crowd at our Lord's Entry into Jerusalem was based on what was appropriate for *Hanukkah*, for the Feast of the Dedication, rather than by what was appropriate for Tabernacles."

¹ Lk. xix. 37—8 ἤρξαντο... αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων, λέγοντες... ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξῃ ἐν ὑψίστοις.

² *Didach.* x. 6 τῷ θεῷ Δαβὶδ (so the MS). The Lat. has "*filio David*." The context is as follows:—"For thine is (ἐστὶν) the power and the glory for ever; let grace come and this world pass away. *Hosanna* to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not, let him repent. *Maran atha. Amen.*"

³ Clem. Alex. 104—5 φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος μεθ' ἱκετηρίας τῷ κυρίῳ· τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐμφαίνει ἐρμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὸ ὠσαννά.

replies "Did ye never read, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected *praise*¹?' " This, at least, is how the words of the Psalm, quoted by Jesus according to Matthew, read in Greek. But the Hebrew has, not "*praise*," but "*strength*²."

The Hebrew "give *strength*" is elsewhere used in ascriptions³. But Greeks might well say "How can men 'give *strength* to God'? It is better to write 'give *praise*.'" Hence the Hebrew *strength*, in the Psalm just quoted, is rendered by LXX "*praise*," *ainos*, and sometimes elsewhere "honour" (as well as "power" and "might⁴"). Clement might well be unable to find in Greek one word that would suffice by itself to render the Hebrew⁵. The phrase really meant "Thine is the kingdom, that is to say, the kingdom of light and glory and divine majesty⁶."

Now the Aramaic word corresponding to the Hebrew "*strength*" used in ascriptions closely resembles *Osanna*⁷. And *Ossanna* (or *Osanna*) (not *Hosanna*) is the form found in the early Latin versions before Jerome⁸. This similarity may throw light on the reply of Jesus to the chief priests above quoted. It indicates that, in Aramaic, Jesus might say something like "Out of the mouth of babes... thou hast perfected *Osanna*"—as a reply to the complaint that the children were "saying

¹ Mt. xxi. 16 κατηρίσω αἶνον.

² Ps. viii. 2 יָ, R.V. "*strength*," LXX αἶνον, Aq. and Sym. κράτος.

³ See Gesen. 739, instancing Ps. xxix. 1, xcvi. 7 etc.

⁴ Tromm. (which omits αἶνος (1) by error) gives יָ as = δόξα (3), δύναμις (23), ἰσχύς (29), κράτος (6), τιμή (3).

⁵ Cramer, on Mk xi. 9, prints τὸ γὰρ "ὡσαννὰ" ὅμιλος ἐρμηνεύεται. This is quite inadequate.

⁶ For a doxological mention of light see *Acts of John* on the Eucharist § 11 "We praise thee, O Father; we give thanks to thee, O Light, wherein dwelleth not darkness. Amen."

⁷ Ps. viii. 2 Targ. אֲשַׁנָּה, i.e. *us(h)na*, freq. in Psalms, Levy *Ch.* ii. 248 b.

⁸ As the earliest Greek MSS never use the aspirate, they afford no guidance on this point. Jerome, as will be seen below, by his theory of the derivation of the word from Hebrew (not Aramaic) committed himself to the insertion of the Latin aspirate "*Hosanna*."

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Hosanna." The meaning, in both cases, would be an ascription of praise and glory. This also throws light on Luke's omission of "Hosanna," and his parallel addition of words signifying "praise," "mighty works," and "glory." Apparently he is not omitting, but substituting¹. So, too, Clement of Alexandria is substantially justified in his paraphrase of Osanna, provided that we regard it as Aramaic, not Hebrew.

Against this view of derivation from Aramaic we have the opinion of Origen—expressed in his commentary on Matthew—that Hosanna is derived from the Hebrew, transliterated as *Osienna*, of words in the 118th Psalm "I beseech, O Lord, *save now* (*osienna*), I beseech, O Lord, prosper [us] now; blessed [be] he that cometh in the name of the Lord²." But Origen makes no mention of this in his earlier work (the commentary on John) where he quotes passages mentioning Hosanna and their contexts³. In his commentary on Matthew he puts forth his suggestion as a novelty ("it seems to me") from which others might differ, and explains that he was led to it by the similarity of *hosanna* to the Hebrew *hosienna(n)*, which comes in the Psalm above quoted just before the words "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord⁴."

¹ Lk. xix. 38 ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη, καὶ δόξα, substituted for Mk-Mt. ὠσαννά, before ἐν τοῖς [Lk. om. τοῖς] ὑψίστοις, may be illustrated, not only by Lk. ii. 14 "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of his good pleasure," but also by *Jewish Prayer Book* (comp. ed. Singer, p. 76) "He that maketh peace in His high places (במרוֹמיו) may He make peace upon us (עלֵינו) and upon all Israel; and say ye, Amen."

² Ps. cxviii. 25.

³ *Comm. Joann.* x. 15 (Lomm. i. 316) καὶ ἔκραζον Ὁσαννά, εὐλογημένος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (omitting ὁ ἐρχόμενος), x. 18 (Lomm. i. 335) κέκραγάτα Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου καὶ Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (omitting Ὁσαννά).

⁴ Origen *Comm. Matth.* xvi. 19 (Lomm. iv. 58) "It seems to me that the equivalent of the [expression] (τὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ) (Ps. cxviii. 25) O Lord, save now (ὦ κύριε σῶσον δὴ) placed before the [expression] (ib. 26) Blessed [is] he that cometh in the name of the Lord, is set forth Hebraically in the [expression] (Mt. xxi. 9) Hosanna to the son of David. And thus also ran the Hebrew phrasing: 'Annà (LXX ὦ

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This seems a happy conjecture. But we should have to suppose that the crowd of pilgrims that shouted *Hosanna* shouted in Hebrew, for the Aramaic "save now" is quite different from the Hebrew¹. The alternative would be to suppose that although they shouted in Aramaic, some Gospel written in Hebrew recorded the word in Hebrew. Jerome adopts this supposition². But he does not explain why Matthew should have transliterated the Hebrew word instead of translating it "*Save now!*"—the obvious translation, given by LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

The question is complicated by the fact that the Hebrew phrase "*Save now*" was connected in the Talmud with the Feast of Tabernacles, and with a procession of branch-bearers

ἀδωναὶ (LXX κύριε) *hosiennan* (LXX σῶσον δὴ)... Then it seems to me that the Gospels being written continuously"—i.e. (?) so as to blend *hosie* "save" with *na* "now"—"by persons not knowing the [Hebrew] language have been confused in those expressions of the text which contain these [syllables] from the above-mentioned psalm (ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἔχουσι ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ψαλμοῦ). But if you would learn the exact [meaning] of the phrasing, hear Aquila... And now let this be added, that, on this point, the foregoing remarks represent our view (καὶ εἰς ταῦτα δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶδομεν); but if anyone differs from us, let him look further into it and teach [us]. But in one of the sections on the Gospel according to John I partially investigated this point as well [as others] when my object was to expound Jn xii. 12 *On the morrow*..."

¹ "Save" Heb. ישע is regularly rendered by Onk. פרק. And in Ps. cxviii. 25, the Syr. has פרק for ישע. The Targ. omits "save" while retaining "prosper us." The Targumist supposes the verse to be uttered by the parents of David as part of a dialogue between them and David's brethren and David and "the builders," and it paraphrases thus: "*We beseech thee, O Lord, now, said the builders; we beseech thee, O Lord, to prosper [us] now, said Jesse and his wife.*" The Midrash on Ps. cxviii. 25 retains "save," and assigns the words differently as follows: "The men of Jerusalem say from the inside, O, Eternal, save now; and the men of Judah say from the outside, O, Eternal, prosper us."

² See Jerome's letter on *Hosanna* (*Epist.* xx), written to Damasus in reply to a request for an explanation of the word. Neither in the summary of his letter, nor in his *Matth. Comment.* where he gives the letter's substance, is Origen's name mentioned.

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usual during that Feast. In this the above-quoted words of the Psalm ("save now") were habitually recited, so that the Hebrew "*save-now*" became a title given both to the Feast, and to the day of the procession, and to the prayer for salvation, and even to the "bundle" of branches carried in it¹. The carrying of palm-branches was also practised at the Feast of Dedication "as in the feast of tabernacles," and might be extemporised on any public rejoicing². In Revelation, the bearers of palm-branches, instead of crying "Save, O Lord," cry "*Salvation* [belongeth] unto our God." This seems to be an ascription, like other following clauses: "Blessing and glory . . . and power and might . . . [belong] unto our God for ever and ever. Amen³."

John does not attempt to paraphrase "Hosanna" as Luke does. He accepts it without attempt at explanation, but in such a context as to suggest that the cry did not come from *all* the multitude. Luke might lead hasty readers to the conclusion that it did, since he mentions the "praise" as uttered by "*the whole multitude of the disciples*." Mark and Matthew say that the cry "Hosanna" came from "those who went before and those who followed." John alone says "A great multitude that had come to the feast . . . *went forth to meet him*, and cried out Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord⁴." It is implied (no doubt) that this crowd, after having met Jesus, turned round and preceded Him into the City. John adds, "the multitude therefore that was with him when

¹ See Lev. xxiii. 40, and Wetstein's note on Mt. xxi. 9 "Then also they recited Ps. cxviii. 24—5. And in separate prayers, which they use to this day, they make mention of *Saving* (*Salutis*); whence both the branch-bundle (*fasciculo*) and the prayers, and the feast itself, have been named by them *Hosanna* from *Saving* (a *Salute*)." Levy i. 461 *a* gives instances.

² See 2 Macc. x. 6 (comp. 1 Macc. xiii. 51—2).

³ Rev. vii. 10, 12. On God's "salvation," as implying that in saving others God, as it were, saves the honour of His own Name, see *Exod. v.* on *Exod. xxii. 1* (Wü. p. 233) quoting the lit. Heb. of Zech. ix. 9 "*saved* (נושע)," not "*having salvation*," which would have been מושיע.

⁴ Jn xii. 12—13.

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he called Lazarus out of the tomb...bare witness¹." Apparently this second "multitude" includes the disciples and others, who had accompanied Jesus from Bethany, and who now followed Him into Jerusalem. These are not said to have cried "Hosanna." Thus John, besides correcting an impression that might have been derived from Luke, appears to be explaining, and correcting, the Marcan "those who *went before* and those who *followed after*." He seems to say, in effect, "It should have been 'those who at first went *out*, and afterwards went *before*.'" ²

¹ Jn xii. 17.

² Prof. Burkitt says (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1916, p. 151) "In Lk. xix. 37 *b*...for ΑΠΑΝ the newly-discovered text W is found to read ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ...Origen also has ΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ," and "quite clearly understands by it ἀπαντᾶν 'to meet,' for the subsequent χαίροντες αἰνεῖν is changed," by Origen, "into χαίροντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες." I may add that ἀπαντᾶν is confirmed by Origen's comment on Lk. (Lomm. v. 228) "If He had not come to the descent [of the Mount of Olives] the multitude would not have been able to *meet* Him (non ei poterat *occurrere* multitudo)." This is important, for Lommatzsch prints Origen i. 315 ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, in spite of the bad syntax—ἤρξατο ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν χαίροντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες.

That Luke would not have written ἀπαντᾶν is suggested by the fact that (*Notes* 2999 (iii) *d*) ἀπαντᾶν is mostly used (by careful writers) of evil that "befalls" or is "met." As parall. to Mk xiv. 13 ἀπαντήσῃ, Lk. xxii. 10 has συναντήσῃ, and in Lk. xvii. 12 W. H. marg. ἐπήντησαν is perh. correct (txt ἀπήντησαν). In *Hermas Vis.* iv. 2. 1—3, first ἐπαντᾶν is used of a virgin, and then ἀπαντᾶν (v. 1. ἐπαντᾶν) of a monster (θηρίον), meeting *Hermas*. In *Justin M.* (apart from a quotation (*Tryph.* § 58) of Gen. xxviii. 11) ἀπαντᾶν is used only *Apol.* § 60 of "monsters (θηρία)" (but *Apol.* § 44 uses the middle, ἀπαντήσεσθαι (along with ἀμείψεσθαι) apparently signifying divine visitation, for good or ill). In *Melito* (*Euseb. H.E.* iv. 26. 8) ἀπαντᾶν is used of persecution "befalling" the Church.

These facts are of some interest as they suggest a question as to John's use of (Jn xii. 13) ἐπάντησιν applied to the multitude in a parallel to Lk. xix. 37. Did John write with allusion to some Greek tradition already current about the "meeting" of the multitude and derived from an interpretation of Lucan sources? The answer is uncertain. Hebrew sources might originate confusion owing to (*Notes* 2999 (iii) *g*) "the frequent oscillation (*Corrections* 472 *c*, 474 *a*)

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To some slight extent this Johannine picture resembles the picture presented by the Midrash (above quoted) on the Processional Psalm, "*The men of Jerusalem say from the inside, O, Eternal, save now, or Hosanna.*" Not improbably, John desired to suggest that the word *Hosanna* had a technical Jewish meaning, with which "*the men of Jerusalem*" were familiar, but on which it was unprofitable to dilate for Gentile readers¹. "*Hosanna*"—like the title in the Johannine context, "*King of Israel*"² (where John alone inserts "*Israel*")—suggests Jewish traditions some of them likely to be used by the multitude in a narrow, restrictive, and transitory sense. Probably John does not take a very favourable view of the acclamations of

between 'meet' and 'call.' But here the case for Greek corruption seems strong.

¹ Prof. Burkitt says very instructively (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1916, p. 140) "We may thus distinguish here two distinct tendencies in Christian documents. On the one hand there was a tendency to get rid of *Hosanna* altogether as a 'barbarous' word: this is seen in the paraphrase given by Luke, and also in W. On the other hand the texts that retain *Hosanna* tend to add an object in the dative.

"This brings us to consider what the meaning of *Hosanna* was. Here again there are two traditions, the one *grammatical*, the other *ritual*. It is as if we were asking the meaning of the German cry *Hoch!*, and one should say it meant 'high' and another that it meant 'hurrah!' The ultimate derivation of *hosanna* is, no doubt, הושיעה נא, i.e. 'save-oh!' No doubt, also, the original use of the word as an exclamation is to be seen in 2 Sam.-xiv. 4, 2 Kings vi. 26, where הושיעה is used as the call of a suppliant to the King, like *Havo! à mon aide!* But the general import of a ritual exclamation is not necessarily exhausted by its grammatical derivation: when we shout 'God save the King!' we do not think of the King as in particular need of rescue or salvation."

Though the Heb. verb ישע, "save," was superseded in Aram. by פרק, yet the technical Heb. noun הושענא, *Hosanna*, "save-now," was adopted into Aramaic as a noun, *Levy Ch. i. 196 b* "Der Bachweide (auch Myrte) die man mit dem Feststrauss verbindet, Hosiana, Hosana, weil man dabei dieses Gebet sagte (Esth. Targ. II. iii. 8) 'sie machen die Hosiana (entlehnt von Ps. cxviii. 25 הושיעה נא verkürzt: הושענא).'"

² On "King of Israel," see below, p. 191, n. 4.

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the multitude and their "blessing¹." Perhaps he mentally contrasts it with the impending arrival of "certain Greeks" and their simple request to Philip "Sir, we would see Jesus²."

§ 7. "*The coming kingdom of our father David*," in Mark³

The expression "our father David" occurs nowhere else in the Bible. According to a Jewish tradition, "the fathers call no one '*our father*' except the three patriarchs⁴." But Peter, in the Acts, speaks of "the patriarch David," apparently meaning that he was the founder of the royal line of the kings of the Chosen People⁵. And Jeremiah (followed by Ezekiel) regards the future royal Deliverer of Israel, not merely as a son of David, but as David himself, so that God says concerning Israel "They shall serve the Lord their God, and *David their king, whom I will raise up unto them*⁶."

Such a phrase as "the kingdom of our father David" might well be familiar to the peasants of Palestine during the period when they looked for the re-establishment of a Davidic reign; but it might become obsolete at the end of the first century, when the hopes of Jewish patriots were modified by the fall of Jerusalem, and those of Jewish Christians by the resurrection of Him whom they had learned to call the Son of God, or the Son of the Father, or still, occasionally, the Son of David, but no longer "the son of our father David."

Accordingly Matthew substitutes the conventional "son of David" placed after "Hosanna," apparently as an ascription, "*Hosanna to the son of David*"; he does not in his own narrative

¹ See *Law* p. 319 n. on ἐὺλογημένος, nowhere used in Jn except here, and perhaps regarded as the cry of the fickle multitude (as in Philo, who (i. 453) distinguishes it from ἐὺλογητός).

² Jn xii. 21.

³ Mk xi. 10. So SS, and W.H., a "benedictum regnum patris nostri David," *k* "benedictus qui venit in regnum (*sic*) patri (*sic*) nostri David."

⁴ Wetstein on Mk xi. 10, quoting *Massecheth Semachoth*. Levy i. 2 quotes traditions calling Moses "father of wisdom and father of the prophets" etc. but not "our father."

⁵ Acts ii. 29.

⁶ Jerem. xxx. 9, comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—4.

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mention "*coming kingdom*" or "*kingdom*" at all, but suggests the thought of it in the phrase "*thy King cometh unto thee*," loosely quoted from Zechariah in the form "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold, *thy King cometh unto thee*¹."

Luke mentions "*the King*" in his own narrative, as part of the acclamation of the disciples, and appears to mean by it "the ideal, or Messianic, King," perhaps also defining by it "he that cometh," which really means the Deliverer: "Blessed [is] He that Cometh, the King²." John prefers to divide "He that Cometh³" from "King," and to define the latter as being, not of the secular nation ("the Jews"), but of the nation regarded theologically ("Israel") :—"He that Cometh" . . . and "*The King of Israel*⁴."

In addition to these variations in the four Gospels, there are in Matthew and John strange departures from the text of Zechariah, which both of them misquote⁵. No explanation of these difficulties is attempted by Jerome⁶. But Origen grapples

¹ Mt. xxi. 5

² Lk. xix. 38.

³ On "He that Cometh" see *Son* 3240—1.

⁴ Jn xii. 13. Comp. Jn i. 49 "the Son of God . . . the *King of Israel*." In the Synoptists this title occurs nowhere but in Mk xv. 32, Mt. xxvii. 42, where Luke, missing the meaning, substitutes (xxiii. 37) "*the King of the Jews*." In O.T., "*the king of Israel*" (apart from Saul and David) mostly means the king of the ten tribes. But see Is. xlv. 6 "The Lord, the *King of Israel*" and Zeph. iii. 15 "The *King of Israel*, even the Lord." The title might be given to the Messiah as the representative of the One King, or as the second David.

⁵ Zech. ix. 9 R.V., "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation (*or*, victory) (Heb. saved); lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass," LXX Χαίρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σειών· κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σώζων, αὐτὸς πραὺς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον, quoted in Mt. xxi. 5 Εἰπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι· πραὺς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον νῖον ὑποζυγίου, quoted in Jn xii. 15 Μὴ φοβοῦ, θυγάτηρ Σιών· Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται, καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου.

⁶ Jerome on Mt. xxi. 5 merely says that the riding on two animals is impossible and therefore must be allegorized. On Zech. ix. 9 he

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with them¹. Origen also frankly asks how the joyful tone of Zechariah's prophecy can be reconciled with the "weeping" of Jesus, which Luke describes as occurring, after the acclamations of the disciples, when He "drew nigh" and "saw the city²." In his opinion the Gospel narratives are permeated with allegory, and the quotations from Zechariah are influenced by Christian allusions. Such allusion could explain John's alteration of the prophetic "rejoice greatly," into "fear not." The former might be addressed to Israel of old expecting the revival of the Kingdom of David; the latter to the remnant of Israel, preserved from the destruction which was soon to fall on Jerusalem.

Origen is extremely fanciful in some of his explanations, but at all events he recognises that the Evangelists would not

again allegorizes the two animals as representing the Jews and the Gentiles.

¹ In *Comm. Joann.* x. 17 (Lomm. i. 326) Origen says that Matthew has both altered and curtailed Zechariah's text, and adds "the Jews press us with arguments not to be despised" as to the Christian application of the context. In *ib.* x. 18 (Lomm. i. 336) he says that the Johannine "Fear not, daughter of Zion"—part of the Johannine quotation—"is not mentioned at all (οὐδ' ὅλως εἴρηται)" in the prophecy. Also, on Mt. xxi. 5 (Lomm. iv. 45—6) Origen points out the discrepancies in detail between Zechariah, Matthew, and John, and says of the latter, "Indicating that the discussion of the passage requires knowledge (γνώσεως), John introduces the remark (Jn xii. 16) *Now these things his disciples knew not* (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν) *at the first* (τὸ πρότερον)."

² *Comm. Matth.* xvi. 15 (Lomm. iv. 46—7) "One would naturally inquire how, with any consistency (εὐλόγως), command is given (according to the prophet) that the daughter of Zion should rejoice greatly, and the daughter of Jerusalem make [glad] proclamation because of the Rider on the ass...when, after a short [interval] He (Lk. xix. 41) *having seen* it, [namely] Jerusalem, *wept* [saying] 'Thou that killest the prophets' and so on" (txt perhaps corrupt).

Origen has here connected with the weeping of Jesus—which Luke alone mentions in connection with the City (xix. 41 ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐκλαυσεῖν ἐπ' αὐτήν)—words ("thou that killest") placed by Luke (xiii. 34) some time before His coming to Jerusalem, but by Matthew (xxiii. 37) immediately before He leaves the Temple for the last time—a position that seems much more appropriate.

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have altered the words of Zechariah without some reason, and he calls our attention to the Johannine recognition of some latent mystery in Christ's action not perceived by the disciples at the time: "These things his disciples knew not at the first, but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that these things had been written of him and [that] they did these things to him¹." "Remembered" must not be taken as implying "They forgot at first but remembered later on." It means "They knew at first with their senses, but not with their minds, that is to say not with full recognition of the meaning of what they knew; afterwards their spirits were enlightened and they knew with their minds²." This ignorance, which John attributes to the disciples, the parallel Luke attributes, in a more intense form, to Jerusalem as a whole: "If thou hadst known...the things that belong unto peace! But now are they hid from thine eyes³." This, in Luke, is consistent with his context, which represents none of the people of Jerusalem, but only Christ's disciples, as acclaiming Christ⁴.

§ 8. "*He looked round about upon all things,*" in Mark⁵

These words and their Marcan context are omitted by the Diatessaron⁶. They describe a preliminary visit of Jesus to the

¹ Jn xii. 16 "remembered (ἐμνήσθησαν)."

² Comp. ἐμνήσθησαν in Jn ii. 17, 22 "*remembered* that it was written," "*remembered* that he had said," meaning "*recalled with recognition of the real meaning,*" and ὑπομνήσει in Jn xiv. 26 "the Paraclete...shall bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you."

³ Lk. xix. 42.

⁴ Lk. xix. 37.

⁵ Mk xi. 11
(R.V.)

Mt. xxi. 10—11
(R.V.)

Lk. om.

And he entered into Jerusalem, into the temple; and when he had looked round about upon all things, it being now eventide, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

(10) And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was stirred, saying, Who is this?

(11) And the multitudes said, This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee.

⁶ After Mk xi. 10 a "our father David," *Diatess.* has Lk. xix. 38

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Temple in which there is no action but only a "*looking round*¹," with a view to the action of the morrow when the Temple is to be visited again and purified. Matthew and Luke represent the Temple as being purified at once². No writer in the New Testament except Mark (and Luke once, following Mark) uses the word "look-round." Mark applies it five times to Jesus.

The first instance is where Jesus asks "Is it lawful on the sabbath day to do good...?" and those who are asked "held their peace." Then Jesus, "*when he had looked round about on them* with anger, being grieved at the hardness of their heart," healed the man³. The silence of those whom Jesus questions and on whom He "looks" with indignation, recalls the words of the Lord in Isaiah "And when *I look*, there is *no man...that, when I ask of them, can answer a word*⁴." And the mention of "*no man*," as a reason for the intervention of the Lord, may be illustrated from other passages in Isaiah⁵. Moreover the rare Greek verb "look round about" occurs in Exodus to describe one of the earliest and most conspicuous instances of intervention

"Peace in heaven and praise in the highest," and then Jn xii. 12 "And a great multitude...."

¹ Mk xi. 11 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντα...μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

² Mt. xxi. 12—13. Luke, after xix. 38 "glory in the highest," inserts (*ib.* 39—40) a remonstrance from Pharisees in the crowd; then Christ's weeping at the sight of the city (*ib.* 41—4 "And when he drew nigh, he *saw the city*... thy visitation"); and then xix. 45 "And he entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold." There is no interval in Luke between "*he saw the city*" and "*he entered into the temple*," such as would enable the reader to suppose the "*seeing*" to refer to a preliminary visit.

³ Mk iii. 5. The parall. Lk. vi. 10 "And he looked round about on them all, and said unto him," omits Christ's "grief," and also the "silence" of those whom He had questioned.

⁴ Is. xli. 28.

⁵ Is. lix. 15—16 "Yea, truth is lacking...and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And *he saw that there was no man*, and wondered that there was no intercessor: therefore his own arm brought salvation unto him," lxiii. 4—5 "The year of my redeemed is come. And *I looked and there was none to help*...therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me."

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for the oppressed, where it is said of Moses "He saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. And *he looked round about him* this way and that way, and when he saw that there was *no man*, he smote the Egyptian¹." "No man" here seems to mean simply "no one to witness the action of Moses"; but theoretically it might mean "no one else to help," and it is explained by Philo as meaning that Moses surveyed the whole of human nature and perceived that no human being was fixed and stable, but only the True God².

It is highly improbable that Mark himself used this Greek verb in this first instance with any allegorical purpose. Probably he is recording a Petrine reminiscence of the actual gestures of Jesus, a turning round of the whole body such as is ascribed to the Buddha in Buddhist Suttas³. In connection with the purification of the Temple, the question of the meaning is complicated by the various senses attached to the word in Greek literature, and by the fact that Mark himself applies it to Jesus in various ways, and once to the disciples⁴. But this is certain, that the verse of Mark containing this clause adds a preliminary visit to the Temple not mentioned by Matthew and Luke. On the day after this first visit, Jesus, according to Mark, makes a second, and (on the way) condemns a fig-tree from which He has sought fruit in vain—after which He purifies

¹ Exod. ii. 11—12.

² Philo i. 94—5 περιβλεψάμενος δὲ τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ᾧδε καὶ ἐκέισε, καὶ μηδένα ἰδὼν ἐστῶτα, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ὄντα θεόν. Comp. Baruch iv. 36, v. 5 "look round to the east" to behold God's Deliverance.

³ See *Buddhist Suttas*, T. W. Rhys Davids, 1881, p. 64. It is however limited to the practice of the Buddhas in "looking backward." The context describes the Buddha's last view of a familiar place.

⁴ Περιβλεψάμενος, in Mark, precedes (iii. 5) αὐτούς, (iii. 34) τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλῳ καθημένους, (v. 32) ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦτο ποιήσασαν (where it implies search), and here (xi. 11) πάντα. In x. 23 it is used absolutely. In ix. 8, περιβλεψάμενοι is applied to the disciples after the vision in the Transfiguration, "looking about them" and "seeing no one."

The active, used of "turning round to look back" in Gen. xix. 17, Josh. viii. 20, might have described Jesus as "turning round" to take a final view of the Temple when leaving it for the last time.

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the Temple. But according to Matthew, the Temple has been already purified before Jesus condemns the fig-tree.

Luke omits the condemnation of the fig-tree, and the omission raises the question of Johannine Intervention. So does the Matthew-Luke omission of Mark's preliminary visit. In the discussion of John's attitude toward the two Marcan traditions it will be convenient to include a Lucan parable about a fig-tree to which the owner has come seeking fruit for three successive years in vain, so that he consequently commands it to be cut down¹.

§ 9. *John on Christ's visits to the Temple*²

In the accounts, printed below, of Christ's visits to the Temple, it will be seen that John differs from the Synoptists

¹ Lk. xiii. 6—9. It follows traditions peculiar to Luke (xiii. 1—5) about Galilaeans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, and about "those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell," concluding with the warning "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish."

² The first visit in Mk (xi. 11) having been discussed above, pp. 193—6, we have to start from the second visit in Mk. Parts of it are parallel to parts of the first visit in Mt.-Lk.

Mk xi. 12—19 (R.V.) [<i>The second visit in Mk.</i>]	Mt. xxi. 12—19 (R.V.) [<i>The second visit in Mt.</i>]	Lk. xiii. 6—9, xix. 45—8, xxi. 37—8 (R.V.) [?]
(The condemning of the fig-tree)	Mt. xxi. 18—19 (The condemning of the fig-tree)	Lk. xiii. 6—9 (The parable of the fig-tree)
(12) And on the morrow, when they were come out from Bethany, he hungered.	(18) Now in the morning as he re- turned to the city, he hungered.	(6) And he spake this parable; A cer- tain man had a fig- tree planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit thereon, and found none.
(13) And seeing a fig-tree afar off having leaves, he came, if haply he might find anything thereon; and when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves; for it was not the season of figs.	(19) And seeing a (or, a single) fig-tree by the way side, he came to it, and found nothing thereon, but leaves only; and he saith unto it, Let there be no fruit from thee hencefor- ward for ever. And immediately the fig- tree withered away.	(7) And he said unto the vinedresser, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none: cut it down; why doth it also cumber the ground?
(14) And he an- swered and said un-		

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both positively and negatively. Positively, he represents Jesus as going up to the Temple, before the final Passover, on four

Mk xi. 12—19

(R.V.) *contd.*

[*The second visit
in Mk*] *contd.*

(The condemning of
the fig-tree) *contd.*

to it, No man eat
fruit from thee hence-
forward for ever.
And his disciples
heard it.

Mt. xxi. 12—19

(R.V.)

[*The first visit
in Mt.*]

Mt. xxi. 12—14 (R.V.)

(15) And they
come to Jerusalem:
and he entered into
the temple, and be-
gan to cast out them
that sold and them
that bought in the
temple, and over-
threw the tables of
the money-changers,
and the seats of them
that sold the doves;

(16) And he would
not suffer that any
man should carry a
vessel through the
temple.

(17) And he
taught, and said
unto them, Is it not
written, My house
shall be called a
house of prayer for
all the nations? but
ye have made (πε-
ποιήκατε) it a den of
robbers.

(18) And the chief
priests and the scribes

(12) And Jesus
entered into the
temple of God (*many
anc. auth. omit* of
God), and cast out
all them that sold
and bought in the
temple, and over-
threw the tables of
the money-changers,
and the seats of them
that sold the doves;

(13) And he saith
unto them, It is
written, My house
shall be called a
house of prayer: but
ye make it a den of
robbers.

(14) And the blind
and the lame came
to him in the temple:
and he healed them.

Lk. xiii. 6—9, xix.

45—8, xxi. 37—8

(R.V.) *contd.*

[?]

Lk. xiii. 6—9

(The parable of the
fig-tree) *contd.*

(8) And he an-
swering saith unto
him, Lord, let it
alone this year also,
till I shall dig about
it, and dung it:

(9) And if it bear
fruit thenceforth,
[well]; but if not,
thou shalt cut it
down.

[*The first visit
in Lk.*]

Lk. xix. 45—8 (R.V.)

(45) And he enter-
ed into the temple,
and began to cast out
them that sold,

(46) Saying unto
them, It is written,
And my house shall
be a house of prayer:
but ye have made
(ἐποιήσατε) it a den
of robbers.

(47) And he was
teaching daily in the
temple. But the
chief priests and the
scribes and the prin-
cipal men of the
people sought to
destroy him:

(48) And they
could not find what
they might do; for
the people all hung
upon him, listening.

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occasions¹, not one of which is mentioned by the Synoptists—unless we suppose that the first Johannine visit, including a

Mk xi. 12—19

(R.V.) *contd.*

[*The second visit
in Mk*] *contd.*

heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, for all the multitude was astonished at his teaching.

[*The end of the
second visit in Mk*]

Mk xi. 19 (R.V.)

And every evening (*lit.* whenever evening came) he (*some anc. auth.* they) went forth out of the city.

[*The end of the first
visit in Mt.*]

Mt. xxi. 15—17 (R.V.)

(15) But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were moved with indignation,

(16) And said unto him, Hearest thou what these are saying? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea: did ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

(17) And he left them, and went forth out of the city to Bethany, and lodged there.

[*Daily visits in Lk.*]

Lk. xxi. 37—8 (R.V.)

(37) And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called [the mount] of Olives.

(38) And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.

¹ The Johannine mentions of the Temple in narrative, with their contexts (R.V.), are given below. It will be seen that in every case there is a previous reference to one of the Jewish feasts whether the word "feast" be used or not. For the sake of completeness, the mention of the Temple in the interpolated passage Jn viii. 1—2 is also given.

(1) Jn ii. 13—21 "And the *passover of the Jews* was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. (14) And he found *in the temple* those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money

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purification of the Temple, which John records as Christ's first public act, is to be identified with the Synoptic visit and

sitting: (15) And he made a scourge of cords, and cast all *out of the temple*, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; (16) and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. (17) His disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house shall eat me up. (18) The Jews therefore answered and said unto him, What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? (19) Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple (*or, sanctuary*) and in three days I will raise it up. (20) The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple (*or, sanctuary*) in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days? (21) But he spake of the temple (*or, sanctuary*) of his body."

(2) Jn v. 1, 14 "After these things there was a (*or, the* [(?) *above-mentioned*, see *Introd.* p. 81]) *feast of the Jews*.... Afterward Jesus findeth him *in the temple*...."

(3 a) Jn vii. 2, 14, 28 "Now *the feast of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles*, was at hand....But when it was now *the midst of the feast* Jesus went up *into the temple* and taught...Jesus therefore cried *in the temple*...."

[(Interpolated) Jn viii. 1, 2 "But Jesus went unto the mount of Olives. And early in the morning he came again *into the temple*, and all the people came unto him, and he sat down and taught them."]

(3 b) viii. 20, 59 "These words spake he in the treasury as he taught *in the temple*...But Jesus...went *out of the temple*." The Feast of Tabernacles covers Jn vii. 2—viii. 59; thus 3 a and 3 b cover a single "going up" for a "feast."

(4) x. 22, 23, 39 "And it was *the feast of the dedication* at Jerusalem: it was winter; and Jesus was walking *in the temple* in Solomon's porch....They sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hand."

There is no further mention of the Temple, connected with Jesus, in Johannine narrative. But there is a mention of people (Jn xi. 56) "*standing in the temple*" and wondering whether Jesus will come for the Passover. And Jesus says (Jn xviii. 20) "I ever taught in synagogues (Gk *synagogue*) and *in the temple*."

There are good reasons (*Introd.* p. 81) for placing Jn chap. v. after chap. vi. which says (vi. 1) "Now the passover was near." Hence Jn v. 1 (NC etc. ἤν ἡ εἰσπρή) may mean "The above-mentioned feast had [now] arrived."

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purification of the Temple, which the Synoptists place as almost Christ's last public act¹.

Negatively, when John comes to speak of the final Passover, where the Synoptists represent Jesus as riding into Jerusalem and purifying the Temple, John, though he too describes the riding, makes no mention at all of the Temple—nor even of Jerusalem, except as it were casually, "when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem²." Mark, on the other hand, multiplies his mentions of "coming to Jerusalem" day by day. For example, where Matthew and Luke say that Jesus "entered into the temple" and cleansed it, Mark says "*And they come to Jerusalem, and he entered into the temple*³."

Examining John's mentions of the Temple, and of Christ's words or deeds in the Temple, we find that in every case the mention of the Temple is preceded by some mention of Passover, or Feast, or Feast of Tabernacles, or Feast of Dedication, sometimes at an interval but never so long a one as to obscure the suggestion that the Feast is the cause of Christ's presence in the Temple. This accords with Luke's tradition that the parents of Jesus *used to go year by year to Jerusalem on the occasion of the Passover*, and that when He was twelve years old, they went up "after the custom of the feast⁴." The Law commanded all males of suitable age to go up thrice in the year⁵. Luke's tradition, which says that Christ's mother also

¹ The *Diatessaron* does identify the two. Consequently it omits Jn ii. 12—13 and places Jn ii. 14 *a* almost immediately after one of Luke's latest parables "(Lk. xix. 11—27) And he spake a parable because he was nearing Jerusalem...slay them before me. (Mk xi. 15 *a*, loosely rendered) And when Jesus entered Jerusalem he went up to (Mt. xxi. 12 *a*) the temple of God and (Jn ii. 14, loosely rendered) found there oxen and sheep and doves..." Clark's edition of the *Diatessaron* gives Mt. xxi. 12 *a* alone, without Mk xi. 15 *a*, but wrongly, since Mt. has merely "went into the temple of God," whereas Mk prefixes "*they come to Jerusalem.*"

² Jn xii. 12. This is the last Johannine mention of Jerusalem.

³ Jerusalem occurs in (a) Mk xi. 1, Mt. xxi. 1, om. by Lk. xix. 29, but see Lk. xix. 28; (b) Mk xi. 11, Mt. xxi. 10, om. Lk.; (c) Mk xi. 15, om. Mt. xxi. 12, Lk. xix. 45; (d) Mk xi. 27, om. Mt. xxi. 23, Lk. xx. 1.

⁴ Lk. ii. 41—2.

⁵ Exod. xxiii. 14 foll.

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went up (though women's obligation was not included in the Law), leads to the inference that, in the family of Jesus, attendance at the feasts would be regular.

Now Luke himself, according to the best authorities, tells us that Jesus at a very early period in His public life was preaching in the synagogues of Judaea¹. It is true that the parallel Mark and Matthew mention Galilee. But Luke aims at chronological order. And for this and other reasons, given in a previous volume², it seems probable that Luke here inserts in its right place a statement of historical doings in Judaea about the nature of which he himself says nothing because he knew nothing and Mark and Matthew recorded nothing. There would be a natural tendency to alter Judaea into Galilee, as many authorities have done in the text of Luke itself.

But if, as a fact, Jesus preached in Judaea quite early in His career, it becomes probable that at an early period, and more than once, He went up to Feasts at Jerusalem. In that case, before the publication of any of our extant Gospels, there would be traditions telling how Jesus went up to "a feast" at Jerusalem, or to "the feast"—meaning "the feast" last mentioned in the traditional context—and that He said this or that. Such traditions it would be difficult or impossible for Evangelists to arrange chronologically. Luke has preserved one of these, relating how Jesus went up for the first time to Jerusalem at the Passover, and had conversations with the teachers, saying afterwards, to His mother, "Knew ye not that I must be in my Father's house (*or*, business)³?"

If Jesus went up to the Feasts at Jerusalem on several occasions, saying and doing things unknown to Galilaean evangelists, they might pass over these visits in their chronological order but make some reference to them in their account of the final visit to the Passover in which they regarded Jesus as going up to Jerusalem to seek fruit from Israel as being the

¹ Lk. iv. 44.

² See *Proclam.* pp. 240—42 on Mk i. 39, Lk. iv. 44 (R.V. (Lk.) txt "Galilee," but marg. "Judaea"; and W. H. txt "Judaea" without alternative).

³ Lk. ii. 49.

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Vineyard of the Lord of hosts, and from Judah as being the Lord's "pleasant plant¹." One parable of this kind uttered in Jerusalem all the Synoptists have preserved, shewing how the Lord of the Vineyard deals with the refractory vinedressers². Another similar parable Luke has placed earlier, wherein the owner of a fig-tree comes seeking fruit "these three years" and finding none, so that he commands the tree to be cut down³.

No other Evangelist has this. But Mark, followed by Matthew, has placed in his account of Christ's daily visits to Jerusalem a story about one visit in which Jesus comes seeking fruit in vain, from a fig-tree, on His way to the Temple, and commands the tree to be henceforth barren and dead; and it dies accordingly. This story Mark and Matthew place in different positions among their accounts of Christ's visits (printed above), so that the parallelism between the two is disturbed. The parallel Luke wholly omits it. It seems as though Mark has confused and conflated a literal with a poetical account, so as to make two visits out of one. Matthew, except in respect of order, has followed Mark. But Luke seems to be right both in rejecting the literal version and in substituting a poetical or parabolic one. Further, Luke may be right in placing the parable in a comparatively early position before Jesus came to Jerusalem for the final Passover.

Again, Luke agrees with Mark in describing Jesus as teaching, during one of these daily visits, a doctrine about almsgiving, and about a correct judgment of its merit, placing the widow's mite above the larger offerings of the rich⁴. The parallel Matthew omits this, but inserts a condemnation of the Pharisees for emphasizing outward observances of tradition to the neglect of "judgment⁵"; to which Luke has a parallel, mentioning

¹ Is. v. 7.

² Mk xii. 1—12, Mt. xxi. 33—46, Lk. xx. 9—19.

³ Lk. xiii. 6—9. The "three" visits to the fig-tree might be perhaps regarded, in accordance with Johannine chronology, as corresponding to three visits to Jerusalem. But I have not found any ancient adoption of this view.

⁴ Mk xii. 41—4, Lk. xxi. 1—4.

⁵ Mt. xxiii. 23, Lk. xi. 42.

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'judgment," but at an earlier date and not in Jerusalem. Now Mark and Luke say that the teaching about the widow's mite was in the Temple, near "the treasury." "The treasury" is nowhere else mentioned in the New Testament except by John¹, in recording a discourse of Jesus in the Temple, presumably at the conclusion of the Feast of Tabernacles, wherein Jesus says to the Pharisees that they "*judge* after the flesh" and explains why His own judgment is true: "If I judge, my *judgment* is true, for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me²."

Is there any reason for thinking that in Mark's original, as in the Fourth Gospel, the Treasury was regarded as the appropriate place for a doctrine about "judgment" of a certain kind—that judgment which distinguishes dross from pure metal and false coin from true? In Mark, it is said that Jesus, "*having sat down* over against the treasury, beheld how the multitude cast money into the treasury³." "*Having sat down*" is altered by Codex Bezae into "[*while*] *sitting*," and by the Syro-Sinaitic Version into "*standing*"—in which latter form Origen twice quotes it⁴. The parallel Luke has "*having looked up* he saw." "*Having sat down*" is the more difficult reading, and might naturally be altered by Luke and modified by editors of Mark. But if it was the original, what was its original force?

A reasonable answer may be supplied from Malachi's account of the Messiah's coming to the Temple: "The Lord... *shall suddenly come to his temple*...and he shall *sit as a refiner* and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi... and they shall offer unto the Lord offerings in righteousness⁵." Jesus regarded ostentatious offerings of the rich as dross or brass. The Refiner was to "*sit*" in authority and to teach Israel to separate the dross or brass from the silver. According to this view, "*sat*" is not superfluous, nor need it be taken as a literal statement rightly rejected by Luke. It implies not only the general authority of a teacher, but also a special

¹ Jn viii. 20.

² Jn viii. 15—16.

³ Mk xii. 41.

⁴ Origen Lomm. ii. 151, 155.

⁵ Mal. iii. 1, 3.

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allusion to the authority of the Messiah, teaching men how to distinguish true sacrifice from false and "to offer offerings in righteousness." Not improbably a similar allusion is latent in the Lucan account of the boy Jesus unexpectedly found "in the temple *sitting* in the midst of the teachers, both hearing them and asking them questions¹." It is perhaps implied that even in this first visit to the Father's house, the Child separates truth from falsehood, pure metal from dross.

In addition to these facts, indicating that Jesus visited Jerusalem on more than one occasion, there is evidence, derived from Mark's mention of "cornfields" and "plucking ears of corn²," that the original of the Marcan narrative of Christ's public life must have covered a longer period than that of one year (extending from the sequel of one Passover to the beginning of another). This agrees with the text of John which speaks of

¹ Lk. ii. 46. See the very full comment in *Hor. Heb.* ad loc. on "sitting," and also Schöttgen, who begins by saying "It was lawful for no one to *sit* in the temple," and proceeds to quote *Aboth* R. Nathan § 39 (*Aboth* VI f) on different kinds of "sitting." During the time of Hillel disciples did not "sit" but stood in the presence of their teachers; not till a later period did they "sit on the ground." Here, however, Jesus is described as not only "sitting," but also "*sitting in the midst of the teachers.*" *Hor. Heb.* says "It is less wonder if they suffer him to sit amongst them, being but twelve years of age, whenas they promoted R. Eleazar Ben Azariah to the presidency itself when he was but sixteen." But the writer fails to add that this Eleazar was (Schürer II. i. 372) "a rich and eminent priest, whose genealogy is traced back to Ezra," whose wealth was proverbial, and who was elected in a crisis to fill a gap which he filled only for a time. It is futile to compare such a "promotion" of a youth of sixteen with the position assigned to Jesus at the age of twelve in Luke's story. *Hor. Heb.*, however, is of value as shewing the difficulty felt by so learned a writer in attempting to explain the Lucan narrative literally. It cannot be thus explained. It points back to a poetic story derived from the picture of the Judge or Refiner in Malachi.

Cyril of Alexandria substitutes (Cramer *ad loc.*) μεταξὺ for ἐν μέσῳ so as to make it clear that Jesus is seated "*amidst* the teachers" (and not, as some have supposed, on the floor, with the teachers seated in chairs forming a semi-circle round Him).

² *Introd.* pp. 89—90, quoting Mk ii. 23.

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two Passovers before the final one. Even John's omission to give us in every case the name of the "feast" that he mentions, regrettable though it is for many reasons, is very instructive if we can assume that he does not want to mystify his readers. For then it proves that he did not himself know in each case the name of the "feast" and that he set down a vague tradition as he found it. That would explain many chronological variations in the Synoptists. It might also explain other errors. Sayings uttered in Jerusalem might sometimes be liable to misinterpretation if recorded as being uttered to an audience in Galilee.

§ 10. *The symbolism of the fig-tree, misunderstood by Luke*

That Luke misunderstood the symbolism of the fig-tree in Christ's doctrine appears from his version of the following words of Jesus uttered a little later on:—

Mk xiii. 28

Now from the fig-tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh.

Mt. xxiv. 32

Now from the fig-tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh.

Lk. xxi. 29—30

(29) And he spake to them a parable: Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees:

(30) When they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh.

The peculiarity of the fig-tree, as here mentioned, was that its fruit appeared before its leaves, so that, when the leaves themselves appeared, they announced, not the coming, but the ripening, of the fruit—not spring but "*summer*." Pliny notes this exception to the ordinary rule of fruit-trees¹. Luke seems

¹ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 49 (113). Other trees, he says, have the fruit under the leaf, except the fig ("*excepta fico*"). He adds "*ei demum serius folium nascitur quam pomum*." *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxi. 19 indicates a great variety of Jewish traditions about various kinds of figs. These might naturally vary in the different climates of Galilee and Judaea. But the language of Mark, and the testimony of Pliny, make it clear that the original of the Synoptic tradition referred to the ordinary fig and to its exceptional character among

to have missed this allusion to an exceptional characteristic. At all events he has added "*and all the trees*"¹—as if the meaning were "When trees (lit.) push forth, you know that summer is near." This is obscure since "push forth" might have for its object "buds" or "fruit." No instance is alleged of its use thus without an object. But Aquila employs it about "ripening," with "green figs" as object². Luke seems to use it absolutely in the sense of putting forth leaf and to apply it to trees in general, not fruit-trees alone.

Mark may perhaps be paraphrased as follows: "Seeing afar off leaves on a fig-tree, Jesus came up to it on the chance that³ it might have fruit. [*It ought to have had according to rule. But Jesus came only on the chance*]⁴—and when He came to it He found nothing but leaves—for it was not [yet] the season for figs⁴." The fig-tree, so to speak, if it was not deceiving, was bound to have fruit since it had leaves. But it was deceiving. It gave the spectators the impression that it had fruit before the time, whereas it had none, and would have none at any time.

The first Biblical mention of the leaves of the fig-tree is

fruit-trees. Pliny himself says that there were exceptional fig-trees that followed the rule of other fruit-trees, but those are not contemplated by Mark.

¹ The *Diatessaron*, immediately after Lk. xxi. 28 "Your salvation is near," places Mt. xxiv. 32 foll. "Learn the example of *the fig-tree*." It does not add (from Lk. xxi. 29) "*and all the trees*," here or anywhere.

² Cant. ii. 13 "The fig-tree *hath ripened* (R.V. *ripeneth*) her green-figs." LXX ἐξήνεγκεν ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς, Aq. προέβαλεν, Sym. ἐξέθηλεν.

³ Mk xi. 13 "On the chance that," εἰ ἄρα, only here in the Gospels. Comp. Acts viii. 22 εἰ ἄρα where it is implied that Simon Magus is not forgiven, and 1 Cor. xv. 15 εἴπερ ἄρα οὐκ which introduces as an impossibility the non-raising of the dead. In Acts xvii. 27 εἰ ἄρα γε, the γε makes a difference.

⁴ Ephrem on Mt. xxi. 19 supposes the season to be late, after the fig-gathering, and the owner to be in fault for not leaving (Deut. xxiv. 19—21) a gleaning. Origen expatiates on the peculiar merit of "fruits of the Spirit" if they are forthcoming when "not in season" (Lomm. iv. 79—82) but does not help the reader to understand the action imputed to Jesus.

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connected with sin. With such leaves Adam and Eve clothed their nakedness just before they "hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God"; and Philo allegorizes these fig-leaves as indicating the sweetness of pleasures¹. The context might be applied to the soul of man, fleeing from God into itself and from the service of God into selfishness or self-service². In Mark, the unfruitful but leafy fig-tree may have been intended to signify the splendour of the Temple, which, under the appearance of solemn service to God, was used for the service of men, and, to a large extent, for the gains of monopolising priests and avaricious rulers³. Thus conducted, the ritual of the Temple might well seem an obstruction rather than a help to religion, a fruitful fig-tree that had become a barren fig-tree, cumbering the ground—a thought that indicates how the Lucan parable, and the Marcan narrative, about a fig-tree, might proceed from one and the same original.

According to Luke, Jesus, on His way to Jerusalem—but on an earlier occasion, and not in one of these daily visits from Bethany—used language about "uprooting" a "sycamine-tree" very similar to that placed here in Mark and Matthew:—

Mk xi. 22—3

Have faith in God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea...it shall be [done] for him.

Mt. xxi. 21

Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith and...ye shall not only do the [deed] of the fig-tree, but even if ye shall say to this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea, it shall come to pass.

Lk. xvii. 6

If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed ye would say to this sycamine-tree, Be thou rooted up and be thou planted in the sea, and it would have obeyed you.

There is abundant evidence to shew that a Jewish teacher would use phrases about rooting up trees or mountains in a metaphorical sense, speaking of obstacles or difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the Law⁴. Such phrases Jesus might

¹ Philo *Quaest. Gen.* on Gen. iii. 7.

² Comp. *Law* p. 507.

³ On the monopolies see *Son* 3585 c.

⁴ See *From Letter* 764 foll. on the Rabbinical title Uprooter of Trees or Mountains, and comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

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apply to spiritual difficulties, the obstacles presented by sin. And it is conceivable, and indeed antecedently probable, that when He stood on the Mount of Olives and looked upon the Temple, which He had attempted to purify, and on the whole of what the Jews called the Mountain of the Lord's House, He would regard that "mountain" as no longer the Lord's, but as an opposing "mountain" to be addressed in the words of Zechariah, "Who art thou, O *great mountain*? Before Zerubbabel [thou shalt become] a plain; and he shall bring forth the head stone with shoutings of Grace, grace, unto it¹." Such a saying Luke, finding it attributed to Jesus as He was "going to Jerusalem²," might assign to an earlier period while Jesus was journeying by slow stages to the City, and before the time when He began a course of daily visits to the Temple. In that case he would have to interpret "*this sycamine-tree*" as meaning literally a casual tree indicated by a gesture of Jesus. But really, in the original saying, it might have meant the visible Temple—"this barren tree that I see before me."

As regards the parallelism between "this mountain" in Mark and "this sycamine-tree" in the passage last quoted from Luke, it has been shewn that a similar parallelism is found in Jewish tradition between "*this mountain*" and "*this plane-tree*³." Both of them meant Mount Gerizim. In the Fourth Gospel the Samaritan woman speaks of worshipping God "*in this mountain*" (that is, Gerizim), whereas the Jews say that "the place where men ought to worship" is "*in Jerusalem*." Jesus replies "Neither *in this mountain*, nor *in Jerusalem*"; the place of worship is to be—"in spirit and truth⁴."

¹ Zech. iv. 7.

² Luke from ix. 51 onward ("set his face to go to Jerusalem") is describing Christ's journey to Jerusalem; and the saying about the (xvii. 6) "sycamine-tree," is closely followed by (xvii. 11) "as he was going (*ἐν τῇ πορεύεσθαι*) to Jerusalem." What Luke regards as one journey in several stages, John may have regarded (and perhaps correctly) as separate journeys in separate years.

³ See *Son* 3364 l—q.

⁴ Jn iv. 20, 21, 24.

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§ II. *Does John intervene?*

The Docetae (according to Hippolytus) declaring "the First God" Himself to be as it were the seed of a fig-tree, blended together the Parable of the Search for fruit from the Fig-Tree in Luke with the Curse of the Fig-Tree in Mark-Matthew, along with strange allusions to the clothing of the nakedness of Adam and Eve¹. From a different point of view, that of the ordinary Greek reader, we might expect to find in John something that might meet the apparent jibe of Epictetus, "You can only have figs in the regular time of the year; if you long for them in winter, you are a fool²."

Nothing, however, of the nature of a definite intervention can be found in John. But Jesus, after calling Nathanael "an Israelite indeed without guile," is represented as saying to him "When thou wast *under the fig-tree* I saw thee³." The two sayings perhaps imply that Nathanael, under the stress of the temptations of the flesh and the world, had not clothed himself in falsehood or hypocrisy but remained "without guile." John nowhere again mentions the fig-tree. But this passage leads us to ask how he would express, 1st, the similitude, suggested by Mark, between the misused Temple and a barren fig-tree, 2nd, the lessons inculcated by it concerning the fruit that God sought from Israel, and God's treatment of the fruitful and the unfruitful.

Roughly and briefly we may say that John places before us a positive along with a negative aspect of the Congregation, or Church, or Body, of Israel. First he regards it as the Temple and later on as the Vine. As to the Temple, he represents

¹ Hippol. viii. 1. The seed is described as "refuge of those that fear, covering of the naked, veil of shame, fruit sought after (ζητούμενος καρπός), to which came the Seeker (it is said) thrice, and found not, wherefore also (it says) He cursed the fig-tree."

² Epict. iii. 24. 86.

³ Jn i. 47—8. See *Son* 3375 f—k on "THE FIG-TREE" in Jn, where the conclusion is "the story of Nathanael under the 'fig-tree' is probably to be regarded as a version of the story of Zacchaeus in the 'sycomore.'"

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Jesus as Himself using a phrase "destroy (*lit.* loose) this temple," a form of which Mark and Matthew place only in the mouths of false witnesses testifying against Jesus. The Gospels vary as follows:—

Mk xiv. 58 We heard him say, <i>I will destroy</i> ¹ this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands.	Mt. xxvi. 61 This man said, <i>I am able to destroy</i> ¹ the temple of God, and to build it in three days.	Jn ii. 19 Jesus answered and said unto them, <i>Destroy</i> ¹ this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.
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John adds "But he spake of the temple of his body²."

The variation of imperative and indicative may be illustrated by the following:—

Mk xiv. 27 and Mt. xxvi. 31 It is written, <i>I will smite</i> the shepherd, and the sheep (Mt. + of the flock) shall be scattered abroad.	Zech. xiii. 7 (Heb.) <i>Smite [thou]</i> the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.
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If Jesus said "*Destroy* this temple," the imperative would be quite intelligible as meaning "*Go on in your evil way, if ye are so resolved, and destroy this temple*³, this body of the faithful of Israel"—followed by a warning, "But know that on the third day it shall be raised up." But some, taking "temple" literally, would read into the words a contrast between "this temple" (of stone) and "another⁴." They would also find in the words a prophecy that Jesus would or could⁵ destroy the temple of stone (as it was destroyed through the hand of the Romans) and build it up again as the Church of Christ. Luke

¹ "Destroy" is in Mk-Mt. καταλύω, in Jn λύω.

² Jn ii. 21.

³ For a similar imperative see Mt. xxiii. 32 "*Fill ye* then up the measure," where, however, W. H. marg. and SS have "*ye will fill*" (D "*ye filled*") [The parallel Luke differs]. There are similar variations in the Gk of some of the imperatives in Is. viii. 9—10 "*Make an uproar . . . gird yourselves . . . take counsel . . . speak the word*" (see Field).

⁴ Mk xiv. 58 "*build another*."

⁵ "Could," Mt. xxvi. 61 "*I am able*."

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omits the whole as a false accusation. John intervenes to shew the truth on which the falsehood was based. He does not deny that Jesus, on some occasion, invoked or predicted destruction on the visible building of the Temple, but at all events he does not record it. He records, instead, a warning addressed to the rulers of the Jews that if they persist in their course they will be destroying—though not ultimately, yet as far as they can—the true and invisible Temple of God¹.

As to the other metaphor, that of a tree, the Fourth Evangelist substitutes "vine" for "fig," and again fixes our thoughts mainly on the positive aspect. He does not—as Isaiah does in his parable of the Vineyard—describe the whole of the Vine as being retributively "trodden down" for failing to bear good fruit². Isaiah's parable is addressed to rebellious Israel. The Johannine parable is addressed not to "the Jews" but to those to whom Jesus says afterwards "I am the vine, ye are the branches," that is, to the disciples. To them He has said "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh it away; and every [branch] that beareth fruit, he cleanseth it, that it may bear more fruit³." This differs both from the Marcan story of cursing and from the Lucan Parable of condemnation. In both of those, there was "a coming to look" for fruit, as for something external. In John, there is no "coming to look." Everything is internal and personal. The Vine is in fact the Lord Himself; the branches, if they abide in Him, are as it were His limbs. The action of "the husbandman," God, is for the good of the Vine as a whole, through fire and steel—fire for the unfruitful, the pruning-knife for the fruitful branches. In conclusion, we must say that if John intervenes it is rather in favour of Luke than in favour of Mark, in order to shew the justice and impartiality of the Lord of the Vineyard.

¹ At the same time the impending destruction of the visible Temple is not left wholly unmentioned. But it is the Jews who mention it, Jn xi. 48 "If we let him alone..., *the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation.*" It is an instance of Johannine irony, see *Son* 3106 a.

² Is. v. 5.

³ Jn xv. 1—6.

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§ 12. "*Carrying a vessel through the temple,*" in Mark¹

This is omitted by Matthew and Luke. Wetstein quotes, in illustration of Mark, Josephus against Apion, as saying that no vessel was allowed to be carried "*in templo*."² But the Latin gives "*in templum*," and the context indicates that the meaning is "*into the Holy Place*"; for it adds "there were therein only the altar, the table, the censer, and the candlestick."

This, therefore, does not help us to understand Mark. But John perhaps does by saying that there were "in the temple people selling oxen and sheep"³ (not mentioned by the Synoptists). The care of these animals might necessitate the "carrying" of "vessels." Along with this Johannine addition must be considered the Johannine substitution of "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise"⁴ for the Synoptic "Ye made it a den of robbers." Origen says that the Synoptic words are "more severe" than the Johannine⁵. Is this so? And what is John's attitude to the Synoptic narratives as a whole?

The first point to be noted is that the exact words in Jeremiah are "Is this house...become a den of robbers in your eyes?" And these words do not refer to any "robbery" committed inside the Temple. They refer to sins committed outside. This is indicated by the preceding question "Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely...and come and stand before me in this house...and say 'We are delivered'; that ye may do all these abominations⁶?" That is to say, the people came into God's House, as robbers might come into their cave, commemorating or condoning their exploits rather than repenting of them, but at all events not continuing them in the House itself.

The Gospels on the other hand refer to a systematic extortion,

¹ Mk xi. 16 καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

² Joseph. Contr. Ap. ii. 8.

³ Jn ii. 14.

⁴ Jn ii. 16.

⁵ Origen Comm. Joann. x. 17 (Lomm. i. 328) τοὺς πάντας...χαλεπώτερα ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀκούσαντας.

⁶ Jerem. vii. 9—10.

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practised by the rulers of the Temple, and in the Temple, on the pilgrims who came to offer sacrifice—frauds so open and coercive that they deserved to be called “robberies” rather than thefts¹.

Jerome in his commentary on Matthew explains this at great length. But the length of his explanation indicates that in the first century educated Greeks might not understand the force of the word “robbers” and might think that it savoured of exaggeration. In the place of this fervid sentence from Jeremiah—which was probably only one of many sayings of Jesus on the abuses of the Temple—John substitutes another saying that refers to the busy “merchandise,” or traffic, implied by Mark’s tradition about “carrying vessels.” There is in this saying a unique use of the Greek word *emporion*, i.e. “emporium” or “place of traffic².” John has “Make not my Father’s house a house of *emporium*.” Why does he not say “an *emporium*”? Probably because he has in view the Synoptic tradition “My Father’s house shall be a house of prayer,” and he wishes to contrast “house of prayer” with “house of merchandise.”

But if he wished to do this, why did he not (instead of *emporium*) use *emporion* which regularly means merchandise in LXX—and in the single instance where it occurs in Matthew³—whereas *emporium* never has this meaning? The most probable explanation is, that John had in view a saying based on Isaiah’s mention of Tyre (LXX) “she shall be an *emporium* to all the kingdoms of the world” and on Ezekiel (LXX) “Thou shalt say to Tyre, . . . the *emporium* of the peoples⁴.” These are the only instances of *emporium* (sing.) in the LXX.

But in Isaiah, the Hebrew for “she shall be an *emporium*” is “she shall play the harlot,” and Ibn Ezra illustrates the expression by a Deuteronomic one, “the hire of an harlot⁵” and paraphrases the context of Isaiah as meaning that “all the

¹ See *Son* 3585 c.

² Steph. *Thes.* gives no instance of it.

³ Mt. xxii. 5 “one to his merchandise (ἐμπορίαν).”

⁴ Is. xxiii. 17, Ezek. xxvii. 3. The only other LXX instance of ἐμπόριον is pl. Deut. xxxiii. 19.

⁵ Deut. xxiii. 18.

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kingdoms" will "come to her for *merchandise*." The same connection between "fornication" and "merchandise" is found in Revelation where the writer says that "the kings of the earth committed *fornication*" with "Babylon the great," and then speaks of "the *merchants* of the earth" as mourning over the loss of their "*merchandise*" in her¹.

All this is very unlike Western thought. But when the metaphor is probed it will be found accordant with the thoughts of the prophets of Israel. In the Temple of God, all human thought must go up in sacrifice and God-worship, not gad about in self-pleasing and self-worship. Israel's concentrated worship of the One God is wedded union; Israel's gadding about to the love of false gods is harlotry. It would seem, then, that Mark's quaint and obscure tradition about "carrying vessels" points to something much deeper than at first appears—to a consecration of the traffic of greediness resulting in a desecration of the ordinances of pure worship. This "traffic" Jesus could not but condemn. And the form in which John alleges Him to have condemned it accords with the precedents set by two of the greatest prophets of Israel².

Possibly a third prophet has also contributed to Mark's tradition. The last words of Zechariah, describing the future holiness of the Temple, say—according to Aquila, whom Jerome follows—"There shall be no more a *trafficke*r in the house of the Lord of hosts³." This is preceded by a poetic forecast about the "*pots*," or "*vessels*," in the Lord's House, which are all to

¹ Rev. xviii. 2—3, 9—11.

² See *Son* 3370 *c*, where mention should have been made of John's use of ἐμπόριον. Westcott says (on Jn ii. 16) that ἐμπόριον means the place of traffic and not the subject or art of trafficking (ἐμπορία): "comp. Ezek. xxvii. 3 (LXX). Thus the 'house' is here regarded as having become a market-house. . . ." I do not understand this. It can hardly be intended to suggest that the genitive is appositional (like "the name of George") "the house of (i.e. *that is called*) emporium."

³ Zech. xiv. 21 R.V. txt "*Canaanite*," marg. "*trafficke*r," on which see Jerome. The Targ. has "*trafficke*r," and so has Rashi. Comp. Hos. xii. 7 R.V. txt "*trafficke*r," marg. "*Canaan[ite]*," Targ. "*trafficke*rs." *Pesach*. 50 *a* supports "*trafficke*r" in both passages.

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be "holy," destined (as Rashi interprets the passage) to be of gold and silver, sanctified to the Lord's use, made out of the bells of the horses (war-horses being discarded in the days of peace)—so that henceforth (it might be inferred) no ordinary vessel of clay was to be allowed in the sacred precincts¹. This is remote, in tone, from the bare prose of the Marcan tradition about "carrying a vessel through the temple." But the prophetic simultaneous mention of "vessel" and "traffic" is worth noting, in view of Mark's mention of "vessel," simultaneously with John's mention of "traffic," in the evangelistic accounts of the Purification of the Temple.

§ 13. "For all the nations," in Mark²

Reasons have been given in *Diatessarica*³ for believing that the clause "for all the nations," though omitted by Matthew and Luke, was a part of the original tradition. We can see one reason why Matthew and Luke might omit the clause when we examine the context in which Justin Martyr quotes Christ's words from Matthew and Luke. It is in a fierce attack on Jews and on their rejection of Jesus: "He [*i.e.* Jesus] appeared distasteful to you [Jews] when He cried among you, *It is written, My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of robbers*⁴." Justin makes it appear that Jesus was "distasteful" to the Jews simply because He accused them of making the Temple "a den of robbers," and because they were actually "robbers." But if Jesus said "a house of prayer for all the nations," there was somewhat more reason for His being

¹ Zech. xiv. 20—21 "The *pots* in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar. Yea, every *pot* in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holy unto the Lord of hosts."

² Mk xi. 17 quoting fully Is. lvi. 7 "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations (so LXX, but Heb. *peoples*)," Codex *k* om. "for all the nations." Pseudo-Jerome, on Mk, says "'House of prayer' according to Isaiah, 'Den of robbers' according to Jeremiah," which looks as though he omitted "for all the nations," as introducing a separate thought and weakening the antithesis.

³ Son 3353 (i)—(iv) on "The inclusiveness of the Gospel," and 3468 *c* foll. on "The Holy Mountain."

⁴ Justin M. *Tryph.* § 17.

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"distasteful" to them. Had the accusation of "robbery" been Christ's uppermost feeling, there would have been much to say for omitting the Marcan mention of "all the nations."

But probably that accusation was not Christ's uppermost feeling. The uppermost feeling was more probably that "zeal" for the Father's "house" which consumed, or "ate," the Son's heart¹, a sympathetic indignation at seeing the outrage done by His professed ministers, the Jewish priests, to His Gentile children, the proselytes, as well as to the poor among their own countrymen, whom they "made to stumble" by their extortions. And if Jesus was purifying that part of the Temple, or Mountain of the House, which was called "the Court of the Nations (*or*, Gentiles)" where beasts were sold for sacrifice, there would be a special force in Isaiah's words "*for all the nations*," as though Jesus said to the chief priests, "How can the Lord make 'strangers'² from the nations joyful in His 'holy mountain,' and how can His house be 'called a house of prayer for all the nations,' Gentiles as well as Jews, when you, His priests, fill the Mountain of His House, the Court of the Gentiles, with noise, traffic, and extortion that make prayer impossible³?"

John, almost immediately after the Riding into Jerusalem, places a mention of "*certain Greeks* among those that went up to worship at the feast" who say to Philip, "Sir, we would see Jesus⁴." This immediately follows a testimony from the Pharisees themselves to the universal attraction exercised by Jesus. "Behold how ye prevail nothing; lo, *the world* is gone after him⁵." Coming together at this point, the two passages remind us that John has himself described the "body" of Jesus as being a "temple⁶," or, in other words, a "house of prayer"; and now he seems to bring Him before us as a "house of prayer" not only for "certain Greeks" but also for "all the world."

¹ Jn ii. 17, quoting Ps. lxi. 9.

² Is. lvi. 6—7 "*Also the strangers...even them will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer, and their sacrifices shall be accepted.*"

³ Quoted from *Son* 3353 (iii).

⁴ Jn xii. 20—21.

⁵ Jn xii. 19.

⁶ Jn ii. 21.

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§ 14. "A scourge of cords," in John¹

Why does John insert this picturesque detail? Why do the Synoptists omit it? Of what nature were the "cords"? Whence were they obtained? What typical meaning, if any, may be attached to this Johannine insertion? Does it indicate a historical fact omitted by the Three Gospels or a symbolism peculiar to the Fourth?

It has been suggested that the cords were "probably the rushes which were littered down for the cattle to lie on²." But the Johannine word never means "*rushes*" either in LXX or in Greek literature³. Etymologists may use the word thus, but other writers do not. Moreover "*rushes*" would seem more suitable to the bank of the Nile than to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem⁴.

A different explanation presents itself in the words of the Psalm "Bind the sacrifice *with cords* even to the horns of the altar⁵." Each victim, presumably, would have a cord attached to it for the purpose of leading it, and binding it, to receive the sacrificial stroke. From such "cords" Jesus might construct, and encourage His followers to construct, the "scourge" in question. No doubt, John would see in this a typical action—the true Sacrifice, the Lamb of God, casting out the false sacrifices, the "bullocks" and "lambs" about which the Lord had said "I delight not in their blood⁶." But that does not,

¹ Jn ii. 15 καὶ ποιήσας φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων. Nonnus calls the whip "counterfeit," νόθην ἰμάσθλην, indicating that he read ὡς after ποιήσας, with the best Latin versions, which have *tanquam*, or *quasi*.

² So Alford. Westcott says "The 'cords' (σχοινία, properly of twisted rushes) would be at hand." Keim speaks of the whip as made of "rushes."

³ In LXX, σχοινίον represents Heb. חבל, "cord," more than 20 times, and never represents Heb. "bulrush" or "rush." Steph. Thes. vii. 1677 and L. S. give no instance where it means "rush." See Acts xxvii. 32 "ropes" (the only other N.T. instance).

⁴ Exod. ii. 3, Is. xviii. 2.

⁵ Ps. cxviii. 27, "cords," עבתיים, variously interpreted (Gesen. 721 b) in ancient and modern times.

⁶ Is. i. 11.

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in a case like the present, afford grounds for rejecting the alleged action as a fiction. It is too original to be treated thus, yet not too original for a great Jewish prophet.

But, if historical, why is the "scourge of cords" omitted by the Synoptists? The first answer that suggests itself is "Because in the Synoptic narrative there is no mention of the sheep and oxen that would require them." If we ask why there are no sheep and oxen, the answer might be given "Because, after one or two visits of Jesus to the Temple, He had succeeded in abating the market abuse to such an extent that the sheep and oxen were removed and nothing remained but the doves." If we could believe this, we might explain not only the Synoptic omission of the sheep and oxen in the account of the visit to the final Passover, but also the Johannine omission of all cleansing of the Temple in the final visit. Unquestionably this view presents great difficulties. And in some ways it would be less difficult to believe that Mark had fastened on one abuse—the oppression of the *poor*, who bought doves—to the neglect of other abuses, as to sheep and oxen, which affected only the rich. But in any case the "scourge of cords" does not appear to have been a Johannine invention.

§ 15. "*Doves*," "*tables*," and "*money-changers*," in all
but Luke¹

Luke omits these Marcan details, partly perhaps because, at the time when he was writing, the Temple had fallen and details about its service had lost their interest, but partly also because he did not see the force of them. Why this distinction between the "tables" of the money-changers and the "seats²" of them that sold doves? Why introduce "money-changers" at all, since selling, not money-changing, was the fault? Why mention "doves" alone, and no other sacrificial victims?

John treats these details as obscure but not out of date. He perhaps regarded them as a useful and enduring protest against the view, not unknown among early Christian teachers,

¹ Mk xi. 15, Mt. xxi. 12, Jn ii. 14—16.

² SS, in Mk, has "*tables...tables*" for "*tables...seats*."

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that religion might be made a "way of gain¹." At all events he intervenes as to each point. As for the "tables" and the "seats" the radical thought was perhaps not about distinctions between tables and stalls or seats but about "sitting." It was unseemly for anyone to "sit" in the Lord's House except by special commission. The true Messiah was to "sit" therein and to purify the sons of Levi². A false Messiah, a representative of Mammon, might also "sit in the temple of God³," and claim men's worship. These salesmen and money-changers in their *cathedrai*, as Mark calls their seats, were such representatives. They sat, so to speak, *in cathedra*, exercising the authority of Mammon. John expresses this by the word "sitting," which is to be understood with allusion to the Hebrew sense "sitting [as if with authority]⁴."

In the next place, as to the Marcan "money-changers," John explains the meaning by not only using it himself but also adding to it two depreciatory words ("small-change" and "dealers-in-small-change") which suggest that these men made a discreditable gain out of those who came to them to exchange their money for the coin that was exacted by custom for sacrifices in the Temple. The noun, "small-change," is not used in the Greek Bible anywhere but here; but it is frequent in Epictetus in the sense of "pelf" as being the object of the worldly minded, who "refer everything to paltry pelf⁵." Thus John consistently shapes his narrative so as to bring out for Greek readers the base, unspiritual, and God-detested nature of the "merchandise" that Luke was content to term mere "selling." In the Double Tradition of Matthew and Luke Jesus says, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon⁶." The incompatibility that is conveyed to

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 5. νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

² Mal. iii. 3.

³ 2 Thess. ii. 4 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι, comp. Ezek. xxviii. 2 "I sit in the seat of God."

⁴ See Exod. xviii. 14, Mal. iii. 3 etc.

⁵ Epict. ii. 10. 20 εἰ ἐπὶ κερμάτιον πάντα ἀνάγεις. Κερμάτιον is very freq. (see iii. 2. 8, iii. 5. 3 etc.), and κέρμα occurs in ii. 10. 14, ii. 10. 19, iv. 3. 2, iv. 9. 9.

⁶ Mt. vi. 24, Lk. xvi. 13.

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Jews in those words is indirectly suggested here in the contrast implied between such sacrifices as ought to be offered to the One God and such sacrifices as were actually offered in the Jewish Temple under the control of the priests, the hierophants of "small change¹."

§ 16. *What followed after the purification of the Temple*²

The Diatessaron describes the departure of Jesus from the Temple, after the purification of it, as follows:—"And when

¹ If the *κέρματα* represent the brass or copper coins of the poor received, and often over-received, by the *κολλυβισταί*, then the Johannine word (Jn ii. 15) *ἐξέχεεν*, "poured forth," signifies a retributive "shedding," as it were, of that which the miserly extortioner values as his own blood. It was the blood of the poor and he has to give it back.

² Mk xi. 18—19 and its parallels are printed above (pp. 197—8), but are repeated here for the sake of continuity.

Mk xi. 18—25
(R.V.)

(18) And the chief priests and the scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, for all the multitude was astonished at his teaching.

(19) And every evening (*lit.* whenever evening came) he (*some anc. auth.* they) went forth out of the city.

(20) And as they passed by in the morning, they saw the fig-tree withered away from the roots.

(21) And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto him, Rabbi, behold, the fig-tree which thou cursedst is withered away.

(22) And Jesus answering saith un-

Mt. xxi. 15—17, 19 b,
20—22, vii. 7, vi.
14—15 (R.V.)

(xxi. 15) But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were moved with indignation,

(16) And said unto him, Hearest thou what these are saying? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea: did ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

(17) And he left them, and went forth out of the city to Bethany, and lodged there.

(19)...And immediately the fig-tree withered away.

Lk. xix. 47 b—48,
xxi. 37—8, xvii.
5—6, xi. 9, 4 (R.V.)

(xix. 47) ...But the chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people sought to destroy him:

(48) And they could not find what they might do; for the people all hung upon him, listening.

(xxi. 37) And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called [the mount] of Olives.

(38) And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.

(xvii. 5) And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith.

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eventide was come, he left all the people, and went outside the city to Bethany, he and his twelve, and he remained there. And all the people, because they knew the place, came to him, and he received them; and them that had need of healing he healed. And on the morning of the next day, when he returned

Mk xi. 18—25

(R.V.) *contd.*

to them, Have faith in God.

(23) Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it.

(24) Therefore I say unto you, All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them.

(25) And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. [*Many anc. auth. add ver. 26* But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses.]

Mt. xxi. 15—17, 19 b,

20—22, vii. 7, vi.

14—15 (R.V.) *contd.*

(20) And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How did the fig-tree immediately wither away?

(21) And Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do what is done to the fig-tree, but even if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea, it shall be done.

(22) And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.

(vii. 7) Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:

(vi. 14) For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.

(15) But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Lk. xix. 47 b—48,

xxi. 37—8, xviii.

5—6, xi. 9, 4

(R.V.) *contd.*

(6) And the Lord said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye would say unto this sycamine-tree, Be thou rooted up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you.

(xi. 9) And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

(4) And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us....

to the city from Bethany, he hungered¹." It is difficult to trace the sources of these confused traditions about "knowing" the "place" and "receiving." Matthew says, much earlier, that, when Jesus crossed the Lake to Gennesaret, "*the men of that place knew him*"; John, much later, says that Judas "*knew the place*" to which "Jesus oft-times resorted with his disciples"; and Luke, describing the concourse of the Five Thousand, says that Jesus "*received them...and them that had need of healing he healed*"². The last of these traditions has certainly been utilised by the Diatessaron here. And the Diatessaron is instructive as indicating that the accounts of Christ's sojourning near Jerusalem—which the Synoptists confine to days in the last week—may have originally belonged to days in preceding weeks, months, or even years.

Mark, after recording the words of Jesus, "Ye have made it [*i.e.* the Temple] a den of robbers," says "And the chief priests and the scribes *heard* [*it*]"³ and began to seek how they might destroy him." Luke omits "*heard* [*it*]." And it is hardly credible that "the chief priests and the scribes"—to whom Luke adds "the chief [men] of the people"—were all present and all "*heard*" the words at the moment of utterance. More probably they would hear the report about the words, and about Christ's acts in general. Matthew seems to favour this view. At all events he substitutes "seeing" for "hearing" and mentions "the wonderful things that he did," and "the boys crying aloud in the temple" because of them⁴.

¹ *Diatess.* § 32. It arranges the preceding context as follows:—1st, the Purification of the Temple (mostly as Jn), 2nd, the Widow's Mite, 3rd, the Prayers of the Pharisee and the Publican.

² Mt. xiv. 35, Jn xviii. 2, Lk ix. 11.

³ Mk xi. 18 ἤκουσαν without an object. Lk. xix. 47 agrees but omits ἤκουσαν.

⁴ Mt. xxi. 15—16. Jerome on Hab. ii. 11 "The stone shall cry out of the wall" (preceded by *ib.* 9 "woe unto him that getteth an evil gain for his house") combines Mt. xxi. 16 and Lk. xix. 40 as follows " (Mt.) Have ye not read that it is written, From the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise? and (Lk.) If these should hold their peace the stones will cry out." He adds that "Although most think that this is to be understood as meaning,

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John does not verbally follow either Mark and Luke in mentioning a purpose to "destroy" Jesus, or Matthew in describing "wonderful things" that draw forth songs of praise, or the Synoptists generally in describing Jesus as going forth from Jerusalem at night. But in fact he suggests all these things. As to the "destroying," Jesus says "Loose, *i.e.* destroy, this temple" and it is added "He spake of the temple of his body¹." It is also added that Nicodemus, "the teacher of Israel," came to Jesus "by night." The reason for choosing night-time we are supposed to guess already, and it is suggested more clearly

'If the Jews hold their peace the Gentiles will confess me,' yet according to a truer interpretation, '...the stones themselves (*lapides ipsi*)... will be able to sound forth my greatness.'" Jerome evidently regards the Lucan "stones," in a literal sense, as belonging to the Temple, although Luke regards them as lying on the road, being mentioned by Jesus before He (xix. 41) "drew nigh and saw the city." Space does not permit a full comparison of Mt. with Lk.; but the following conclusions are probable.

Matthew has here followed a tradition—followed also by the *Acts of Pilate* (§ 1)—that Hosanna was uttered, not by the Jews, but always by "the sons, or children, of the Hebrews," meaning the common people or multitude, as distinct from the Pharisees or rulers. This Matthew has misinterpreted as "*little children of the Hebrews*," taking Christ's "babes and sucklings" literally, whereas it meant "simple and illiterate" as distinct from "scribes." Luke followed an earlier tradition that "*the stones*" of the Temple would "cry out" (which, says *Pesach. 57 a*, they did on four occasions). But he has placed this before Jesus "saw the city," so that he might be regarded as meaning the stones in the road (comp. Lk. iii. 8). It has been suggested (McNeile on Mt. xxi. 15) that there might be a confusion between Aram. "stones" אבנים, and "children" בנים. I have not been able to find an instance of such a confusion nearer than Ps. cxviii. 22 "the stone that the builders rejected," Targ. "the youth ... among the sons of Jesse," which appears to be merely paraphrase (*Son 3594 c*). But it is antecedently probable that there would be at this point some playing on "stones" of the Temple, and the "stone" of the corner, and "builders" of the people (*i.e.* the Sanhedrin) (*Son 3600 a*). "Sons of the peoples" (*Joma 71 b*) meaning "descendants of Gentiles," might illustrate the interpretation (Jerome above) "the Gentiles will confess me." Comp. Mt. iii. 9 "*stones...children to Abraham*."

¹ Jn ii. 19, 21.

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later on, as being "fear of the Jews¹." Not a single miracle or sign is mentioned as being wrought in or near the Temple. Yet it is said, immediately after the purification of the Temple, "when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, during the feast, many believed on his name, *beholding his signs, which he was [continually] doing*²." "His signs" assumes that everyone knew Jesus to be a great worker of signs, although no sign has been hitherto described except the one at Cana. And the same thing is implied by the first words of Nicodemus to Jesus, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these signs that thou doest except God be with him³."

We are not told what these "signs" were, or when or where they were worked, or what impression they produced at the time on those who witnessed them. Why does not John, like Matthew, tell us all this, or something of it? Why does he thus, in his own person, cursorily mention "his signs," leaving it to Nicodemus to emphasize their importance? It is apparently because he himself regards them as of very little importance. Nicodemus, speaking in the plural for "the Pharisees" and "rulers," implies that they are convinced by the signs ("we know") that Jesus is "a teacher come from God." But in the Temple the Jews have asked for a special sign ("what sign shewest thou to us?"). And what Nicodemus "knew" did not embolden him to come to Jesus by day. He seems to have meant "We know but dare not confess." Such "knowing" was not an important moral gain.

That this is John's view appears from an expression in the context—unique in the New Testament and very rare in Greek literature—in which he seems to play on the word "*believe*" or "*trust*" so as to disparage the belief or faith of those whose trust in Christ was based on His powers as a wonder-worker and not on His person or character as being that of the Son of

¹ Jn iii. 1—2. Comp. xix. 38—9 "for fear of the Jews." This applies directly to Joseph alone, but the reader is made to feel that it applies to Nicodemus also.

² Jn ii. 23.

³ Jn iii. 2.

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God: "Many trusted in (lit. into) his name, but Jesus did not trust himself to them because he knew all men." Origen discusses the difference between "believing in the name of Jesus" and "believing Jesus," and comes to the conclusion that the former is a rudimentary kind of belief and the latter an advanced one. The former is like that of the two disciples of John the Baptist believing in Christ on the testimony of the Baptist; the latter is of a personal kind due to the direct influence of Christ, like that of Andrew (after he had conversed with Christ) and Peter and Nathanael and Philip¹.

No instance is given in the Thesaurus of the phrase "*I trust myself to you*," but it might advantageously have given several instances of a kindred phrase of Epictetus, who argues against the notion that a man is bound to reciprocate a "trust" or "confidence" that may be given him by a garrulous fool, or perhaps (in pretence) by an artful informer; because a soldier in disguise "*trusts his own [thoughts] to you*"—about the Emperor, for example—it does not follow that you are to "*trust your own [thoughts] to him*"². This antithesis appears, in a homely way, to illustrate John's language and to shew how carefully he distinguishes from one another, at the outset of his Gospel, different kinds of faith, trust, belief, or confidence, although he never actually uses any of these nouns.

Mark has on two occasions mentioned scribes from Jerusalem as originating the opposition to Jesus in Galilee. The first of them introduces the scribes as imputing Christ's signs to Beelzebub; the second deals with the importance attached by

¹ See *Joh. Voc.* 1483—7 and *Origen Comm. Joann.* x. 28 (Lomm. i. 372) Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τηρητέον, ὅτι πολλοὶ πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὡς Ἀνδρέας καὶ Πέτρος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Φίλιππος πιστεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ Ἰωάννου πείθονται, λέγοντος Ἰδοῦ, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· ἡ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀνδρέου εὑρεθέντι Χριστῷ, ἡ τῷ εἰπόντι Ἰησοῦ τῷ Φιλίππῳ Ἀκολουθεῖ μοι· ἡ τῷ φάσκοντι Φιλίππῳ Ὅν ἔγραψε Μωϋσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται, εὗρήκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ. Οὗτοι δὲ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, θεωροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει· καὶ [ῥδιὰ] σημεῖα πιστεύουσιν, οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ὃ Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς. The text is obscure and possibly corrupt. Perhaps διὰ should be inserted before σημεῖα.

² Epictet. iv. 13. 6.

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the Pharisees to the washing of hands. Both of these mentions of Jerusalem are omitted by Luke¹. Yet they give the reader a glimpse into the possibility of an alliance between the influence of the Temple as controlled by the Chief Priests, and the influence of the Law as interpreted by the Pharisees; and the incompatibility between these combined influences and the Spirit of the Son of God. There are advantages in having this set before the reader earlier and more fully.

The Fourth Gospel suggests the thought of this incompatibility at the outset by recording a conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus, a Pharisee with good disposition and tendencies, yet with no spiritual conviction, and consequently no courage. He comes to Jesus by night. And he himself represents his fellow-Pharisees as "knowing" that Jesus was "a teacher come from God." Thereby he implies that they are hypocrites in opposing Him. Neither Nicodemus nor the other Jerusalemites who "believe in the name" of Jesus are regarded as really believing in Him. They trust only in His power to work wonders. Therefore it is said—apparently with a mystical play on the words—that Jesus would not entrust to them that most precious of possessions which is here called "himself²."

According to this view, the Dialogue with Nicodemus, like the Dialogue with the Woman of Samaria, even if it does not contain a single sentence that Jesus ever uttered, contains a historical record of His thoughts, and of the conflict between His thoughts and those of the scribes and the chief priests. The scribes stood for the letter of the Law; Jesus for

¹ Mk iii. 22 "the scribes that came down from Jerusalem" is parall. to Mt. xii. 24 "*the Pharisees*" and Lk. xi. 15 "*some of them*," i.e. of the multitudes. Mk vii. 1—where Matthew also (xv. 1) mentions "Jerusalem"—refers to Christ's journeying in North Palestine which is wholly omitted by Luke. Comp. Jn i. 19 "the Jews sent...from Jerusalem priests and Levites," and *ib.* 24 R.V. txt "and they had been sent"—R.V. marg. "and [certain] had been sent"—"from (R.V. marg. from among) the Pharisees."

² Comp. Lk. xvi. 12 "Who will entrust to you *your own*," or "*our own*," or as Marcion had it (see Tertull. *Adv. Marc.*) "*that which is mine?*" It means the treasure appointed by God for man, the Spirit of Christ, the opposite of the Mammon mentioned in the context.

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the breath of the Spirit of Love. The priests stood for the ritual of the Temple; Jesus stood for Man as being God's true Temple. There was no prospect of peace or truce between these conflicting principles, and John thinks it best to let us know this from the beginning.

§ 17. "Have faith in God," in Mark¹

Mark's meaning appears to be "Have faith, not in man, nor in this visible world and the things of this world, but *in God*." But Matthew omits "*in God*" as superfluous. Luke draws out what he supposes to be its meaning by adding "*as a grain of mustard-seed*," that is to say, "faith of vital force able to increase what is very small so that it shall become great."

"Have faith (*or*, belief)" expresses in two Greek words what "believe" expresses in one. And the imperative "*believe in God*" occurs in only one passage of the Old Testament, describing a great danger impending on Judah from a hostile league, when Jehoshaphat—encouraged by the prophet who declared that God would fight for them—said "Hear me, O Judah... *believe-firmly in the Lord your God*, so shall ye be firmly-established; *believe his prophets*, so shall ye prosper²." An ancient Jewish comment on the words in Exodus that follow the drowning of the Egyptians "They [*i.e.* Israel] *believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses*³," quotes these words of Jehoshaphat along with many other texts on "belief" or "faith" but no other instance of the imperative. In the New

¹ Mk xi. 22 *ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ*, Mt. xxi. 21 *ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν*, Lk. xvii. 6 *εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως*. Comp. Mt. xvii. 20 *ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως* after the cure of the demoniac boy (where the parall. Mk ix. 29 differs, and the parall. Lk. ix. 43 omits all words of Jesus).

² 2 Chr. xx. 20, on which see Gesen. 53 *a* comparing Is. vii. 9 "if ye *believe not firmly* ye will not be *confirmed*," a play on *אמן* which in the passive means "confirmed" but in the causative "believe firmly."

³ Exod. xiv. 31 (see *Mechilta*). This is immediately followed by the Song of Moses.

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Testament we find one in the Fourth Gospel where Jesus says to His disciples "Let not your heart be troubled. *Believe in God, believe also in me*¹."

These words of Jesus immediately follow His saying to Peter "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice²." Mark also (not followed by Matthew) brings in Peter, just before recording the precept "Have faith in God." But Mark represents Peter as speaking about the withered fig-tree. This, if taken literally, leads us quite away from the thought in John. But if it was originally metaphorical it leaves us free to suppose that John is intervening to explain the thought at the bottom of the Marcan original—the thought that induced Luke here to omit the episode of the fig-tree and to connect the uprooting of a sycamine-tree with the forgiveness of sins³.

Let us assume the fig-tree to represent, in the original tradition underlying Mark, the power of Mammon ruling in the visible Temple, and let us suppose the abuses of the Temple to have been suddenly, though only temporarily, suppressed by Jesus and His followers. It would be quite natural that such a momentary triumph—really one of a startling character as Origen says—should be taken by the more sanguine among Christ's disciples as a pledge of speedy success for all their Master's plans and for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Against such anticipations Jesus—not being Himself certain of the how and the when—might naturally warn them. They were too definite in their belief. They had faith in the present, or in the morrow, or in the near future.

¹ Jn xiv. 1, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2236—40. And to the reasons there given for rendering the ambiguous πιστεύετε imperatively add the paraphrase of Nonnus, ἀλλὰ θεῶ καὶ ἐμοὶ πιστεύσατε.

² Jn xiii. 38.

³ Lk. xvii. 6. This does not mention Peter. Nor does Lk. xvii. 5 "and the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith." But if we go back to Lk. xvii. 4 about forgiving seven times a day, we find that it is parall. to Mt. xviii. 21 foll. "*Peter* said to him...." This indicates that the later Evangelists, as well as Mark, are dealing with Petrine metaphor about the eradication of sin by forgiveness in the narrative (in Mk-Mt.) or parable (in Lk.) about a fig-tree.

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Perhaps also they had faith in some miraculous intervention, such as saved Israel under Moses at the Red Sea, and Judah under Jehoshaphat in the wilderness of Tekoah. The sub-Marcian tradition perhaps meant "You are not to have faith in any such things, but only in God Himself."

If this was the meaning, it is obscurely expressed. The deviations of Matthew and Luke from it point to a sense of its obscurity. And Mark's context seems to contain an attempt at explanation: "All things soever that ye pray for and ask, believe that ye [have] received them and they shall be [done] for you¹." But this might well seem to make the text more difficult than ever. For this promise can only be true, and only ought to be true, with the proviso that men pray for that which is according to the will of a righteous God. Without such a caution, and read without attention to the curious past tense ("believe that ye [have] received") the words encourage superstition of the worst kind.

Luke omits these words of Mark. This he might do all the more safely because elsewhere, when he represents Jesus as saying "Ask, and it shall be given unto you," it is preceded, at a short interval, by the Lord's Prayer, in which the first things prayed for are the hallowing of God's name and the coming of His Kingdom. This might be thought a sufficient guarantee that importunate prayer was discouraged; yet in the interval Luke gives a parable about a man asking a friend for three loaves in the dead of night to entertain an unexpected guest, and prevailing by mere persistence; and elsewhere another parable about an unjust judge who redresses a wrong done to a widow simply to avoid being wearied by her entreaties².

These traditions about importunate prayer, peculiar to Luke, lead us on from the thought of the Marcan "faith, or, belief, in God" to the thought of the Marcan condition for obtaining things prayed for ("believe that ye have received

¹ Mk xi. 24.

² Lk. xi. 9 "Ask, and it shall be given unto you"; xi. 1—4 contains the Lord's Prayer, xi. 5—8 describes the importunate friend. Lk. xviii. 1—8 describes the importunate widow.

them"). They make us reflect on Origen's observation that there is "no vestige" in Mark of anything like what is meant by the Lord's Prayer¹. When Matthew introduces the Lord's Prayer he prefixes to it a saying of Jesus which, according to our English Versions, forbids "vain repetitions." Why does Luke omit this? Did he believe that it was erroneously expressed? And did he consequently insert his traditions about the importunate friend and the widow to shew that all "repetitions" in prayer were not forbidden by Jesus? It will be convenient to touch on this point in considering the next Marcan phrase "believe that ye [have] received."

§ 18. "*Believe that what he saith is coming to pass,*"
and "*Believe that ye [have] received,*" in Mark²

In Mark, there are two statements of the condition for success in prayer. The first is that a man should "*believe that what he saith is coming to pass.*" The second is "All things whatsoever ye pray for and ask, *believe that ye [have] received [them]*, and they shall be [done] for you." A form of the second is reproduced in the parallel Matthew, but with a transposition of the "*receiving*" that makes the saying easier and leaves the object of the "believing" doubtful: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, *believing* [?], *ye shall receive.*" Both of these are omitted by Luke. Luke has nothing of the nature of a promise of the fulfilment of prayer except the unconditional "Ask, and it shall be given you." This Luke has in common with Matthew, and in a parallel to a passage in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, where Matthew—after a warning against the wrong kind of prayer and a statement of the right kind of prayer—returns abruptly to the subject of "asking" and

¹ Orig. *De Orat. Libell.* § 18. Ζητήσαντες δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ μήποτε λανθάνῃ ἡμᾶς ἡ τοιαύτη ἰσοδυναμοῦσα ἀναγεγραμμένη, οὐδ' ἔχνος ἐγκείμενον προσευχῆς εὕρομεν.

² Mk xi. 23—4

Mt. xxi. 22

Lk. om.

ὃς ἂν . . . πιστεύῃ ὅτι	πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτή-
ᾧ λαλεῖ γίνεται, ἔσται	σῇ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ
αὐτῷ . . . πάντα ὅσα	πιστεύοντες λήμψεσθε.
προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰ-	
τεῖσθε, πιστεύετε ὅτι	
ἐλάβετε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν.	

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“receiving” at the close of a collection of miscellaneous precepts, mostly negative, as will be seen below:—

Mt. vi. 5 foll.

Lk. om.

[*Against praying and fasting
amiss*]

(5) And when ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites...

(7) And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking...

Mt. vi. 9—13

Lk. xi. 1—4

[*The Lord's Prayer*]

(9) After this manner therefore pray ye, Our Father...

(13) ...into temptation, but deliver us from the evil [one].

(1) And it came to pass... teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.

(2) And he said unto them, When ye pray, say Father...

(4) ...into temptation.

Mt. vi. 14—15

Lk. om.

[*About the duty of forgiving*]

(14) For if ye forgive¹...

(15) But if ye forgive not...

Mt. vi. 16—18

Lk. om.

[*About the wrong and the right
kind of fasting*]

Mt. vi. 19—34

Lk. xii. with passages from xi.
and xvi.

[*Against avarice, evil desire, and worldly anxiety*]

Mt. vii. 1—5

Lk. vi. 37—8, 41—2

[*Against judging others*]

Mt. vii. 6 foll.

Lk. xi. 8 foll.

[*About asking*]

(6) Give not that which is holy unto the dogs...lest they... turn and rend you.

(7) *Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find...*

(After the Lord's Prayer and the parable of the importunate borrower of loaves)

(8) ...he will arise and give him as many as he needeth.

(9) And I say unto you *Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find...*

¹ Comp. Mk xi. 25 “Forgive...that also your Father in heaven may forgive you....”

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This final precept, coming in Matthew after many other precepts addressed to Christ's disciples alone¹, and in Luke after the disciples have received from Him the Lord's Prayer, clearly means "Ask *thus*," "Ask, *as my disciples*," or "Ask, *in the spirit of the prayer that I have given you*." Yet, taken by itself, it might encourage nominal Christians to ask in a spirit of selfishness for whatever they liked; and there was some danger that Luke's peculiar parables about the success of importunate petitioners might have the same effect.

It might be urged that the prohibition in Matthew "*Use not vain repetitions*" would prevent such an abuse of prayer².

¹ "Alone," that is, not to the "multitudes" below, who do not ascend the mountain—because, as Origen and Jerome concur in saying (on Mt. v. 1), "turbæ ascendere non valent," (Lomm. iii. 74) εἰς τὸ ὄρος . . . ἔνθα οὐχ οἶδοι τε ἦσαν οἱ ὄχλοι γενέσθαι.

² Mt. vi. 7 προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε, D βατταλογησῆται, d "vana loquimini," *Latt. codd.* "multum loqui" [but in Lk. xi. 2 D has βαττολογεῖτε, d "multum loqui"] Curet. "be babbling." But SS has "saying idle [things] battâlâthâ" to render βατταλογεῖν. Battâlâ or battâlâthâ occurs again in Curet. and SS of Mt. xii. 36 "every idle word" to render Gk ἀργόν, and *Thes. Syr.* 509 foll. gives abundant instances of its use to represent ἀργόν, καταργέω etc.

In Greek literature, βατταλογέω can hardly be said to exist. No instance of it is given before Simplicius (in 6th century) (in *Comm. Epict. Ench.* 37, Schweig. p. 340, where it is spelt βαττολογέω). Origen spells the word βαττολόγω as if from λέγω, and he says (*De Orat.* § 21) that we are guilty of *battologia* when we pray in a hap-hazard and worldly fashion for worldly things. This suits neither etymology nor Matthew's context.

If it were derived from the Hebrew and Aramaic *bâtal* in the sense of "cease," "intermit," it might mean "slacken," in the sense of slackening one's thoughts in prayer, as the *Aboth* iv. 14 warns us against "*slackening*, (or *idling*) from the Law." Also *Levy* i. 212 a gives forms of *bâtal* as meaning "futile," "futility" etc. According to *Steph. Thes.* (ii. 195—6, which perhaps a little exaggerates) *Hesych.* identifies βαττολογεῖν with βατταρίζειν. Now βατταρίζειν is used by *Cicero* (*ad Att.* vi. 5) to mean "talk incoherently." This suggests that two causes may have been at work in creating and interpreting Matthew's tradition. Hebrew or Aramaic influence would suggest the meaning "worthless stuff," Greek influence would suggest "incoherent stammering." Jesus, before giving His disciples a very short prayer, may have warned them against using it, or any

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But Matthew's peculiar word forbidding the abuse (*battalogein*) is of doubtful meaning according as one emphasizes "*vain*" or "*repetition*." It may forbid (1) prayer that is idle, futile, listless babbling; or (2) prayer that is earnest, intense, reiteration of attempts to "weary" the Supreme ("weary" is the Horatian word)¹ into conformity with our desires. Matthew may have taken one view of the word, Luke another. Luke nowhere inserts a prohibition of *battalogia*. Luke also joins Mark elsewhere in a saying that condemns the scribes for "making long prayers in pretence," where the parallel Matthew omits the sentence that contains this accusation². Possibly therefore Matthew regarded Christ's precept as meaning, by implication, "Pray not with slackness, or intermission," "Pray without intermission."

If this was at the bottom of Christ's precept we may infer that its essential meaning was carried on by Paul in his precept to the Thessalonians "Pray without ceasing," about which Origen frankly confesses that once, when he read it, he asked how it could possibly be fulfilled; and discussing it in several passages, he concludes that a spiritual rather than a temporal "ceasing" is contemplated, and that the whole of the Christian's life, even eating, drinking, and sleeping, may be regarded as a stream of prayer, offered to God's glory³.

If Paul's precept "pray without *ceasing* (or, *intermission*)" is a vernacular Greek rendering of the Aramaic Greek in Matthew "when ye pray, do not *intermit*, or *remit*, or utter *loose futilities*," this might be expressed positively in literary Greek by a word

prayer, as a mere string of incantations, repeated from morning till evening like (1 K. xviii. 26) "O Baal, hear us!"

¹ Hor. *Odes*, i. ii. 26.

² Mk xii. 40, Lk. xx. 47, omitted by Mt. after Mt. xxiii. 7 which is parall. to Mk xii. 38—9.

³ 1 Thess. v. 17, Orig. *Hom. Sam.* i. 9 (Lomm. xi. 304—5), "Ego cum legerem aliquando apud Apostolum quod dixit '*sine intermissione orate*,' quaerebam si praeceptum hoc possibile esset impleri," comp. *ib.* 381 (on Ps. i. 2 "in his law doth he meditate day and night") and *De Orat.* § 12, § 22 "Let the whole of our prayerful life say *without ceasing*, 'Our Father that is in heaven.'"

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that signifies "tensely" or "intensely" as opposed to "loosely," applied to prayer by Luke in the Acts and perhaps—but the passage is doubtful—in his Gospel¹. This last doubtful passage, if it is genuine, corresponds to the context of one in Mark and Matthew where Jesus "prayed saying the same words"; and, if it is not genuine, it leaves a blank in Luke indicating that he did not accept any tradition at all to the effect that Jesus repeated a prayer or uttered a prayer with new intensity. This adds one more to many passages shewing incompleteness in Mark, and divergence between Matthew and Luke, as to Christ's doctrine of prayer. We have now to consider how, if at all, John intervenes.

§ 19. *Johannine Intervention*

The Johannine intervention is in part dramatic. Jesus Himself thrice addresses the Father in language of prayer or of thanksgiving for answered prayer. In the first instance, Jesus says, at the grave of Lazarus, "Father, I thank thee that *thou heardest me*; and I knew that thou hearest me always²." This accords with Origen's view that Jesus regards life itself as a stream of unceasing prayer; for He has not prayed aloud, but it is implied that He has prayed and that the Father heard Him. Also it accords with the tradition peculiar to Mark "Believe that ye [*have*] *received*." Jesus thanks God for something not future but past, "*thou heardest me*." In the second instance, after Jesus has enunciated the doctrine of the grain of wheat and of life through death, He exclaims, "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? [Shall I say] *Father, save me from this hour*? [Nay], but for this cause came I, unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name³." The previous prayer was uttered in silence. This is uttered aloud, in one brief phrase.

The next is a very long prayer rivalling in length the Old Testament prayers of Daniel and Nehemiah and justifying the wise saying of R. Eliezer, who said that there was a time for long

¹ Acts xii. 5 ἐκτενῶς, comp. *ib.* xxvi. 7 ἐκτενεία, and Lk. xxii. 44 [[ἐκτενέστερον]].

² Jn xi. 41—2.

³ Jn xii. 27—8.

prayers as well as for short ones¹. It is a prayer of the Son to the Father that the disciples may be one as the Father and the Son are one, and may be kept from evil and sanctified and perfected in the divine unity. There is no mention of sin, as there is in the Synoptic traditions about prayer, but it is implied in the words "that thou shouldest keep them from the evil [one]²."

In this long prayer there is no mention of any promise of fulfilment in reply to that asking which Mark connects with prayer ("whatsoever ye pray for and *ask*"). Nor does it occur in the earlier part of the Fourth Gospel, for the promise cannot be given till Judas has gone out from the disciples. Then and not till then does Jesus say to them, after predicting His own departure, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another," and, a little afterwards, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father. And *whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do* . . . If ye shall ask [me] anything in my name I will do it³."

The "greater works" are manifestly the works of the Gospel. They imply the saving of souls and the forgiving of sins⁴. Mark connects the forgiving of sins with the moral of the withering of the fig-tree. But it is manifest that "works," in John, do not point to such a material miracle. It is also manifest that whatever the disciples ask in Christ's "name" is supposed to be asked (so to speak) in His voice, or person, as is implied also in the words, "*If ye abide in me and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will and it shall be done unto you*"; and this, in substance, is reiterated later on⁵. These passages clear away the obscurity of the Marcan tradition about "believing" that one

¹ See *Mechilt.* on Exod. xiv. 15, and xv. 25, Wü. pp. 93 and 148—9. The prayers framed by ancient Rabbis for very special occasions are called (*Berach. Mishn.* iv. 2 and 5) "short."

² Jn xvii. 15.

³ Jn xiii. 35, xiv. 12—14.

⁴ Not that works of healing would be excluded, but they would not be characterized as "greater works" in such a context.

⁵ Jn xv. 7, comp. *ib.* 16, and xvi. 23, 24, 26. The same doctrine is repeated in 1 Jn iii. 22, v. 14. See *Joh. Gr.* 2536 on αἰτοῦμαι, 2630. a—i on ἐρωτάω.

"has received." It was Mark's way of expressing an intense belief in a Supreme and Righteous Will, of whom the Jews used to say "He spake and *it was done*." The disciples of Christ were to pray for such things alone as were in accordance with that Will. What they prayed for in that faith would in some way (though not perhaps in any way exactly conceived by them) be ultimately accomplished¹.

§ 20. "*Whensoever ye stand praying,*" in Mark²

The Greek *stēkein* here used for stand is not alleged in the Thesaurus to occur earlier than this passage of Mark³. In LXX it occurs thrice (always with various readings) to represent severally the Hebrew "stand still," "rest firmly," and "stand⁴." Paul uses it in military metaphor as of soldiers on guard "Watch ye, *stand* in the faith, *quit you like men*⁵, be strong," adding however "Let all that ye do be done in love," as if to suggest that "love" is the main part of the soldier's panoply. In the Epistle to the Ephesians ("stand therefore") the Greek literary imperative is used⁶. But in the earlier Epistles *stēkein* occurs several times and always probably with a suggestion of standing fast against an enemy and for the cause of Christ⁷.

¹ It is implied in 2 Cor. xii. 8 that prayer also taught the person praying to shape his will to God's will. Comp. Mk x. 30 "with persecutions" (not in parall. Mt.-Lk.) and Jn xvi. 33 "in the world ye [must] have tribulation," both of which strike at the notion that prayer could secure a reward "after the flesh."

² Mk xi. 25 *ὅταν στήκετε προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατά τινος*.

³ See, however, H. van Herwerden's *Lexicon Suppletorium* p. 759, quoting a pagan inscription *ὅς ποτε... ἔστανεν (= ἔστησεν) Ἑρμῆν, νῦν στήκω (= ἔστηκα)*.

⁴ Exod. xiv. 13 *Α στήκετε* (B *στήτε*) *בצ׳* hithp., Judg. xvi. 26 (of a house *resting* (*בנין* ni.) on pillars) B *στήκει* (A *ἐπεστήρικτο*), 1 K. viii. 11 "the priests were not able to *stand* (*עמד*)" (B *στήκειν*, A *στήναι*) to minister."

⁵ 1 Cor. xvi. 13 "Quit you like men (*ἀνδρίζεσθε*)," comp. 1 S. iv. 9, 2 S. x. 12, encouragement before battle.

⁶ Eph. vi. 14 *στήτε οὖν* followed by the description of the Christian's armour.

⁷ Gal. v. 1 *τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ... στήκετε...* implies a conflict, and Phil. i. 27 *ὅτι στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι* is followed by a mention of "adver-

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The Pauline usage points to the conclusion that the Marcan tradition may be based on some early tradition about "standing" not understood by Matthew and Luke. It leads us to seek some Biblical precedent bearing on "standing" during prayer. The earliest is one about Abraham, "But *Abraham stood yet before the Lord*¹." Here both Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum paraphrase "stood" as "ministered in prayer," and the context implies intercessional prayer². "*Stand and pray*," especially when expressed by a Jew through the Greek *stēkein*, might mean prayers not necessarily uttered for oneself, but often for others—such prayers as Paul and (doubtless) all the Apostles habitually used for those whom they had converted or hoped to convert³.

A prayer of this kind seems indicated here, by the Marcan context about the Temple as being a den of robbers, and about the withering of the fig-tree and the uprooting of "this mountain." The Apostles are being taught to pray for the Church and for the souls of men. And the words "stand praying" suggest not only the Jewish custom of standing for prayer, but also the precedent of Abraham—not indeed standing at any visible altar, but interceding, with an offering of prayer and praise, between Sodom and "the Judge of all the world" who is not exempt from the necessity that He must "do right⁴."

Matthew and Luke have omitted this ancient allusion.

saries"; Phil. iv. 1 *στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ* is followed by a warning against discord, and 1 Thess. iii. 8 *ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ* is followed at some distance by a metaphor of the Christian's armour (v. 8). But 2 Thess. ii. 15 is of the nature of a mannerism, without any special connection.

¹ Gen. xviii. 22.

² Gen. xviii. 22 Onk. "And Abraham yet *ministered in prayer* before the Lord," Jer. Targ. "And Abraham now besought mercy for Lot and *ministered in prayer* before the Lord."

³ See *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. vi. 5 and Gesen. 763 on עמד meaning standing before Jehovah for intercession Gen. xix. 27, Deut. iv. 10, Jerem. xv. 1, xviii. 20 etc. Comp. Heb. x. 11 "every priest... *standeth* day by day...offering the same sacrifices," Deut. x. 8 "to *stand* before the Lord to minister unto him" (comp. *ib.* xviii. 7).

⁴ Gen. xviii. 25 "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

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Not that they were ignorant of the technical Jewish use of 'stand,' but perhaps they wished to avoid it as unintelligible to Gentiles or as implying a Jewish formalism. At all events Matthew elsewhere describes formal Pharisees who love to pray "standing" in the synagogues¹. Luke, too, describes both a Publican and a Pharisee as going up to the Temple to pray, and both as "standing"—though with a difference². Neither Matthew nor Luke, however, uses the strong Marcan word³.

¹ Mt. vi. 5.

² Lk. xviii. 11 ὁ Φαρισαῖος σταθεῖς... *ib.* 13 ὁ δὲ τελώνης μακρόθεν ἕστως... The former participle perhaps implies more formality than the latter. The sinner, who feels himself to be "far off," does not "take up his stand." If so, μακρόθεν emphasizes the distinction.

³ It should be added that Matthew has a tradition that verbally resembles the one in Mark, as follows (v. 23—4): "If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother *hath aught against thee* (ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ), *leave* (ἄφες) there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Ἀφίετε in Mark (xi. 25 ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινος) means "leave," "let go," or "remit," and ἔχετέ τι κατὰ τινος means "have aught against some one." It has been shewn (*From Letter 1066 and Son 3353* (iv) g) that ἀφίημι is adopted into late Hebrew and ambiguous, so that ἄφες might be used in Aramaic to mean "let it be," or "give it up," in more than one sense.

Jerome says about Mt. v. 23 "Non dixit, Si tu habes aliquid adversus fratrem tuum, sed si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te—ut durior reconciliationis tibi imponatur necessitas." Prof. Burkitt says that Aphraates quotes twice "that *against thy brother thou hast aught of enmity*." This raises the question of the relation between Mt. and Mk in their several traditions about ἄφεσις. Not improbably Mark's was the earlier, dealing with the question "If thou hast anything against thy brother," Matthew's a later and supplementary one dealing with the question "If thy brother *hath* anything against thee." Jesus, in His doctrine, was mainly occupied in teaching His disciples how to forgive, not how to be forgiven.

Mark may have regarded the precept as meaning "When you are standing and on the point of offering up the sacrifice of prayer, *give up all angry thought* or desire of vengeance against your neighbour." But another Evangelist might add words to explain that the "standing" was as it were before an altar, and that the prayer was of the nature of a "gift" or "offering" on the altar, and that *the offering must be*

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Possibly John thought that the word ought to have a place in the Christian vocabulary as representing the erect, active, and intercessory attitude of Christian prayer. At all events the word is attributed to John the Baptist testifying about Jesus, "In the midst of you *there standeth* one whom ye know not... the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose¹." Now the next sentence of the Baptist's testimony is "Behold, *the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world*²." The thought is in itself not unnatural, that the Evangelist sees a connection between this strong word for "*standing*" as applied to a priest or intercessor, and the sacrificial "*lamb*." And this

"*given up*" (i.e. "desisted from") till the evil thought against one's neighbour was banished. Then Matthew may have paraphrased the latter part as implying a departure from the altar to the neighbour (who is presumed to be the injured party) for the purpose of reconciliation.

Hor. Heb. (on Mt. v. 24) puts the argument against the literal interpretation thus:—The offended brother might perhaps be absent in the furthest parts of the land of Israel. The argument for it he puts thus:—It was the custom to defer private sacrifices to the feast next following, and "all the Israelites were present at the feasts, and any brother against whom one had sinned was not then far from the altar."

But even if the brother was "not far," he would be busy with his own sacrifices, and hardly at leisure to hear fully and satisfactorily what the offender had to say. And besides, what if the offended brother refused unreasonably to be reconciled? Was the offerer still to "leave there the gift before the altar"?

Wetstein (on Mt.) quotes *Pesach*. iii. 7 on the question "What is an Israelite to do, if he suddenly recollects, when on the point of some important business, e.g. the circumcision of his son, that he has not destroyed the leaven in his house?" The answer is, "Let him return and do it, if possible. If not, *let him destroy it in his heart*." In this spirit, the precept "be reconciled" might inculcate reconciliation, at once in will and intention, and as soon as possible in act and material compensation.

Delitzsch in Mt. v. 23 gives the Heb. as יֵשׁ...נָגַר "there is against." But Wetst. quotes *Kohemoth* iv. 13, *Schiv R.* i. 4 יֵשׁ...עַל and so Heb. Clem.). I can find nothing in Levy.

¹ Jn i. 26—7. Two of the best MSS (BL) have στήκει.

² Jn i. 29.

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is confirmed by Revelation, which introduces the Lamb in this attitude: "I saw in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a *Lamb standing, as though it had been slain*...¹." Origen, when quoting the Johannine "*there standeth*," habitually uses the ordinary word for "standing," not the Marcan one. He takes the Johannine "standing in the midst" as signifying the divine and steadfast influence of the Word of Life in the midst of the Universe and extending through the whole of it². But the incorrectness of his reading invalidates his interpretation. A fair case appears to be made out for the conclusion that John revived the Marcan and Pauline word, discarded by most early Christian writers³, in order to represent the intercessory attitude of Jesus, revealed as the Lamb of God to the last of the prophets of Israel⁴.

¹ Rev. v. 6 "standing (ἑστηκός)." Στήκω could not be expected, as it does not occur in N.T. except in Paul, Mark, and John. In Mk iii. 31 ἔξω στήκόντες—where most MSS have στάντες or ἑστηκότες or ἑστῶτες—there is perhaps a suggestion of the meaning "they [*resolutely*] stood outside," as being outside the circle of the disciples (see below, p. 629, n. 2).

² Origen *ad loc.* (Lomm. i. 234) προηγουμένως μὲν οὖν ἔστηκεν ὁ πατήρ... ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τῷ σώζειν. He quotes Jn i. 26 very frequently, but I have not found him reading στήκειν except in *Cels.* ii. 9 (*Cels.* v. 12 has ἔστηκεν).

³ Goodspeed does not contain στήκω.

⁴ It must be admitted, however, that the last part of the Marcan precept passes into the region of congregational prayer ("forgive us our trespasses") as distinct from intercessory prayer ("forgive all sinners their trespasses"). Compare the mixture of traditions at the end of the Way of Light in Barnabas § 19: "Thou shalt utterly hate the evil one. Thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not make schism, but shalt make peace (εἰρηνεύσεις) by bringing together contending [parties] (μαχομένους συναγαγών). Thou shalt make confession over (ἐπὶ) thy sins. Thou shalt not draw near (προσήξεις) to prayer with (ἐν) an evil conscience." The *Didachè*, § 4, in the corresponding section on the Way of Life, after some clauses similar to these, ends thus: "In the Church (ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ) shalt thou confess thy transgressions (παραπτώματα), and thou shalt not approach (προσελεύσῃ) to thy prayer with (ἐν) an evil conscience." Later on the *Didachè* has § 14 "On the Lord's Day [the day] of the Lord, being gathered together, break bread and give thanks (εὐχαριστήσατε)

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having before confessed your sins *that your sacrifice may be pure*. But as for every one that holds to his quarrel (πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμβολίαν) with his neighbour (ἐταίρου) let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, *that your sacrifice be not made common* (κοινωθῇ). For this [sacrifice] is that which is spoken of by the Lord: *In every place and time* (χρόνῳ) *to offer* (προσφέρειν) *to me sacrifice*" (comp. Mal. i. 11).

These passages shew that at an early period there might be a transference to the Christian Eucharist, and to Christian Prayer, of language derived from the sacrificial altar in the Jewish Temple.

CHAPTER VI

JESUS "WALKING" IN THE TEMPLE

[Mark xi. 27—xii. 44]

§ I. *John on the "walking" of Jesus*¹

THE "walking" of Jesus mentioned here by Mark alone is expressed as "teaching" and as "teaching and preaching the

¹ Mk xi. 27—33
(R.V.)

(27) And they come again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders;

(28) And they said unto him, By what authority doest thou these things? or who gave thee this authority to do these things?

(29) And Jesus said unto them, I will ask of you one question (*lit.* word), and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things.

(30) The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men? answer me.

(31) And they reasoned with them-

Mt. xxi. 23—7
(R.V.)

(23) And when he was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto him as he was teaching, and said, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?

(24) And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one question (*lit.* word), which if ye tell me, I likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things.

(25) The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or from men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why then

Lk. xx. 1—8
(R.V.)

(1) And it came to pass, on one of the days, as he was teaching the people in the temple, and preaching the gospel, there came upon him the chief priests and the scribes with the elders;

(2) And they spake, saying unto him, Tell us: By what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority?

(3) And he answered and said unto them, I also will ask you a question (*lit.* word); and tell me.

(4) The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men?

(5) And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we

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gospel," severally, by the parallel Matthew and Luke¹. It has been shewn in *Proclamation* that Luke nowhere describes Jesus as "walking," and that he may have had objections to the word because of its Greek associations, but that John emphasizes what Luke omits and draws out of the word mystical meanings rooted in Hebrew thought². At the same time attention was called to a passage in *Notes*, discussing the Hebrew conception of what may be called, not the "immanence," but the "in-ambulance," of God³. This is based on the Promise in Leviticus "I will set my tabernacle among you...and *I will walk to and fro among you*, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people," where, as a substitute for "walk to and fro," Onkelos has

Mk xi. 27—33
(R.V.) *contd.*

selves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why then did ye not believe him?

(32) But should we say, From men—(or, But shall we say, From men?) they feared the people: for all verily held John to be a prophet (or, for all held John to be a prophet indeed).

(33) And they answered Jesus and say, We know not. And Jesus saith unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

¹ Mk xi. 27

Καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι...

² *Proclam.* pp. 13—17.

³ See Origen *Hom. Genes.* i 13 (Lomm. viii. 122) "in hoc non solum inhabitat Deus sed etiam *inambulatur*."

Mt. xxi. 23—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

did ye not believe him?

(26) But if we shall say, From men; we fear the multitude; for all hold John as a prophet.

(27) And they answered Jesus, and said, We know not. He also said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

Mt. xxi. 23 a

Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσῆλθαν αὐτῷ διδάσκοντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ...

Lk. xx. 1—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why did ye not believe him?

(6) But if we shall say, From men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was a prophet.

(7) And they answered, that they knew not whence [it was].

(8) And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

Lk. xx. 1

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν διδάσκοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ εὐαγγελιζομένου ἐπέστησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς σὺν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

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"I will make my Shechinah to dwell" and the Jerusalem Targum "I will make the glory of my Shechinah to dwell¹." Paul briefly summarizes this promise: "We are a sanctuary of the living God: even as God said, *I will dwell in them and walk in them*, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people²." Rashi says that "set my tabernacle" refers to "the House of the Sanctuary," and that "I will walk among you" refers to "walking in Paradise," where Israelites will walk—not fearing and "hiding themselves" from God like Adam and Eve³. But in ancient Jewish tradition the Targums indicate that "walking" was paraphrased as little more than a repetition of "dwelling," and the Indices to the Talmuds and Midrash contain few or no references to the Levitical "walking⁴."

The only reference to it that I have found is one in the Midrash on Lamentations which adds the Levitical promise to the long list of divine promises that will *not* be fulfilled if Israel is faithless. Thus the conception of God as ceasing to "walk" in Israel would be parallel to the conception of God's heavenly "tabernacle," or Shechinah, as gradually withdrawing itself from the Temple. Of this there were recognised in Jewish tradition ten stages⁵.

In John, we find a somewhat different conception. He first describes the Logos as making His "tabernacle" among men⁶. Then He is described thrice as "walking" (besides walking

¹ See Notes 2998 (xxviii) *f* foll. quoting Lev. xxvi. 11—12 where LXX has ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, but ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν would be a more literal rendering of בתוככם.

² 2 Cor. vi. 16 "I will dwell in them," ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς. LXX has διαθήκην, for σκηνήν (which is read by F).

³ Gen. iii. 8.

⁴ The ref. to Lev. xxvi. 12 in Schwab's Index to Jer. Talmud is a misprint. There is no ref. to Lev. xxvi. 12 in the vols hitherto publ. (1916) of Goldschmidt's Bab. Talm. Wünsche's vols of Midrash refer only to *Echa* Introd. Wü. p. 11.

⁵ See Schöttg. ii. 470, and Wagenseil's *Sota* p. 938 foll.—quoting *Sabb.* 15 *a* and *Rosch. Hasch.* 31 *a*—also Rashi on Ezek. ix. 3, and Joseph. *Bell.* vi. 5. 3.

⁶ Jn i. 14 ἐσκήνωσεν, not in N.T. elsewhere except 4 times in Rev., where see vii. 15, xxi. 3.

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once on the sea). First, beyond Jordan¹, the Baptist "looking-stedfastly on Jesus *walking*, saith, Behold, the Lamb of God²." Secondly, He "walks" in Galilee, where the context implies a previous hostility in Judaea: "And after these things Jesus *was walking in Galilee*; for he *would not* [any longer] walk in Judaea because the Jews were seeking to kill him³." Thirdly, "Jesus *was walking in the temple in Solomon's porch*"; and the result of this is an attempt of the Jews to stone Him, after which He "went forth out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John was at the first baptizing⁴." After this, Jesus does not return to Judaea till the time comes for the raising of Lazarus. When this produces no result on the rulers except increased desire to kill Him, the word is used negatively thus: "Jesus therefore *would no longer walk openly among the Jews*, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness⁵."

Henceforth, there is no mention of Christ's ever coming to the Temple or teaching in it. The Jews, before the last Pass-over, "as they stood in the temple," ask one another whether He will "come to the feast," and "when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem" went forth to meet Him as He rode publicly into the city⁶. John describes the riding, and a discourse of Jesus, presumably in the Temple, but does not mention the Temple. There is also an arrival of "certain Greeks," who had "come up to worship at the feast," presumably in the Temple, and a Voice from heaven, and several utterances from Jesus—all presumably in the Temple—and then a final warning and a departure: "Jesus therefore said unto them, *Yet a little while is the light among you. Walk while ye have the light. . . . While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light*. These things spake Jesus and departed and was hidden from them⁷." All this apparently takes place while Jesus is doing what Mark describes as "walking in the

¹ Jn i. 28.

² Jn i. 36.

³ Jn vii. 1.

⁴ Jn x. 23, 31, 39—40.

⁵ Jn xi. 54.

⁶ Jn xi. 56, xii. 12—13.

⁷ Jn xii. 35—6, where R.V. has txt "*hid himself*," marg. "*was hidden*," see *Joh. Gr.* 2538—43.

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temple." Yet the Temple, throughout this narrative, is not mentioned by John.

In the passage last quoted, "*was hidden*" and "*hid himself*" are given as alternatives, and it is not easy to follow the Johannine thought. Concerning the same verb—applied to Adam and Eve, when they "*hid themselves*" (LXX "*were hidden*") because they "heard the voice of the Lord God *walking*" in paradise—Origen refers to passages in the Pentateuch about the Lord tabernacling or walking in Israel, and declares that the "walking" is of a spiritual nature¹. Possibly John is alluding to the same Hebrew passages. The Word or Son of the Lord God, the Light of the world, is "walking" as Light before the sons of Adam in the Temple at Jerusalem, exhorting them to walk as children of light, but they will not obey. They constrain Him to hide Himself from them, or they hide Him from themselves—expressed in either way, the spiritual meaning is the same—by their love of darkness. Rejecting the Shechinah, or divine Glory, that constitutes the true Temple, the Jews are virtually fulfilling the words of Jesus "Destroy this temple (or, sanctuary)"; and when Jesus "departed and was hidden from them," He takes the last vestige of its holiness with Him. Some feeling of this kind in John may perhaps explain why he omits all mention of the Temple just at that point in Christ's career at which all the Synoptists repeatedly mention it and describe it as the scene of His continuous and final teaching. The reason is that the Fourth Evangelist has by this time given up (so to speak) the Temple of stone and is fixing his gaze on the Temple of the Spirit. Hence, where the Synoptists see Jesus leaving the visible Temple of the Jews for the last time, John sees the invisible Temple departing from the nation for ever.

¹ Origen *De Orat.* § 23 (Lomm. xvii. 180). He says that the "hiding" also was of a spiritual nature: "It is not said that really (read ὅτι ὄντως for ὅτι οὐτως) 'they desired to be hidden,' but [that] really (ὄντως) they were hidden" (i.e. hidden by their sins from the eyes of Him who will not look on iniquity). Origen quotes here as from "Deuteronomy" (xxiii. 14) what in *Comm. Matth.* x. 15 he quotes more correctly from "Leviticus" (xxvi. 12).

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In the Synoptists, the first of the subjects of Christ's final teaching is introduced by the question "*By what authority doest thou these things?*" This corresponds to the Johannine question following the Purification of the Temple—"What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things¹?" In the Synoptists, Jesus meets this question by another, "The baptism of John, was it from heaven?" This the Synoptists have described as a device for the purpose of silencing the questioners, because they were afraid to say yes or no. But it may also have a deeper meaning: "What do you mean by 'authority'? You would believe in a Messiah on the 'authority' of a sign in heaven, or on the 'authority' of a prophet such as John the Baptist, if you accepted John as 'a prophet as one of the prophets².' But it is necessary to believe in a Messiah, if at all, on His own 'authority,' as the result of the influence from His Spirit, a moral more than an intellectual influence, flowing into the heart and not merely convincing the mind against the will."

Two defects appear on the surface of the Synoptic narrative. First, it gives us no definition, or clear suggestion, of the nature of the "authority" of the Messiah. Secondly, it might give some the impression that those who believed in the Messiah on the authority of the Baptist would have had an adequate belief. To remedy these defects is an integral part of the object of the Fourth Gospel. At the outset it tells us that John the Baptist was emphatically "a human being" or "man"—that is to say, "man, not God, like the Logos³"—not "the light" but sent to testify "concerning the light"; and that the Word, or Life, or Light, gave to those who received Him "authority" to become children of God⁴. Later on, Jesus says that He has testimony greater than that of John, that John was a mere "lamp" preparatory to the dawn⁵. Jesus also appeals to the testimony of the Father and the Son (as being analogous to that of the

¹ Mk xi. 28, Mt. xxi. 23, Lk. xx. 2, Jn ii. 18.

² Mk vi. 15.

³ See *Joh. Gr.* 2277 "*ἄνθρωπος* is contrasted with *Λόγος*."

⁴ Jn i. 6—12.

⁵ Jn v. 33—6.

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"two human beings" or "men," required in the Law) in such a way as to dispel the notion that a mere sign from heaven, or mere "authority" on earth, could produce the belief that He desires¹. Toward the end of the Gospel John brings his indirect exposition dramatically to a close in a dialogue where Jesus corrects Pilate for saying "I have *authority* to crucify thee and have *authority* to release thee²."

According to this view the transition from the question "By what authority?" to the question "Whence came the baptism of John?" was not a mere counter-device of Jesus to meet the devices of His adversaries. It meant that if they did not recognise the moral and spiritual force of John's testimony it followed that they would not recognise the nature of divine testimony or the nature of the divine authority to which the Baptist was sent to testify. The Baptist, like Isaiah, believing in God as the Husbandman of Israel, had said to the rulers of Israel "Bring forth fruit worthy of repentance," and he warned them not to be content to reply, "We have Abraham for our father³." But according to the Fourth Gospel some of them did, in effect, make this reply⁴. Those who made it had virtually closed their eyes to spiritual light. How could they see the incarnate Righteousness of God, if they did not know the meaning of that true righteousness which Abraham their ancestor had in view when he said "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right⁵?"

¹ Jn viii. 17—18. Comp. Deut xvii. 6.

² Jn xix. 10—11. See the Index on "Authority" in *Proclamation*, and especially p. 174 foll. on "Authority and the spirit of sonship, in John."

³ Mt. iii. 9, Lk. iii. 8 "We have Abraham as our father."

⁴ Jn viii. 33 "We are Abraham's seed," *ib.* 39 "Our father is Abraham."

⁵ Gen. xviii. 25.

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§ 2. *The parable of the murderous husbandmen*¹

In the Synoptic narratives printed below there are very few points that call for Johannine intervention. Isaiah, personify-

¹ Mk xii. 1—12
(R.V.)

(1) And he began to speak unto them in parables. A man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a pit for the winepress, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into another country.

(2) And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant (*lit.* bond-servant), that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruits of the vineyard.

(3) And they took him, and beat him, and sent him away empty.

(4) And again he sent unto them another servant (*lit.* bondservant); and him they wounded in the head, and handled shamefully.

(5) And he sent another; and him they killed: and many others; beating some, and killing some.

(6) He had yet one, a beloved son: he sent him last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.

(7) But those husbandmen said among

Mt. xxi. 33—46
(R.V.)

(33) Hear another parable: There was a man that was a householder, which planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into another country.

(34) And when the season of the fruits drew near, he sent his servants (*lit.* bondservants) to the husbandmen, to receive his fruits (*or,* the fruits of it).

(35) And the husbandmen took his servants (*lit.* bondservants), and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another.

(36) Again, he sent other servants (*lit.* bondservants) more than the first: and they did unto them in like manner.

(37) But afterward he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son.

(38) But the husbandmen, when they

Lk. xx. 9—19
(R.V.)

(9) And he began to speak unto the people this parable: A man planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into another country for a long time.

(10) And at the season he sent unto the husbandmen a servant (*lit.* bond-servant), that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard: but the husbandmen beat him, and sent him away empty.

(11) And he sent yet another servant (*lit.* bondservant): and him also they beat, and handled him shamefully, and sent him away empty.

(12) And he sent yet a third: and him also they wounded, and cast him forth.

(13) And the lord of the vineyard said, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be they will reverence him.

(14) But when the husbandmen saw him,

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ing a tree, likened Israel to a tree that had been chosen and planted and carefully cultivated as a good vine, but had (so to

Mk xii. 1—12
(R.V.) *contd.*

themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours.

(8) And they took him, and killed him, and cast him forth out of the vineyard.

(9) What therefore will the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.

(10) Have ye not read even this scripture;

The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner:

(11) This was from the Lord,

And it is marvellous in our eyes?

Mt xxi. 33—46
(R.V.) *contd.*

saw the son, said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and take his inheritance.

(39) And they took him, and cast him forth out of the vineyard, and killed him.

(40) When therefore the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do unto those husbandmen?

(41) They say unto him, He will miserably destroy those miserable men, and will let out the vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons.

(42) Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the scriptures,

The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner:

This was from the Lord,

And it is marvellous in our eyes?

(43) Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.

(44) And he that falleth on this stone shall be broken to pieces: but on whom-

Lk. xx. 9—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

they reasoned one with another, saying, This is the heir: let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.

(15) And they cast him forth out of the vineyard, and killed him. What therefore will the lord of the vineyard do unto them?

(16) He will come and destroy these husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others. And when they heard it, they said, God forbid (*lit.* Be it not so).

(17) But he looked upon them, and said, What then is this that is written,

The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner?

(18) Every one that falleth on that stone shall be broken to pieces; but on

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speak) rebelled both against nature and against its owner by manifesting itself as a wild vine¹. The Synoptic Gospels transfer the rebellion from the vine to the vinedressers. In the prophecy, the Vine refuses to bear good fruit; in the Gospels, the husbandmen refuse to give the owner his due share of the fruit, and kill the servants sent to receive it. Isaiah says "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel. . . and he looked for judgment, but behold, oppression; for righteousness, but behold, a cry," and for this cause the vineyard was to be "laid waste²."

This is poetry. The Evangelists say, in prose, that the owner "will give the vineyard to others." But they differ as to the utterance of this last saying. For Mark writes, as words of Jesus, "What will the lord of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the husbandmen." Matthew expands this as a question of Jesus ("What...?") answered by the Pharisees ("They say, He will wretchedly destroy those wretches..."). Luke sides with Mark, and says that the Pharisees, far from acquiescing in the verdict of destruction, replied "May it not be so!"

If these last words point to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, then we may say that John describes a somewhat similar situation, in language that partakes of irony, where

Mk xii. 1—12
(R.V.) *contd.*

(12) And they sought to lay hold on him; and they feared the multitude; for they perceived that he spake the parable against them; and they left him, and went away.

Mt. xxi. 33—46
(R.V.) *contd.*

soever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust (*some anc. auth. omit verse 44*).

(45) And when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them.

(46) And when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet.

Lk. xx. 9—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust.

(19) And the scribes and the chief priests sought to lay hands on him in that very hour; and they feared the people: for they perceived that he spake this parable against them.

¹ Is. v. 1—7.

² Is. v. 6—7.

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he represents the Pharisees as saying about Jesus "If we thus let him alone, all will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take away our [holy] place and our nation." The High Priest replies "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people and not the whole nation perish." This unconscious prophecy of the High Priest John recognises as having been actually fulfilled¹. But he also gives us the impression that half of what the Pharisees said was also fulfilled: they *did not* "let Jesus alone," but the Romans *did* "take away" their "place." In other words the "vineyard" spoken of by Isaiah was "laid waste and trodden down."

Elsewhere, John adds a brief supplementary parable about the Vine, addressed to Christ's disciples as distinct from Christ's enemies—somewhat like the Pauline exhortation to Gentiles, "engrafted" in the olive-tree of Israel, not to be "high-minded"². In this, the Vine is Christ Himself; the rebellion (so to speak) is in some of the branches, which refuse to bear fruit and to abide in the Vine; the punishment is to be cast out, withered, and burned³.

Another point deserves notice, apart from a certain literary and grammatical interest, because the omission of it might seem the omission of an instance of the failure of Johannine Intervention. It concerns the final words of Jesus in replying to the Pharisees. All the Synoptists agree that Jesus quoted from the Psalms up to the words "the head of the corner." But after that, Mark and Matthew continue the quotation "From the Lord *this* (fem.) came to pass and [it] is marvellous (fem.) in our eyes," where Luke has "Every one that falleth on that stone shall be broken to pieces; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him to dust"⁴.

This has been discussed in *Johannine Grammar*, where attention was called to instances of the Hebrew feminine

¹ Jn xi. 48—52.

² Rom. xi. 16—24.

³ Jn xv. 1—6.

⁴ Mk xii. 11, Mt. xxi. 42, Lk. xx. 18, W. H. bracket Mt. xxi. 44 which is parallel to Lk. xx. 18.

"*this*" interpreted mystically¹. To the facts there stated the following may be added. The Latin versions, almost without exception, take the Greek feminine "this" to mean "this stone²." The Greek "stone" is frequently feminine when it means a precious stone³. But "precious stone" here seems at first sight impossible because in the preceding sentence ("the stone that the builders rejected") "stone" is masculine. That however may not have been regarded as an insuperable objection since the context might be paraphrased thus: "The stone that the builders rejected [as worthless] was made the head of the corner. *This* [*precious stone*] was from the Lord⁴."

A poetical interpretation of this kind is given in the commentary on Mark attributed to Jerome: "This is the rejected stone of the corner uniting in a pure meal the lamb [of the Passover] with the bread [of the Eucharist], finishing the Old Testament, beginning the New. This bringeth forth wonders (*praestat mira*) in our eyes, *like the topaz*." The peculiarity of the topaz, according to Strabo, was that it shone brightly in the night but was liable to be overlooked in the day⁵. According to the Johannine Prologue, "the light shineth in the darkness and the darkness overcame it not⁶." The "foundations" of the New Jerusalem might be regarded as "looked for⁷" but invisible in the light of this material world, though visible, after death, in the spiritual world; and the same thing might apply to "the head stone" of the spiritual Temple. An ancient comment on

¹ *Joh. Gr.* 2396—7, 2622.

² In Mt. xxi. 42, *d* has "facta est haec," *Brix*. "factum est istud," the rest masc. = lapis; in Mk xii. 11, all have masc.

³ See Steph. *Thes.* v. 292.

⁴ See 1 Pet. ii. 4—8 on the double nature of Christ, the Living Stone, "elect and precious" to believers, but to others "a stone of stumbling."

⁵ Strabo xvi. 6 (770) says ὅσον μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἰδεῖν ἔστι (ὑπερανγέιται γάρ), Diod. Sic. iii. 38 (not 39 as L. S. etc.) describes it as θαυμαστὴν ἔγχρυσον πρόσοφιν παρεχόμενος, using the LXX word (θαυμαστή).

⁶ Jn i. 5.

⁷ Heb. xi. 10 "he looked for the city that hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

"the corner stone" in Mark says that this "was a wonder from the Lord to men of understanding, when, after death, Christ appeared living, King over things in heaven and things on earth¹." Also Zechariah, before describing the "bringing forth" of "the head stone" of the Temple, speaks of "the stone" "set before" the High Priest Joshua, and mentions its "seven eyes," and "the graving thereof²." And Revelation says that "the luminary" of the New Jerusalem was "like unto a most precious stone³."

All these passages point to the conclusion that Mark's use of the feminine "this" might be regarded by some, in very early times, as referring to the precious corner stone, and as having a mystical significance. The result tends to lessen the apparent fancifulness of the hypothesis that John intervened, in an allusion to Mark's "this," with a threefold repetition of "these things⁴."

¹ Mk xii. 11 (Cramer).

² Zech. iii. 9, iv. 7.

³ Rev. xxi. 11 φωστήρ. In canon. LXX, this word occurs only in Gen. i. 14, 16, Dan. xii. 3 (LXX). But it occurs in Ps. lxxiv. 16, Aq. and Sym., "luminary," Heb. מָאוֹר, Targ. "lunam," Rashi "lumen Legis," see also Prov. xv. 30 "light (מָאוֹר) of the eyes," Aq. φωστήρ (Sym. φωτισμός) ὀφθαλμῶν, LXX θεωρῶν ὀφθαλμός. It occurs once elsewhere in N.T. (Philipp. ii. 15). It is suggestive of a light shining in darkness.

⁴ Jn xii. 16 "These things understood not his disciples... these things were written... they had done these things unto him." On this and other instances of threefold repetition, see Joh. Gr. 2612—23. For the elaboration of the mystical doctrine of מָאוֹר (=אֵתֶר) see Schöttgen ii. Index "מָאוֹר Cabbalistis denotat Messiam. 45, 140," where p. 140 quotes Dan. ii. 35, Ps. cxviii. 22 etc.

Mk xii. 12 "and they left him and went their way," being omitted by the parall. Mt.-Lk., might seem to demand Johannine Intervention. But in fact it is found, only transposed, in Mt. xxii. 22 "they marvelled, and left him and went their way," with a variation in the parall. Lk. xx. 26 "they marvelled at his answer and held their peace," where Mk xii. 17 has simply "and they marvelled greatly at him."

See also p. 256, n. 1, quoting Jn vii. 32—46, which relates how "officers," sent by the chief priests and Pharisees to arrest Jesus, did, in effect, "leave" Him, and "go their way," and "hold their peace," because "they marvelled" at His teaching.

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§ 3. *The payment of tribute*¹

In this narrative there is no difference of importance between

¹ Mk xii. 13—17
(R.V.)

(13) And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, that they might catch him in talk.

(14) And when they were come, they say unto him, Master (*or*, Teacher), we know that thou art true, and carest not for any one: for thou regardest not the person of men, but of a truth teachest the way of God: Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not? Shall we give, or shall we not give?

(15) But he, knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, Why tempt ye me? bring me a penny, that I may see it.

(16) And they brought it. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they said unto him, Caesar's.

(17) And Jesus said unto them, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And they marvelled greatly at him.

Mt. xxii. 15—22
(R.V.)

(15) Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might ensnare him in [his] talk.

(16) And they send to him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, and carest not for any one: for thou regardest not the person of men.

(17) Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?

(18) But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?

(19) Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.

(20) And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription?

(21) They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.

(22) And when they heard it, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

Lk. xx. 20—26
(R.V.)

(20) And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which feigned themselves to be righteous, that they might take hold of his speech, so as to deliver him up to the rule and to the authority of the governor.

(21) And they asked him, saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, and acceptest not the person [of any], but of a truth teachest the way of God:

(22) Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?

(23) But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them,

(24) Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it?

And they said, Caesar's.

(25) And he said unto them, Then render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

(26) And they were not able to take hold of the saying before the people: and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

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the Synoptists till the last verse, where Mark says that "they wondered-out-of-measure at him"; this is amplified by Matthew and Luke, both of whom add words indicating that Christ's questioners were disconcerted or silenced, but that they were not filled with the wonder that partakes of admiration¹. The reader is left by Mark in suspense as to the nature of the "wonder." Luke removes the suspense by saying, in effect, "They were not able to take hold of His saying before the people [to His discredit] and it was this, not Jesus Himself, but the cleverness of His answer, that caused their wonder." This is a very reasonable paraphrase of Mark. It agrees with an ancient comment on Mark preserved by Victor: "So they

¹ Mk xii. 17 b
...καὶ ἐξεθαύμαζον
ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Mt. xxii. 22
καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύ-
μασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν
ἀπῆλθαν.

Lk. xx. 26
καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπι-
λαβέσθαι τοῦ ῥήματος
ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ
θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπο-
κρίσει αὐτοῦ ἐσίγησαν.

Possibly Mark's original gave rise to diverse interpretations that influence Matthew and Luke. The Marcan ἐξεθαύμαζον, unique in N.T., might express a Hebrew reduplication, "they were astonished with [a great] astonishment." See *Clue 137 a* "For instances of reduplication of cognate noun and verb in Mk alone, see Mk i. 26, iii. 28, v. 42 (comp. xiii. 19, 20)." Now (*Law* pp. 98—9, on Mk v. 42 "they were amazed with a great amazement") "hearing" and "amazement" (שמע and שמם) are confusable in Heb. (see *Indices to Diatessarica* p. 33). Matthew may have here rendered the Hebrew "Having been amazed they were amazed" as "Having heard they were amazed," while adding a clause ("and letting him alone they departed") to indicate that they were foiled in their plot. Luke seems to have paraphrased at greater length—taking "they were amazed" as including "struck dumb with amazement," that is, "were silent." It should be noted that in such phrases as Lk. xx. 26 οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ῥήματος (v. r. αὐτοῦ ῥήματος) and Lk. xx. 20 ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου (v. r. τῶν λόγων), parall. Mk xii. 13 λόγῳ, Mt. xxii. 15 ἐν λόγῳ, confusion might easily arise between "not able to take hold of [him] in word" and "not able to arrest him." Also Mt. ἀφέντες αὐτὸν might mean that officers "left" Jesus free, though sent to arrest Him. John relates that officers were thus sent and did thus leave Jesus unarrested (vii. 32, 44). They said (*ib.* 46) "Never man so spake."

departed wondering that His reply had given them nothing to take hold of."

But was this really all that called for admiration in Christ's reply? Was there nothing in it except a verbal dexterity, by which Jesus avoided giving a hold to His enemies? Did the saying substantially mean "Since you use Caesar's coin, you must pay him his due"? If so, the words "and to God the things that are God's" would seem to be a mere appendix. Origen, in his commentary on Matthew¹, says, "Since the soul is, by nature, stamped with (*lit.* according to) the image of God, we owe other things [beside the debt to Caesar] to its [*i.e.* the soul's] King, namely God, things that agree and correspond to the nature and essence of the soul. And these are [first] the ways that lead toward virtue, and [then] the actions according to virtue." Ignatius, perhaps referring to the Gospel narrative, says that there are "two coinages, the one of God and the other of the world; and each of them has its own stamp engraved upon it, the unbelievers [having] the stamp of this world, but the believers [*that is to say, those who through their belief abide in love,* [having] the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ...²."

If Jesus is assuming and teaching doctrine of this kind, then we are to regard Him not as evading but as attacking, not so much parrying a blow aimed at Him through the denarius of the Empire, as attempting to pierce the consciences of His people by a particular allusion to the shekels of the Temple, and to those payments for sacrifices, through which the money-changers in the Temple were allowed by the priests to defraud the poor. He had already stigmatized these defrauders as "robbers" converting the Temple into their "den." And now He may be taking advantage of their cunning question about Caesar's denarius to retort on them with a warning to question themselves about God's denarius, that is, divine humanity, "Are you paying Him His tribute, filial love toward Him and brotherly kindness toward His children?"

¹ Origen Lomm. iv. 140. See *Law* p. 277 on the Denarius of Fire.

² Ign. *Magn.* § 5, where see Lightf. on the conception of the "coinage" of humanity in Greek literature.

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How, if at all, does John deal with this subject—that is to say, the admiration or wonder extorted from Christ's enemies by His utterances, combined as it was with an absolute blindness on their part to their spiritual beauty? He represents "the Jews¹" as marvelling at Christ's teaching in the Temple and saying "*How knoweth this man letters* [i.e., *book-learning*], never having learned?" Here there may be a latent allusion to a well-known passage in prophecy. Isaiah, while describing Israel as blind and as "drawing near" to God "with their mouth" but not with their "heart"—words quoted by Jesus in Mark and Matthew²—divides them into two classes, to both of which "all vision is become as the words of a book that is sealed³." One class is not "learned in book-learning"; the other is "learned in book-learning" but cannot unseal the book⁴. Both classes are content to learn the fear of God by rote, as "a commandment of men that hath been learned by rote⁵."

The phrase "to know book-learning" in Isaiah is unique or rare in the Old Testament⁶. John puts it into the mouth of the opponents of Jesus—largely composed of those "book-learned" people whom we commonly call "scribes"—and they characteristically express, in a superior and perhaps slightly contemptuous tone, their astonishment that their enemy speaks so like a scribe: "*How knoweth this [man] book-learning*, never having learned?" There is irony in this complacency of the

¹ Jn vii. 13—15 "No man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews... (14)... Jesus... went up into the temple and taught... (15) *The Jews* therefore marvelled, saying, *How knoweth this man letters* (γράμματα)...?" "The Jews" are distinguished from (ib. 12) "the multitudes."

² Mk vii. 6, Mt. xv. 8.

³ Is. xxix. 11 foll.

⁴ Comp. Rev. v. 1 foll. "a book... sealed with seven seals."

⁵ Is. xxix. 13 "*a commandment of men that hath been taught [them]*, R.V. marg. *learned [by rote]*." The opposite of this is Jn vi. 45 διδάκτοι θεοῦ, from Is. liv. 13 "*disciples of the Lord*" lit. "*the taught of the Lord*," i.e. not of men.

⁶ Gesen. 707 *b* gives, under a separate heading, ספר in Is. xxix. 11—12 (LXX γράμματα), and Dan. i. 4 (LXX and Theod. γράμματα), 17 (LXX γραμματικὴ [τέχνη], Theod. γραμματικῇ) as meaning "*book-learning*." The noun סופר meant a "*scribe*."

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blind leaders of the blind. Jesus replies, in effect, that His learning or teaching is from God Himself and not from books, and that it goes to the root of things. Those who judge without kindness according to the letter of the Law are blind to its spirit of kindness and judge according to appearance: "Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment¹."

At the same time John gives us a glimpse into the state of mind of some of the "unlearned" Jews, who oscillate between the scribes and Jesus. He tells us directly—what we might have indirectly but confidently inferred from the Synoptists—that the teaching of Jesus in the Temple was far more personal and less scribal than we might have inferred from the Synoptic texts. Mark selected especially those topics—some of them comparatively superficial—which were not selected by Jesus Himself but by His adversaries with a view to entrap Him. The selection of these might give a false impression of the tenor of Christ's teaching. Yet Jesus, even when dealing with apparent superficialities, went down deep to origins and first principles. The deepest of these was also the highest, the doctrine that we must look up to the Father through the Son in the Spirit of love:—"If any man thirst let him come unto me." Not that, in this shape, the doctrine could be understood at present:—"This spake he of the Spirit," but "the Spirit was not yet given²." Yet even those who could not understand felt a touch of something like understanding. The chief priests and the Pharisees had "sent officers" to take Him, but they returned without a prisoner; and to the question "Why did ye not take him?" their reply was, "Never man so spake³."

¹ Jn vii. 24. Comp. Is. v. 7 "He looked for judgment, but behold oppression (*or*, shedding of blood)," and Jn vii. 19 "Why seek ye to kill me?"

² Jn vii. 37—9. In the context, the words "Let him come unto me... he that believeth on me" should perhaps be read as implying that Jesus speaks in the name of the Wisdom, or Holy Spirit, of God, as in Mt. xxiii. 34 "*I (emph.) send...*" parall. to Lk. xi. 49 "*The Wisdom of God said, 'I will send...'*" (see *Son* 3583 (i)).

³ Jn vii. 32, 46.

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§ 4. *The resurrection of the dead*¹

In the texts printed below, Luke, while adding matter of his own, follows Mark pretty closely except that he omits the

¹ Mk xii. 18—27
(R.V.)

(18) And there come unto him Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,

(19) Master (*or*, Teacher), Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die, and leave a wife behind him, and leave no child, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

(20) There were seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed;

(21) And the second took her, and died, leaving no seed behind him; and the third likewise:

(22) And the seven left no seed. Last of all the woman also died.

(23) In the resurrection whose wife shall she be of them? for the seven had her to wife.

(24) Jesus said unto them, Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God?

(25) For when they shall rise from the dead, they

Mt. xxii. 23—33
(R.V.)

(23) On that day there came to him Sadducees, which say (*lit. saying*) that there is no resurrection; and they asked him,

(24) Saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife (*lit. shall perform the duty of a husband's brother to his wife*) and raise up seed unto his brother.

(25) Now there were with us seven brethren; and the first married and deceased, and having no seed left his wife unto his brother;

(26) In like manner the second also, and the third, unto the seventh (*lit. seven*).

(27) And after them all the woman died.

(28) In the resurrection therefore whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.

(29) But Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.

(30) For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor

Lk. xx. 27—38
(R.V.)

(27) And there came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,

(28) Master (*or*, Teacher), Moses wrote unto us, that if a man's brother die, having a wife, and he be childless, his brother should take the wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

(29) There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died childless;

(30) And the second;

(31) And the third took her; and likewise the seven also left no children, and died.

(32) Afterward the woman also died.

(33) In the resurrection therefore whose wife of them shall she be? for the seven had her to wife.

(34) And Jesus said unto them, The sons of this world (*or*, age) marry, and are given in marriage:

(35) But they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world (*or*, age), and

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charge brought by Jesus against the Sadducees, "Do ye not err...? ye greatly err¹," and also the reason alleged by Jesus for their error "for this cause, not knowing the scriptures nor the power of God²." Luke also limits the scope of Mark's charge. Mark has "there come Sadducees, [a class of people] that say there is no resurrection"; Matthew narrows this into "[some] Sadducees, saying there is no resurrection"; Luke narrows it still further: "some of the Sadducees, those of them who [not only do not accept as an article of faith but even aggressively] deny a resurrection³."

Mk xii. 18—27
(R.V.) *contd.*

neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven.

(26) But as touching the dead, that they are raised; have ye not read in the book of Moses, in [the place concerning] the Bush, how God spake unto him, saying, I [am] the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?

(27) He is not the God of the dead, but of the living: ye do greatly err.

Mt. xxii. 23—33
(R.V.) *contd.*

are given in marriage, but are as angels (*many anc. auth. add of God*) in heaven.

(31) But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,

(32) I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not [the God] of the dead, but of the living.

(33) And when the multitudes heard it, they were astonished at his teaching.

Lk. xx. 27—38
(R.V.) *contd.*

the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage;

(36) For neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.

(37) But that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed, in [the place concerning] the Bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

(38) Now he is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.

¹ Mk xii. 24—7 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε...;...πολὺ πλανᾶσθε.

² Mk xii. 24 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ; the parall. Mt. xxii. 29 omits οὐ διὰ τοῦτο.

³ Mk xii. 18

καὶ ἔρχονται Σαδδουκαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν, οἳ τινες λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι...

Mt. xxii. 23

ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ Σαδδουκαῖοι, λέγοντες μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν...

Lk. xx. 27

προσελθόντες δὲ τινες τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, οἳ λέγοντες ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι...

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The Sadducees are said to have accepted the Pentateuch but to have rejected or subordinated the rest of the Scriptures, and this statement about them is confirmed by the fact that Jesus, in His controversy with them, appeals to the Pentateuch, and not to the rest of the Scriptures where He could have found much more cogent texts for proving the Resurrection. This being the case, was it right to say that the Sadducees did not "*know*" the Scriptures, instead of saying that they did not "*accept*" a large part of them? Doubtless, Mark's tradition meant that they did not really "*know*" even those Scriptures that they accepted, that is to say, did not know their spirit, and the revelation that they contained of the underlying "power of God." But Luke may well have felt that Mark did not make this meaning clear.

Accordingly Luke first gives a brief description of the changed condition awaiting those who are "accounted worthy to attain that aeon¹." These, he says, are "*equal-to-angels*"

¹ Lk. xx. 35 οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν . . . (36) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γάρ εἰσιν, καὶ υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες. Wetstein on Lk. xx. 35, and Dalman *Words* p. 119, shew that the phrase "worthy of the life, or world, to come" is frequent in the Talmud; and Wetstein on Lk. xvi. 8 shews the same about "*sons of the world to come*," as opposed to "*sons of this world*." It means "worthy of the future life" (as in Heb. "son of death," or "of scourging" (Gesen. 121 b) may mean "worthy of death, or scourging"). Luke extends these phrases from meaning the elect on earth to mean fruition in heaven. He adds "they can no longer die." Perhaps he does this in order to shew that he does not mean "sons of eternal life on earth." John however says the same thing about the life that springs from belief in Christ, apparently without regard to its being on earth or in heaven (xi. 25—6), "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me, though he die [in appearance], yet shall he live [in truth]. And whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never [in truth] die."

Justin Martyr asserts (*Tryph.* § 80) that he and all right-minded Christians are assured that there will be first a resurrection of the dead and a millennium in Jerusalem, which will then be built as the prophets predict; and he concludes a long proof of this, from Isaiah (lxv. 17—25), by saying (*ib.* § 81) that John one of the apostles of Christ prophesied this millennium, to be followed by the general

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—an expression substituted by him for the Marcan "*as angels in heaven*¹." Then he says that "*even Moses*"—though his part was rather that of Lawgiver than that of Prophet and Revealer—"intimated," or "indicated²," that the dead are raised, "in [the place about] the Bush" when he calls the Lord "the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." This was not "taught" by Moses, or "proclaimed," or "revealed," or even "shewn," but it was "intimated" or "indicated" by

and eternal resurrection and judgment of all men, "even as our Lord also said (Lk. xx. 36) They shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be equal to the angels, the children of the God of the resurrection (τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες)."

¹ Ἰσάγγελος is not alleged (Steph. *Thes.*) from any author before Luke. It is analogous to ἰσοδαίμων. Luke substitutes "*equal to angels*" for "*like* (ὡς) angels," because men, having experienced temptation, sin and redemption, can never be "*like*" angels, who have not had these experiences. But they may be "*equal [in rank]*" to angels. Yet the word raises difficult questions as to the nature of the equality. The Biblical phrase rendered "*a little lower than the angels*" in the LXX and Targum of Ps. viii. 5, and its adoption in Heb. ii. 7, should be compared with Philo i. 164 "Abraham, having quitted mortality (ἐκλιπὼν τὰ θνητὰ) is gathered to the people of God (προστίθεται τῷ θεοῦ λαῷ), enjoying the fruit of incorruptibility, having become *equal to angels* (ἵσος ἀγγέλοις γεγωνός). For angels are God's army, bodiless and blessed souls." Origen (*Cels.* iv. 29) says that angels are only superior to men "on these terms (οὕτως)," namely, that men, when perfected, become "*equal-to-angels*." Elsewhere he says (*De Princip.* iv. 29, Lomm. xxi. 466) that Christ is in Gabriel and Michael, as also in Paul and Peter. See Mayor's note on Clem. Alex. 866, shewing that Clem. Alex. freq. uses ἰσάγγελος to express the progress of the soul.

² Lk. xx. 37 ἐμήνυσεν, not "shewed (ἐδήλωσε)" or "manifested (ἐφάνερωσε)." Μηνύω, μηνυτής, μήνυτρον, in classical Greek, mostly imply "giving information" (as in Jn xi. 57), an "informer," "the price of information"; but Steph. *Thes.* quotes Philo as saying (?ref.) μηνύοντος διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ θεοῦ and it is used thus by Justin Martyr *Apol.* §§ 32, 35, 40, and Clem. Alex. 667, 849 (parall. to ἀλληγορεῖν) etc. to mean "indication through signs or symbols." Such a "sign" would be the burning bush. Perhaps, therefore, the indirectness of the "indication" of the Resurrection is regarded by Luke as consisting not only in the words ("I am the God of Abraham") but also in the circumstances ("the bush" not consumed in the fire).

the sign of the Bush—burning but not consumed—when studied as the sequel of the promise made to the faithful Abraham and carried on through Isaac and Jacob to their descendants in Egypt.

"The God of Abraham" could not have been revealed as a name of God, if Abraham had been a mere creature of days, dying for ever; therefore Abraham and his faithful descendants must rise from the dead. That is the line of argument. Luke adds, "For all live unto him [*i.e.* God]." Apparently by "all," he means "all that *really live*, all that *have spiritual life*." These, he says, "live to God." That is, they live only in correspondence to Him, as the planets shine only in correspondence to the sun. Origen is probably right in interpreting Luke thus¹. Perhaps Luke adds the words to make the Marcan text clear. But the addition itself is far from clear.

John, though he nowhere mentions Sadducees, teaches, through the acts and sayings of Jesus, a doctrine that bears on the Synoptic narrative of Christ's controversy with them. He concentrates himself on the positive and essential meaning of "resurrection." Instead of protesting that it *is not* life in the flesh, he insists that it *is* life in Christ. He represents Jesus

¹ Origen *ad loc.* (Lomm. iv. 171) says that "All live to him" is "*no ordinary praise of the Patriarchs*, namely, that such a one as our Saviour testifies to them, not only that they live, but also *that the life that they live they live unto God*." Probably he does not render πάντες "they all"—which would be hardly possible about three. He means "All that [really] live"—as the three Patriarchs, for example, did—"live unto God."

Comp. 4 Macc. vii. 19 "those who believe that to God they do not die—for [they are] (ὡσπερ γὰρ, but ὡσπερ οὐδὲ, with &) [even] as our patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac [and] Jacob—but live to God," xvi. 25 "They [the seven martyrs] saw (ιδόντες) that, for the sake of God having died (διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀποθανόντες), men (οἱ, they) live unto God (ζῶσω τῷ θεῷ) [even as] Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs." In the second passage, the meaning may be general, (1) men, having died for God, or particular, (2) they saw that they, the seven brethren, having died for God, *were destined to live*; but the latter is a strained rendering of ζῶσω. These passages indicate that Luke was following some current Jewish doctrine which he utilised to explain Christ's words.

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as saying to Martha "*I am the resurrection and the life*¹." We have found Luke omitting the Marcan mention of "*the power of God*." John nowhere in the whole of his Gospel uses the word "power." But he proceeds dramatically to represent Christ as being God's incarnate power—"Christ the power of God," as Paul says²—by raising Lazarus from the dead.

Also, whereas Luke as it were apologizes for the way in which Moses indirectly "indicated," rather than inculcated, the doctrine of the Resurrection, John will have no such apology. Only, what the Synoptists say about the Resurrection and the Life, John says about the Messiah who is "the resurrection and the life." "*If ye believed Moses*," Jesus says to the Jews, "ye would believe me, for he wrote of me³." In the preceding context He declares that the Jews are blind, and deaf, and insensible to the meaning of the Scriptures⁴. "They search⁵" them, but they find no real meaning in them because they are dead to the spirit and power of them, which is their real meaning. This is Mark over again, "*Ye know not the scriptures nor the power of God*."

We have seen that Luke, besides omitting this, omits also the Marcan condemnation "Ye do greatly err," or literally, "are caused to err." In John, there is a condemnation far weightier and fuller, for it implies that they erred, not through temporary lapse but through permanent moral defects and faults, negative and positive—want of the love of God and God's glory, excess of the love of self and their own glory⁶. It is perhaps characteristic of Luke that he regards the Resurrection as proved by something like a logical weighing of evidence, so that to reject it was a logical rather than a moral error. That is not the Johannine view.

¹ Jn xi. 25.

² 1 Cor. i. 24.

³ Jn v. 46.

⁴ Jn v. 37—8 "ye have neither *heard* . . . nor *seen* . . . and ye have not *his word abiding in you*" implies defect in (1) hearing, (2) sight, (3) feeling or perception.

⁵ Jn v. 39 "Ye search," *ἐρευνᾶτε*, prob. indicative, see *Joh. Gr.* 2439 (i)—(ii).

⁶ Jn v. 42 "Ye have not the love of God in yourselves," *ib.* 44 "how can ye believe—ye who receive glory from one another?"

The addition of Luke ("all live unto him") is quoted by Justin Martyr at the end of a long demonstration of a first resurrection—a Messianic millennium, based on a long prophecy of Isaiah. The same prophecy is alleged by Irenaeus to prove the same things. Both writers stigmatize as heretics those who refuse to accept the prophecy in a literal sense, and both of them allege the Revelation of John as supporting their views against dissentients¹. These allegations, and their controversial contexts, make it probable that at a very early date the nature and circumstances of the Coming of the Lord and of the consequent resurrection of the disciples would be much discussed, and that the Fourth Evangelist would intervene as to the Synoptic narrative under discussion; and the Johannine texts above quoted make it probable that he has actually done so.

§ 5. "*What commandment is the first?*" in Mark²

Luke omits the whole of this discussion. The Diatessaron places immediately after it a combination of Mark and Luke

¹ Justin (*Tryph.* §§ 80—81) quotes Is. lxxv. 17—25. Irenaeus (v. 34. 4) quotes Is. lxxv. 18—22. Justin quotes "John one of the apostles of Christ" as prophesying this millennium. Irenaeus (v. 35. 2) says "In the Apocalypse John saw this new Jerusalem" and quotes Is. lxxv. 17—18.

■ Mk xii. 28—34
(R.V.)

(28) And one of the scribes came, and heard them questioning together, and knowing that he had answered them well, asked him, What commandment is the first of all?

(29) Jesus answered, The first is, Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one (*or*, The Lord [is] our God; the Lord is one):

(30) And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with (*lit.*

Mt. xxii. 34—40, 46
(R.V.)

(34) But the Pharisees, when they heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, gathered themselves together.

(35) And one of them, a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him,

(36) Master (*or*, Teacher), which is the great commandment in the law?

(37) And he said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy

Lk. xx. 39, x. 25—8, xx. 40 (R.V.)

(xx. 39) And certain of the scribes answering said, Master (*or*, Teacher), thou hast well said.

(x. 25) And behold, a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him, saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

(26) And he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?

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thus: "[Mark] And Jesus saw him [*i.e.* the scribe] that he had answered wisely; and he answered and said unto him, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' [Luke] 'Thou hast

Mk xii. 28—34
(R.V.) *contd.*

from) all thy heart, and with (*lit.* from) all thy soul, and with (*lit.* from) all thy mind, and with (*lit.* from) all thy strength.

(31) The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.

(32) And the scribe said unto him, Of a truth, Master (*or*, Teacher), thou hast well said that he is one; and there is none other but he:

(33) And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.

(34) And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And no man after that durst ask him any question.

Mt. xxii. 34—40, 46
(R.V.) *contd.*

God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

(38) This is the great and first commandment.

(39) And a second like [unto it] is this (*or*, And a second is like unto it), Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(40) On these two commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets.

(46) And no one was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.

Lk. xx. 39, x. 25—
8, xx. 40 (R.V.)
contd.

(27) And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with (*lit.* from) all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

(28) And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

(xx. 40) For they durst not any more ask him any question.

The very ample Marcan traditions about the nature of the commandment to "love," and about its being "first," and "none greater," are summarised in Jn xiii. 34—5 "A new commandment... if ye have love one to another." This implies the preëminence of a New Commandment corresponding to the preëminence of the Old one. It is not however regarded as preëminent, or "*first*," or "*greater*," but as having a new significance, and as being essential.

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spoken rightly; do this, and thou shalt live.' And he, as his desire was to justify himself, said unto him, 'And who is my neighbour?' Jesus said unto him 'A man went down from Jerusalem' [the Parable of the Good Samaritan]¹." According to this arrangement the scribe is regarded as possibly a mere lip-believer "desiring to justify himself." In *word*, he had "spoken rightly." In *word*, he was "not far from the kingdom of God." But was he sincere? Was he one of the "little ones"² who, according to Mark, constituted God's Family or "King-

¹ *Diatess.* also combines Mark and Luke at the outset thus: (Mk xii. 28) "And one of the scribes, of those that knew the law (Lk. x. 25 νομικός), when he saw the excellence of his answer to them, desired to try him (Lk. x. 25, comp. Mt. xxii. 35) and said unto him (Lk. x. 25) 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' and (Mk xii. 28, Mt. xxii. 36) 'Which of the commandments is greater and has precedence in the Law?'"

Mark does not represent the scribe as "tempting" or "trying" Jesus. Matthew may have inferred it from the context. Delitzsch renders νομικός in Mt. xxii. 35 by מבין "making wise" (with "in the Law") but in Lk. x. 25 by מבעלי "of the Masters" (with "of the Law"). In Job xxxiv. 36, LXX confuses בין with בהן "tempt" (*Corrections* 466 (η)). And confusion may have arisen from attempts to describe the *status* of this particular "scribe" (see Levy i. 248—9 on בעל shewing that a scribe might be called Master of Haggada, or of Mikra (Bible text) or of Mishna or of Talmud etc.).

Victor, on Mark, says that he can be reconciled with Matthew thus: "The man at first was 'tempting' Jesus, but having been benefited by the reply [of Jesus] he was [afterwards] praised [by Jesus]," implying that the reply reminded the man of the duty of love toward one's neighbour and converted him from his loveless state of jealousy and envy.

Νομικός, "lawyer," used here^a alone by Matthew but freq. in Luke, has a technical meaning in Epictetus ii. 13. 6—8, Strabo xii. (p. 539), implying a legal adviser indispensable for a man that does not know the laws of the country (and see Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 271 E—F on the names "Caius" etc. technically used by νομικοί). Comp. Rom. ii. 19, 1 Cor. i. 19—20. The use of it in Mt.-Lk., and their insertion of πειράζων, make it probable that they regarded Mark as taking too favourable a view of "the scribe" and as not understanding the tacit warning implied in the words "not far from the kingdom of God," that is to say, outside it, and perhaps permanently outside, though close to the gate.

^a Mk x. 14.

dom"? "*Those who are far off*" is sometimes a technical term for Gentiles. In that sense, "*not far off*" might mean "an orthodox Jew" and, perhaps, one who exulted in his orthodoxy¹. This possibility must not be forgotten.

The word "discreetly," employed by Mark to describe the character of the scribe's reply, must be noted on account of its unusual character, not being used elsewhere in Biblical Greek. It mostly means "sensibly," and may be applied to those who have a reasonable sense of changed circumstances and are open to new facts and new arguments². But it might be taken to mean "adapting oneself to circumstances," "prudently cautious." In that sense, it might imply insincerity or dishonesty—meaning "wisely" in the sense in which the unjust steward is said to have "done wisely"³. In the same sense the serpent is said to have been "wiser" than all the other creatures in Paradise; and we are told that Pharaoh proposed to "deal wisely," *i.e.* cunningly, with the Israelites in Egypt⁴. Since

¹ Comp. Acts ii. 39 (a Petrine speech) "to your children and to all that are afar off," *ib.* xxii. 21 (a Pauline speech) "*far hence unto the Gentiles*," Eph. ii. 13—17 "*ye that once were far off... peace to you that were far off*," referring to Is. lvii. 19. In Luke, the Prodigal Son (who represents the Gentiles) is seen (xv. 20) "while he was still far off," and the Publican, as contrasted with the Pharisee, (xviii. 13) "stood far off."

² Mk xii. 34 *νουνεχῶς*, *a*, *h* "sensate," *b*, *d*, Vulg. "sapienter," SS (Burk.) "well," Syr. (Walton) "sapienter." *Νουνεχῆς* does not occur anywhere in the Early Fathers (Goodspeed) but is freq. in Justin Martyr, meaning "sensible," "open to conviction," *Apol.* §§ 12, 46, 2 *Apol.* § 11. In *Tryph.* § 87 *νουνεχέστατα... ἡρώτησας* is said by Justin to his Jewish antagonist, who has protested that he asks for information and not merely to raise a difficulty. Wetstein (on Mk) quotes Polyb. as frequently using the adv. with *πραγματικῶς*, *φρονίμως* and *ἡμέρως*. Pseudo-Jerome, on Mk, asks "Quare non est longe qui venit *callide*?" which seems to imply a rendering of *νουνεχῶς* as "cunningly."

³ Lk. xvi. 8 *φρονίμως*. Delitzsch has a form of ערם "shrewd," but SS חכם "wise."

⁴ Gen. iii. 1 *φρονιμώτατος*, Heb. ערום, Onk. sim. *i.e.* (R.V.) "subtil," but v.r. (s. Brederek) חכים, *i.e.* "wise," Aq. Theod. πανούργος. Comp. Exod. i. 10 "let us deal wisely (*חכם*)," κατασοφισώμεθα.

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the scribe began to speak with the object of "tempting" Jesus it is natural to suppose that, when he was foiled, he made a discreet or artful reply to cover his defeat. Luke himself, in a parallel but different context, represents a phrase of similar approval as being uttered without real approval: "But certain of the scribes answering said, 'Master, thou hast well said'"—not that they really felt this, their real feeling being one of fear—"for they no longer dared to question him about anything¹." And Mark says the same thing after the scribe's "discreet" reply and Christ's answer to it. This points to the conclusion that the answer was felt to be a rebuke. No one "dared to question Jesus any more²" and to bring upon himself a similar rebuke. From this it follows that, among the reasons for Luke's omission of the Marcan narrative, one may have been a doubt as to the application of the phrase "thou hast well said," or, "answered rightly," or, "answered discreetly"—a doubt not only as to the person answering but also as to the motive of the answer³.

Luke substitutes for the Marcan theoretical question as to what *is* ("What is the first commandment?") a practical one as to what must be *done*, "What shall I *do* to inherit eternal life?" followed by another question bearing on the doing, "Who is the 'neighbour' whom I am commanded to love?" No direct answer is given to this by Jesus. Indirectly, in the parable of the Good Samaritan—who shewed himself a real "neighbour"—we are taught that our "neighbour" is the man that acts kindly to us. But if that is so, "love" becomes an easy affair, much easier than that which is contemplated in the Sermon on the Mount where the command is given "Love your enemies." The moral of the parable is not a definition,

¹ Lk. xx. 39—40.

² Mk xii. 34.

³ A combination of the two great commandments of love to God (Deut. vi. 5) and love to our neighbour (Lev. xix. 18) is found in *Test. XII Patr.*, *Dan* § 5 "Love the Lord through all your life, and one another with a true heart" (see Charles's note). It comes there as a climax—after "keep His law," "depart from wrath," "hate lying," "speak truth each one with his neighbour," and after the promise "So...shall ye be in peace, having the God of peace...."

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but a precept, "Go and do like the Samaritan who made himself a 'neighbour' to a Jewish stranger in distress and thereby made the Jew his neighbour." This is a beautiful moral appended to a beautiful story, but it does not answer the question "Who is my neighbour?" It leaves the lawyer able to say "If God meant 'Love *every human being* as thyself' why did He not say so? If He meant 'Love *a limited class of human beings*' why did He not define the limit?"

How does John intervene, if at all, on these subjects, first, as to the nature, duty, and scope of love, and then as to the question whether the first and highest commandment enjoins love? As to the nature and scope of "loving" John says, in his first mention of the word, "God so *loved* the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life¹." Yet in the Epistle he says "*Love* not the world neither the things that are in the world²." In this contradiction there is no mere play on different meanings of "the world." It is rather a warning about the different meanings of "love." John never tells us to love our enemies or even to love our neighbours. Perhaps he felt that the attempt to love these sometimes ended in hypocrisy³. When he says "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen⁴," he clearly assumes that the "brother" is no enemy, or bestial or diabolic being, but a believer in Christ, lovable for his own sake as well as for Christ's. And in Christ's last commandments to the disciples, as recorded by John, we are bidden to love, not enemies, nor strangers, but "one another⁵."

Jesus calls this a new commandment. Its newness appears to consist in the new character of the love. They are, He says, to love one another "even as I have loved you." What follows later on implies that kind of love which induces a man to "lay down his life for his friends⁶." This takes us back to the first

¹ Jn iii. 16.

² 1 Jn ii. 15.

³ Rom. xii. 9 "*the love* [that is to be the sign of the Church, must be] without hypocrisy."

⁴ 1 Jn iv. 20 (so W. H. without altern.).

⁵ Jn xiii. 34—5.

⁶ Jn xv. 13.

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Johannine mention of the word, "God so loved the world"—which shews that the Father made a sacrifice of the Son, and that the Son made a sacrifice of Himself, and all for an unloving or even hostile world, in order that it might, if possible, be brought into the region of love. Thus, although we are not taught in word to love strangers or enemies, we are led by the love of Christ to feel for them something corresponding to the love of the Father—and this was for all "the world."

Thus emphasizing the self-sacrificing love of the Father and the Son—or of the Father through the Son—John emphasizes that unity of God, and that unity of God's commandments (merged as they are in one) which Luke omits. The Marcan proclamation "the Lord our God is one" is nowhere mentioned by Matthew or Luke. But John has "I and the Father are one¹." And the Marcan prominence given to the "first" Commandment is illustrated by several Johannine passages which imply the Law of Self-sacrifice as exemplified in the Son receiving the love and the commandment of the Father: "Therefore doth the Father love me because I lay down my life....I have authority to lay it down and I have authority to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father²." The last Johannine sentence of Christ's public teaching, though it merely mentions "speaking" and not acting, implies that the one commandment is, in effect, Self-sacrifice, incarnate in the Son of God and identified with eternal life: "I know that his commandment is life eternal³." The Unity of God Himself is connected (in the

¹ Jn x. 30.

² Jn x. 17—18.

³ Jn xii. 50. The Pauline occasional use of ἐντολή in a somewhat depreciative sense (Rom. vii. 8—13, Eph. ii. 15, Tit. i. 14, comp. Heb. vii. 16—18) may have led to such a contempt for ἐντολαί as Clem. Alex. condemns in heretics (893) δυσαρεστούμενοι ταῖς θείαις ἐντολαῖς—τουτέστι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Hence Clem. Alex. 834 τὰς ἐντολάς... ἔδωκεν... ἐκ μᾶς ἀρνυόμενος πηγῆς ὁ κύριος traces them all back to their source. A similar feeling pervades John, who would have us regard them as a gift, not as a yoke, and as incarnate in Christ. Comp. *Maccoth* 24 a on Amos v. 4: Moses has 613 commandments, David 11, Isaiah 6, Micah 3, Isaiah "again (wiederum)" 2, Amos 1, "Seek

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Fourth Gospel) with the unity of man with man, and of Man collectively with God, through the fulfilment of the One Commandment. To some the Johannine repetition of "one" attributed to Jesus in His Last Prayer may seem to border on superfluity, but it is assuredly deliberate¹.

§ 6. "Scribes" and "the Son of David"²

Mark implies that the Messianic title, "Son of David," was insisted on by "*the scribes*" in the course of their doctrine

ME, and ye shall live." This may be compared with Lk. x. 28 "Do this and thou shalt live."

¹ Jn xvii. 11 "that they may be *one*, even as we [*are one*]," *ib.* 21—3 "that they may all be *one*...that they may be *one*, even as we [*are*] *one*...that they may be perfected into *one*."

² Mk xii. 35—8

(R.V.)

Mt. xxii. 41—6

(R.V.)

Lk. xx. 41—6

(R.V.)

(35) And Jesus answered and said, as he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David?

(41) Now while the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them a question,

(42) Saying, What think ye of the Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, [The son] of David.

(43) He saith unto them, How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying,

(36) David himself said in the Holy Spirit,

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet (*some anc. auth.* underneath thy feet).

(44) The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I put thine enemies underneath thy feet?

(37) David himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he his son? And the common people (*or*, the great multitude) heard him gladly.

(38) And in his teaching he said, Beware of the scribes...

(45) If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son?

(46) And no one was able to answer him a word....

(41) And he said unto them, How say they that the Christ is David's son?

(42) For David himself saith in the book of Psalms,

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

(43) Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.

(44) David therefore calleth him Lord, and how is he his son?

(45) And in the hearing of all the people he said unto his disciples,

(46) Beware of the scribes....

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generally. But his context ("answered and said") might be taken to mean that Jesus said this in answer to some particular and recent utterance. Accordingly Matthew inserts a statement of the Pharisees that Christ is the Son of David, made in reply to a question of Jesus "What think ye of the Christ? Whose son is he?" Now all the Synoptists have represented this title as being recently applied by a blind beggar, or "two blind men," in the neighbourhood of Jericho to Jesus on His way to Jerusalem¹. Luke, perhaps for this reason, drops the word "scribes" here, and describes Jesus as now putting to His former questioners—who "durst not ask him any more questions"—a question on His own account, "How say [they]"—*that is, people in general*—"that the Christ is David's son?" This is quite different from the tradition in Mark.

Mark's emphasis on "the scribes" recalls Matthew's account of Herod "gathering together all the chief priests and *scribes of the people*" when "he inquired of them where the Christ should be born; and they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judaea²." It recalls also a Johannine passage where those Jews who on scriptural or scribal grounds dispute the possibility that Jesus could be the Christ, are contrasted with "[some] of the multitude" thus: "[Some] of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words [of Jesus preaching in the Temple] said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others [of the multitude] said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was³?"

Here alone does John mention "David," and it is in connection with Bethlehem. But, much earlier, Bethlehem is

¹ Mk x. 47—8, Mt. xx. 30—31, Lk. xviii. 38—9, rep. twice.

² Mt. ii. 4—5.

³ Jn vii. 40—42 οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον, since οἱ μὲν does not precede, might mean "but they, *i.e.* the previous speakers, said," that is to say, "Those who had called Jesus 'the prophet' moderated the enthusiasm of those who said that He was 'the Christ.'" But no version takes it thus. We must perhaps suppose that ἄλλοι is regarded as equiv. to οἱ μὲν. This is Jn's only mention of Bethlehem.

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probably to be supposed as being in the mind of Nathanael when he raises a scribal objection to Philip's acceptance of Jesus as the Deliverer, on the ground that He *cannot* "come out of Nazareth¹." No doubt the meaning is "He *must* come out of Bethlehem." In that passage, John makes no attempt to meet this objection of Nathanael's either through words of his own or through words of Jesus. Nathanael overrides his own logical and scriptural argument by sheer illogical faith.

Later on, John represents Nicodemus as being apparently silenced by a scribal objection based on locality, "Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet (*or*, not the prophet)²." This follows almost immediately after the utterance in the Temple, above quoted, about David and Bethlehem; and it is in the Council chamber of the Sanhedrin where the chief priests and Pharisees (no doubt including "scribes") are assembled. "Search and see" implies an appeal to those learned in the Scriptures, as "the scribes" specially professed to be; and the passage supports Mark in the view that "the scribes" emphasized some connection between the Messiah and David. The speakers in the Fourth Gospel mention "the seed of David" only in connection with the identity of birthplace for Christ and David. Luke, in his own person, emphasizes these details, "Joseph went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and family of David³."

The impression left on us by John is, not that he disbelieved in Christ's birth at Bethlehem and descent from "the house and family of David," but that he regarded the acceptance of these details as not necessary for Christians. It was natural for scribes to lay stress on them, but Jesus desired disciples to accept Him for His own sake—apart from "David" and "Bethlehem"—without such scribal conditions. Hence John

¹ Jn i. 46.

² Jn vii. 52. See *Joh. Gr.* 2492 "No one has satisfactorily explained the extraordinary statement attributed to the Pharisees 'Out of G. ariseth no prophet.'" The sense demands the insertion of *ὁ* before *προφήτης*.

³ Lk. ii. 4.

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represents no enlightenment as being given even to the guileless Nathanael—either when he seemed likely to stumble at the mention of "Nazareth" or on any subsequent occasion. Nathanael, overriding the objection suggested by "Nazareth," hails Jesus as Son of God and King of Israel; and Jesus accepts his homage, and promises a future vision of glory, in which there shall be revealed no Son of David, but a mediating Son of Man, on whom the angels of God ascend and descend¹.

While considering the Johannine attitude toward "scribal" conditions, we should note the fact that the word "scribe," abundantly used by Mark and often, though less often, by Matthew and Luke, is never used by John².

Perhaps one reason for this is the technical nature of the Synoptic word. Outside Palestine, *grammateus*, "clerk," or "scribe," might mean "town-clerk," as in the Lucan narrative of the tumult in Ephesus³. But of course John could not, and

¹ Jn i. 51. See *Joh. Gr.* 2275, *Son* 3136 foll., 3374 foll.

On the words of Jesus "David... calleth him Lord" there was no reason why John should intervene, as they are in all the Synoptists and are fairly consonant with what we learn from Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* §§ 33, 83) about Jewish tradition concerning the 110th Psalm, namely, that in the second century they referred the Psalm to Hezekiah. This agrees with the hypothesis that in the first century Jews referred it to the Messiah, but in the second (when Christians had referred it to *their* Messiah) to Hezekiah. Later on, the Rabbis referred it (says Rashi) to Abraham. But *Tehill.* i. 163, after mentioning Abraham and Moses as instances of God's condescension, quotes R. Judan, in the name of R. Chama, as referring it to the Messiah. The Synoptists clearly assume that the Jews in Christ's time accepted the statement "David calleth him Lord," as applying to the Messiah, so that no one ventured to contradict it.

² *Joh. Voc.* 1692 gives *γραμματεὺς* Mk 22, Mt. 19, Lk. 14, Jn. 0.

³ Acts xix. 35. It is not used (Goodspeed) in the early Fathers. Justin, the only Apologist that has it, uses it only in his Dialogue with the Jew, and there almost always with "Pharisees," and mostly in quotations. *Tryph.* § 103 ἐπὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ γραμματέων κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκπεμφθέντες if not corrupt, may mean scribes ("[so called] in respect of their teaching [of the Scripture]." But comp. *ib.* § 102 "the Pharisees and scribes, and, in short, the teachers in your nation," which favours the old emendation καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων.

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does not, omit the *fact* of "scribism." Only he dramatizes it. The basis of "scrib-ism" (morally as well as etymologically) is "scrip-*ture*"; and among the first dramatic utterances in the Fourth Gospel are those based on some scriptural definition, or name, of a future Saviour, or of His fore-runner, or of His birthplace:—"I am not *the Christ*," "Art thou *Elijah*?" "Art thou *the Prophet*?" "We have found *the Messiah*," "We have found *him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write*," "Can any (? the) good thing come out of *Nazareth*¹?" The earlier instances exemplify the inflexible scribism of the "priests and Levites from Jerusalem"; the last of all exemplifies the flexible scribism of the open-minded Nathanael². But they are all forms of "scribism." Other forms of it follow in rapid succession throughout the Gospel, and especially where "Jews" or Pharisees are mentioned as distinct from "multitude." Indeed no Synoptic Gospel is so permeated with the thing though the word is nowhere to be found³.

¹ Jn i. 20, 21, 41, 45, 46.

² On Jn vii. 41—2 Chrys. remarks that the objection "Doth the Christ come from Galilee?" uttered by hostile Jews, and "out of Nazareth can any good come?" uttered by Nathanael, do not seem to be regarded in the same way. He concludes that Nathanael was "a lover of truth" and was helped accordingly, whereas the Jews merely wished to overthrow the popular belief that Jesus was the Christ. "Lover of truth" is probably implied in Jn i. 47 "*truly an Israelite*" (whether Israel means (*Son* 3140 *a—b*) "seeing God" or "striving with [the aid of] God"). Nathanael was (Mt. xiii. 52) a "scribe made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven," and consequently he "brought forth things new" as well as "old."

³ "Scribe" occurs uniquely and significantly in the interpolated Jn viii. 3.

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§ 7. "Scribes" and a poor widow, in Mark and Luke¹

Mark concludes his account of Christ's teaching in the Temple with a condemnation of "scribes" that "devour

¹ Mk xii. 37 b—44
(R.V.)

(37) ...And the common people (*or*, the great multitude) heard him gladly.

(38) And in his teaching he said, Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and [to have] salutations in the marketplaces,

(39) And chief seats in the synagogues, and chief places at feasts:

(40) They which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make (*or*, even while for a pretence they make) long prayers; these shall receive greater condemnation.

(41) And he sat down over against the treasury, and beheld how the multitude cast money (*lit.*

Mt. xxiii. 1—7
(R.V.)

(1) Then spake Jesus to the multitudes and to his disciples, saying,

(2) The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat:

(3) All things therefore whatsoever they bid you, [these] do and observe: but do not ye after their works; for they say, and do not.

(4) Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne [*many anc. auth. omit* and grievous to be borne], and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger.

(5) But all their works they do for to be seen of men: for they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders [of their garments],

(6) And love the chief place at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,

(7) And the salutations in the marketplaces, and to be called of men, Rabbi.

Lk. xx. 45—xxi. 4
(R.V.)

(45) And in the hearing of all the people he said unto his disciples,

(46) Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love salutations in the marketplaces, and chief seats in the synagogues, and chief places at feasts;

(47) Which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive greater condemnation.

[Comp. Lk. xi. 43
Woe unto you Pharisees! for ye love the chief seats in the synagogues, and the salutations in the marketplaces.]

(xxi. 1) And he looked up, and saw the rich men that were casting their gifts into the trea-

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widows' houses" and a story that exalts the almsgiving of "a poor widow." Luke closely follows Mark in both. There is consequently no question here about the rule of Johannine Intervention¹.

Mk xii. 37 *b*—44
(R.V.) *contd.*

brass) into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.

(42) And there came a (*lit.* one) poor widow, and she cast in two mites, which make a farthing.

(43) And he called unto him his disciples, and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, This poor widow cast in more than all they which are casting in to the treasury:

(44) For they all did cast in of their superfluity; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, [even] all her living.

Lk. xx. 45—xxi. 4
(R.V.) *contd.*

sury (*or*, and saw them that... treasury, and they were rich).

(2) And he saw a certain poor widow, casting in thither two mites.

(3) And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, This poor widow cast in more than they all:

(4) For all these did of their superfluity cast in unto the gifts: but she of her want did cast in all the living that she had.

¹ Mk xii. 37 "heard him gladly," omitted by Mt.-Lk., can hardly be called an instance of the failure of Johannine Intervention. For it is a variation of Mk xi. 18 "was astonished at his teaching," parall. Mt. om., parall. Lk. xix. 48 "hung upon him, listening." John dramatizes this in vii. 46 "never man so spake," uttered by "the officers," to their rulers, the "chief priests and Pharisees."

But, with reference to Johannine Intervention, some notice is due here to Mk xii. 41 *καθίσας* parallel to Lk. xxi. 1 *ἀναβλέψας*. Origen —(on Jn viii. 20, Lomm. ii. 150 foll.) commenting on Christ's doctrine in the Treasury about "judging"—quotes Mk and Lk. fully (Lomm. ii. 155), but substitutes *ἐστώς* for *καθίσας* in Mk, and explains *ἀναβλέψας* as referring to spiritual insight. SS agrees with Origen in substituting "standing" for "sitting" in Mk. This is very natural, since (see above, p. 204, n. 1) "it was not lawful to *sit* in the Temple." Hence, too, we may explain Lk.'s substitution of "*looking up*"—perhaps intended to suggest spiritual as well as literal vision. Schöttgen (on Mk. xii. 42) quotes *Bab. Bathr.* 10 *b* "Non ponat homo λεπτόν

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But Matthew's deviations demand attention. For he altogether omits the story of the widow. He also omits the charge of "devouring widows' houses," and that of "making long prayers for a pretence." The latter, in Mark, may correspond to "make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the fringes [of their garments]" in Matthew¹. If it does, we are led to ask whether "devour widows' houses," in Mark, may be based on some Jewish metaphorical expression of a phrase in Matthew. And this again leads us to examine the metaphor—in Matthew alone—"They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on *men's shoulders*"²."

"The shoulder-Pharisee" has the first place in both the Talmuds, where seven classes of Pharisees are distinguished. He is (presumably) the worst, for the list ends with the best, the Pharisee of love. The Babylonian Talmud explains "*the shoulder-Pharisee*" as meaning a Pharisee like Shechem ("*shoulder*") who was circumcised for his own advantage and not for the honour of God. But the Jerusalem Talmud says "he carries his precepts *upon his shoulder*," or "he accepts the law as a burden," perhaps meaning (as Levy suggests) that he "*stoops his shoulders*" under the Law so as to make it appear that he is a martyr³.

[*unum*] in cistam eleemosynarum." *One mite* might be given for alms, but not for temple-alms. Jesus may not have seen a particular widow giving her "two mites," but Mark may have dramatized what He said about the typical "widow" as though He said it about a single person. Comp. Sir. xxxii. (xxxv.) 15 "Do not the tears run down *the widow's cheeks*...?" Perhaps Jesus said "Behold, *the widow* giveth *her two mites* and this is more than the gifts of the rich." It would be easy to take it as meaning "*this widow*" and to explain "*her two mites*" as meaning "*all that she had*."

It has been shewn above (p. 263) that Mark's "sitting" may be explained as an allusion to Mal. iii. 3 "*He shall sit as a refiner... and shall purify the sons of Levi... and they shall offer unto the Lord offerings in righteousness*." The widow's offering was one of these.

¹ Mt. xxiii. 5. See *Son* 3635 a—b.

² Mt. xxiii. 4.

³ See *Hor. Heb.* (on Mt. iii. 7) quoting *Sota* 22 b "*This [Pharisee] does as Shechem*" (with the Gloss, "who is circumcised (Gen. xxxiv. 2—26), but not for the honour of God"). It also quotes *J. Berach. ix.*

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Now this explanation, though clear enough to a Jew when the allusion to Shechem is pointed out, is far from clear to Gentiles. And it would be very natural that a translator, writing Greek in the fluent rhetorical style perceptible in Matthew's addition, should take the clause as meaning, not "lade, as it were, burdens on *their own* shoulders," but "lade, as it were, burdens on *other people's* shoulders." This Matthew appears to have done and to have made this the first and foremost charge against the Pharisees. If this explanation is true we can understand why Luke, who often follows Matthew in rhetorical additions of this kind, has not followed him here but has adhered to Mark.

Returning to Mark's narrative we are in the first place confirmed—by its condemnation of scribes—in the view that the scribe who previously questioned Jesus about the one commandment was really "tempting Jesus," as well as "desiring to justify himself"; so that in fact he received from Jesus not praise, but latent warning, in the words "thou art not far from the kingdom of God." Mark's narrative, from beginning to end, represents Jesus as waging two wars, one against "the scribe" as a type, and the other for "the widow" as a type. The scribes and their book-learning, supporting extortionate priests, had reduced the Temple to a den of robbers and had given dominance to an ostentatious fulfilment of the letter of the Law and to ostentatious giving of alms by a class

5 (7) "*He carrieth his precepts upon his shoulders,*" and adds "that is, as the *Aruch* explains it, 'wood to make a booth [in the feast of Tabernacles] or something of that nature'." This far-fetched explanation in the *Aruch* (1001 A.D.) shews nothing but the difficulty of the allusion. *J. Berach.* itself adds as a further definition of the first (or, Shechem) Pharisee "The first is like unto a man that would *take the Divine commandments upon his shoulders to take them away,*" i.e. get rid of them. But the explanation given by Levy (iv. 143 a) is far more probable, namely, that it is a play on the name of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 2) and the meaning of Heb. *shechem* "shoulder." Shechem was circumcised "for a pretence," and the Shechem-Pharisee carried on his shoulders the yoke of the Law, for all men to see it, as though it were a crushing burden. In none of these explanations is there a thought of laying burdens on other people's shoulders.

that oppressed the poor. With this antithesis Mark ends, 'They all [*i.e.* the rich] did cast into [the treasury] from their superfluity, but she from her want did cast in all that she had.'

Passing to the Fourth Gospel, and inquiring what conclusion is assigned there to Christ's teaching in the Temple, we find ourselves confronted first with a textual difficulty. Christ's teaching appears at first sight to conclude with the words "While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light," followed by a statement that Jesus departed, "These things spake Jesus and departed and was hidden from them¹." Then follows the Evangelist's comment, namely, that the Light was hidden from them through their own fault, "for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God²"—words that seem to sum up the Synoptic particularities about "long robes" and "salutations" and "chief seats." But then, when we are ready as it were to pass out of the Temple with Jesus for the last time, the Gospel adds "But Jesus cried aloud and said," introducing a doctrine about Himself as "light" ("I am come, light, into the world") and about a "commandment" given to Him by the Father, and about His knowledge that "His commandment is eternal life³."

To what period and place are we to assign this crying aloud? Some authorities have the present or imperfect as the tenses of the verbs "cried" and "said⁴"; and I have found no comment on the place except in Nonnus, who says that it was "inside the Temple⁵." Most readers will feel that it could hardly have been anywhere else⁶. But they will also probably feel that John could not expect us to assume that Jesus, the departing Light, after He had withdrawn from the Temple and had been "hidden" from the Jews, informally returned to it again in a visit unmentioned by the Evangelist, in order to make these few final remarks. The way out of the difficulty is to suppose

¹ Jn xii. 36, see *Joh. Gr.* 2543.

² Jn xii. 39—43.

³ Jn xii. 44—50, R.V. "a light."

⁴ Jn xii. 44 (Blass).

⁵ Ἰησοῦς δ' ἰάχῃσε θυώδεος ἐνδοθι νηοῦ.

⁶ The two other instances of κράζω in Jn applied to Jesus are in Jn vii. 28, 37, both denoting utterances in the Temple.

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that the past tense, "cried aloud," is pluperfect, as often in John elsewhere, and that the Evangelist, in accordance with his habit of adding parentheses or appendices, introduces an appendix to shew that the Light did not desert the Jews without full warning, "But Jesus *had cried and said*¹."

The last sentence in this Johannine appendix to Christ's teaching in the Temple combines the two words introduced by the question of the scribe in Mark, "What is the first *commandment*?" and by the parallel question of the lawyer in Luke, "What shall I do to inherit *eternal life*²?" In John, the "commandment" of the Father to the Son is that He should die and rise again for the redemption of mankind; and at the conclusion of the "crying aloud" Jesus says "I know that his *commandment is eternal life*³."

¹ See *Joh. Gr.* 2459—62 on Aorist for English Pluperfect, and 2631—5 (ii) on Johannine Parentheses.

² Mk xii. 28, Lk. x. 25.

³ Jn xii. 50.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST DAYS

[Mark xiii. 1—37]

§ 1. *The casting down of the Temple*¹

IN the Marcan text ("what manner of stones") there appears to be an allusion to the immense size and careful preparation of the stones employed by Herod in the rebuilding of the Temple, which was in effect the construction of a new building². A pious Jew might contrast these with the corner stone mentioned in

¹ Mk xiii. 1—2
(R.V.)

(1) And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master (*or*, Teacher), behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings!

(2) And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.

Mt. xxiv. 1—2
(R.V.)

(1) And Jesus went out from the temple, and was going on his way; and his disciples came to him to shew him the buildings of the temple.

(2) But he answered and said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

Lk. xxi. 5—6
(R.V.)

(5) And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and offerings, he said,

(6) As for these things which ye behold, the days will come, in which there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

For Mk xiii. 1 "*one*" parall. to Lk. xxi. 5 "*some*," comp. Mk xii. 28 "*one*" perhaps parall. to Lk. xx. 39 "*some*," on which see *Corrections* 463. In Greek, εἰπὸν [] ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν with an ellipsis of τινες, meaning "*some of the disciples said*," might easily be taken as an error for εἰπέν [τις] ἐκ, "*one of them said*."

² Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11. 1—7.

the Psalms and in the prophecy of Zechariah, and a Christian Jew would reflect that this exclamation "what manner of stones!" was addressed to the Messiah at the very moment when He, the rejected Corner Stone, was going forth out of the Temple, leaving it to become a heap of stones, a ruin.

Luke says that the Temple was "adorned with goodly stones and *dedicated-gifts*," using the word "*anathēma*," unique in N.T.¹ Josephus, in the passage where he describes Herod's goodly stones, adds that "there were fixed in the circuit of the whole temple barbaric spoils, and all these King Herod *dedicated*, adding all that he had taken from the Arabians²." Now a fragment of Epictetus, using the very phrase employed by Luke, "*adorn with dedicated-gifts*," says "If it be thy purpose to *adorn the city with dedicated-gifts*, *dedicate* first unto thyself that best of *dedicatory-gifts*, mildness, and righteousness, and beneficence³." These were just the qualities that Herod did not possess. David was forbidden to build the Temple as being a man that had shed much blood⁴. Herod was notoriously a shedder of blood. The Greek word *anathēma*, said by the Grammarian Moeris to be the Attic form of the Hellenic *anathēma*, occurs in the latter form almost invariably in LXX, and means "something dedicated to Jehovah for the purpose of destruction." In this sense Paul uses *anathēma*⁵. Luke must have known all this when he inserted (what Mark and Matthew have not inserted) this "adornment with dedicated gifts," and he may have inserted

¹ Lk. xxi. 5, Tisch. has ἀναθέμασιν with (Alford) ADXN, but W.H. ἀναθήμασιν with BQ. Oxf. Conc. LXX gives ἀνάθεμα, ἀνάθημα under one heading, and always = ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲏⲙⲁ "dedicated to destruction"—except in Judith (1), Macc. (3) where it means "dedicated-gift." Thayer quotes Moeris ἀνάθημα ἀττικῶς, ἀνάθεμα ἑλληνικῶς.

² Ant. xv. 11. 3 τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα βαρβαρικά, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀνέθηκεν προσθεὶς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν. Josephus freq. uses ἀνάθημα and ἀνατίθημι. See Wetst. (on Lk. xxi. 5) quoting Ant. xii. 2. 7 and 5. 4, xvii. 10. 3. On Luke, as imitating Josephus, see Introd. p. 115.

³ Epict. Fragm. Stob. 59 (Schweig. 80) τὴν πόλιν ἀναθήμασι κοσμεῖν, comp. Philo ii. 589 ἀναθήμασι κοσμήσας... τὸ ἱερόν.

⁴ 1 Chr. xxii. 8, xxviii. 3.

⁵ Rom. ix. 3, 1 Cor. xii. 3 etc.

it allusively. Habakkuk said that when a man "buildeth" with blood "the stone shall cry out of the wall¹" against him. Similarly the stones in the Herodian temple, built up into a temple of ostentation by a man of blood, and used as a temple of extortion by priests of Mammon, might be regarded as crying out for dissolution².

There is nothing here that calls for Johannine Intervention since Luke does not omit or contradict anything in Mark. In the Johannine narrative of the Cleansing of the Temple attention is fixed on the spiritual corruption that is destroying the Temple ("destroy ye this temple") and on the spiritual nature of the Temple that will take its place. The Jews, not the disciples, emphasize the length of time—"forty and six years"—needed for the construction of the present Temple, as contrasted with the "three days" in which it is to be reconstructed³. The language of the Jews represents a literal, that of Jesus a mystical view. The passage appears to have no contact with the Mark-Luke tradition about the admiration of the disciples for the goodly "stones."

§ 2. "When shall these things be⁴?"

The original question seems to have been simply "When shall these things be, and what [shall be] the sign?" But this

¹ Hab. ii. 11—12.

■ On the other hand, Luke (xix. 40) describes Jesus, on the way to the City, as speaking of "stones" that would "cry out" in praise of the Messiah if the children of Israel were silent. These "stones" ought consistently to be on the road, outside the Temple, but we have seen (above, p. 222, n. 4) that Jerome regards them as belonging to the Temple.

³ Jn ii. 19—20. See *Son* 3194 b (referring to *Joh. Gr.* 2023—4) as to the "forty-six years," and as to the refusal of pious Jews to regard Herod as the builder (rather than the repairer) of the Temple.

⁴ Mk xiii. 3—4
(R.V.)

Mt xxiv. 3
(R.V.)

Lk. xxi. 7
(R.V.)

(3) And as he sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and

(3) And as he sat on the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying,

(7) And they asked him, saying, Master (*or*, Teacher), when therefore shall these things be? and

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was felt not to go far enough. It was written in the beginning of the prophecy of Jeremiah: "I have put my words in thy mouth; see, I have set thee...to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant¹." The same words might seem necessarily to apply to Jesus. He had prophesied "destroying and overthrowing." But He would assuredly also "build and plant." When would *all this* take place? "What [shall be] the sign when *all these things* are about to be accomplished?" So writes Mark. Matthew follows Mark but expresses "*all*" in detail, making three questions in effect:—(1) When shall the Temple be cast down? (2) What shall be the sign of Christ's Parousia ("thy coming, *lit.* presence")? (3) What shall be the sign of "the accomplishment of the aeon²?" Luke, on the other hand, here rejects the Marcan addition of "*all*," confining the subject ("these things") to the mere destruction of the Temple. Later on, he retains "*all*" (with Mark) in a prophecy that "this generation shall not pass away till *all things* (Mark *all these things*) shall have come to pass³"; but in the present passage, we may say that Luke regards "these things" as limited to the fall of the Temple—included in the fall of Jerusalem which he definitely describes as "compassed with armies."

John, too, has a Discourse on the Last Days. But it has nothing to do with any prophecy about the Temple. It is

Mk xiii. 3—4
(R.V.) *contd.*

Andrew asked him privately,

(4) Tell us, when shall these things be? and what [shall be] the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?

Mt. xxiv. 3
(R.V.) *contd.*

Tell us, when shall these things be? and what [shall be] the sign of thy coming (*lit.* presence), and of the end of the world (*or*, the consummation of the age)?

Lk. xxi. 7
(R.V.) *contd.*

what [shall be] the sign when these things are about to come to pass?

¹ Jerem. i. 9—10.

² Mt. xxiv. 3. (i) Παρουσία and (ii) συντέλεια occur in no Gospel except Mt. (i) xxiv. 3, 27, 37, 39, (ii) xiii. 39, 40, 49, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 20. Συντέλεια occurs elsewhere in N.T. only in Heb. ix. 26 νυνὶ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων.

³ See *Son* 3583 a, quoting Mk xiii. 30, Mt. xxiv. 34, Lk. xxi. 32.

addressed to the disciples, terrified by Christ's predictions of His departure from them, and it is wholly personal. Christ's "presence" indeed is promised, but not an external *parousia*. It is an "abiding" of the Son and the Father in the heart of the believer. Or it is the gift of a *Paraclete*, the Son's second Self, to be "friend in need" to the disciples, representing the Son in their hearts. Whereas the Marcan Discourse is embodied in Christ's answer to questions from Peter, James, John, and Andrew, and no particular questioners are mentioned in the parallel Matthew and Luke, John mentions as questioners Peter, Thomas, Philip, and the "Judas" called "not Iscariot¹."

Mark and Matthew say that the questions were addressed to Jesus by the disciples as He sat on the Mount of Olives privately. Luke leaves us under the impression that they were uttered in the Temple. John does not contradict this, but implies that such questions as he records were uttered in the chamber of the Last Supper², and he nowhere mentions the Mount of Olives. Luke mentions the Mount of Olives at the conclusion of the Discourse on the Last Days as being Christ's lodging-place by night, and (consistently) after the Last Supper³.

But Luke does not connect the Mount of Olives with any utterance of Jesus about the Last Days except indirectly, and that in the Acts, after the Resurrection: "Then returned they unto Jerusalem from *the mount called Olivet*, which is *nigh unto Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey off*⁴." This follows the question "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" to which Jesus replies "It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority⁵." At the conclusion of this reply, Jesus "was taken up⁶." But the Ascension, according to Luke's Gospel, took place after Jesus had "led them out until they were *over against Bethany*⁷." It seems to follow that the Ascension is regarded as taking place between Bethany and Jerusalem, somewhere on the Mount of

¹ Jn xiii. 37, xiv. 5—22.

² Jn xiv. 31.

³ Lk. xxi. 37, xxii. 39.

⁴ Acts i. 12.

⁵ Acts i. 6—7.

⁶ Acts i. 9.

⁷ Lk. xxiv. 50.

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Olives, and as closely following an utterance of Jesus warning the disciples not to expect to know certain "times and seasons."

These statements of Luke could not fail to turn the minds of Christians to the thought of the precise place where Jesus, after the Resurrection, answered the question of the disciples as to the time of the restoration of the kingdom of Israel and also ascended to heaven. Luke suggests that it was "over against Bethany," and yet only "a sabbath day's journey" (*i.e.* about six stadia) from Jerusalem. But John tells us that Bethany was about fifteen stadia from Jerusalem¹. A reader of Luke's Gospel and Acts, ignorant of the topography of Jerusalem and without the help of John, would naturally suppose that the place of the Ascension was quite close to Bethany, and that Bethany was little more than six stadia from Jerusalem. John dissipates that impression.

Mark and the Acts, taken together, indicate that a questioning of Jesus about the Coming of the New Kingdom may have taken place on the Mount of Olives *both before and after Christ's resurrection*². *The accounts of His replies to them on these two occasions may have been intermingled.* This may explain in part the very great deviations of Luke from Mark and Matthew as to Christ's Discourse on the Last Days.

§ 3. "Wars...the beginning of travail," in Mark and Matthew³

In the prediction of "wars" Luke alone adds that they will be accompanied by "pestilences"—as well as by "earthquakes"

¹ Jn xi. 18.

² See *Pistis Sophia* § 4 "Quum μαθηται sederent apud sese in monte olivarum," following § 1 "Quum Jesus resurgeret e mortuis et transigeret undecim annos loquens cum suis μαθηταιs...."

³ Mk xiii. 5—8
(R.V.)

Mt. xxiv. 4—8
(R.V.)

Lk. xxi. 8—12 a
(R.V.)

(5) And Jesus began to say unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray.

(4) And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray.

(6) Many shall come in my name,

(5) For many shall come in my

(8) And he said, Take heed that ye be not led astray: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am [he]; and, The time is at hand: go

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and "famines," which Mark and Matthew also mention. It is probable that Luke, who often closely imitates Thucydides, has borrowed from him an alliterative combination of "*limoi* and *loimoi*," "*famines* and *pestilences*," well known in Greece at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and connected by the historian with a Greek oracle in such a way that the jingle would be familiar to everyone who had even a smattering of Greek literature¹. By adding also "tumults"—literally "unsettlements"—and "terrifying portents from heaven," Luke gives us the impression that he had in view the unsettled condition within the city of Jerusalem, and the portents in heaven above it, before it was taken by the Romans, which Josephus has recorded². At

Mk xiii. 5—8

(R.V.) *contd.*

saying, I am [he]; and shall lead many astray.

(7) And when ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not troubled: [these things] must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet.

(8) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: there shall be earthquakes in divers places; there shall be famines: these things are the beginning of travail.

Mt. xxiv. 4—8

(R.V.) *contd.*

name, saying, I am the Christ; and shall lead many astray.

(6) And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for [these things] must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet.

(7) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places.

(8) But all these things are the beginning of travail.

Lk. xxi. 8—12 a

(R.V.) *contd.*

ye not after them.

(9) And when ye shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified: for these things must needs come to pass first; but the end is not immediately.

(10) Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:

(11) And there shall be great earthquakes, and in divers places famines and pestilences; and there shall be terrors and great signs from heaven.

(12) But before all these things....

¹ See *Introd.* pp. 114—20, and especially p. 119 quoting Thuc. ii. 54 and adding "The noun *λοιμός* occurs in canon. LXX only in 1 K. viii. 37, Ezek. xxxvi. 29, as a various reading and error for *λιμός*. In the MSS of Lk. xxi. 11, the order of the two nouns varies."

² Joseph. *Bell.* vi. 5. 3 "There stood over the city a star resembling a sword, and a comet that continued a whole year (*καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἑνιαυτὸν κομήτης*)."

the same time it must be noted that in the only LXX passage where the Lucan word "*terrifying-portent*" occurs, the Targum renders it by the same word by which it elsewhere renders "*travail-pangs*¹." The "*travail-pangs*," or "*cords*," of the Messiah is a recognised phrase in the Talmud—meaning the terrors and miseries that precede the days of the Messiah². Luke appears to be expressing it as a Greek historian by "*portents from heaven*." Also, in his next sentence, he seems to paraphrase Mark's "*beginning*" ("*beginning of travail*") as though it meant that the persecution of the disciples would be "*before*," i.e. would be the beginning of, the horrors that would follow ("*Before all these things they will lay their hands on you*³").

John, although he does not use the word "*travail*," expresses the Jewish thought about the "*travail-pangs*" of the Messiah in Christ's Last Discourse when Jesus says "*A woman when she is in travail* (lit. *is bringing forth*) hath sorrow because her hour

¹ Is. xix. 17 "*shall become for a terror* (חנה) unto Egypt," LXX φόβητρον, Targ. רחלא, which Targ. also uses to render Is. xxi. 3 "*pangs* (צירים) have seized me," Targ. "*timor* (רחלא) apprehendit eos." Yet on the following Hebrew words, "*like the pangs of* (צירי) a woman that is bringing forth," the Targ. uses the ordinary Aramaic for "*travail-pangs*" חבלין. The Aramaic רחלא, "*fear*," represents (Brederek) a great number of Hebrew words and is mostly a religious fear, good or bad, of God, of false gods, of death etc.

² *Hor. Heb.* on Mk xiii. 8 quotes *Sanhedr.* 98*b* about "*the travail-pangs of Messiah*" as meaning "*the terrors and sorrows*" that shall accompany His coming, and also *Sabb.* 118*a* about "*three miseries*," namely, (1) "*the travail-pangs of Messiah*," (2) "*the judgment of hell*," (3) "*the war of Gog and Magog*."

³ Mk xiii. 8 ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων ταῦτα, if δέ be inserted (as in the parall. Mt.) might be taken as meaning "*But the beginning of the travail-pangs will be these things*"—namely, the things about which I now warn you. This might be paraphrased as "*But before all these wars shall come the persecutions*."

The metaphor of ὧδίν, in N.T., occurs only here and Acts ii. 24 λύσας τὰς ὧδινὰς τοῦ θανάτου. It is used literally (in simile) only in 1 Thess. v. 3. ὧδίνω occurs only in Gal. iv. 19, 27 (metaph.) and Rev. xii. 2 "*A woman arrayed with the sun... crieth out *travailing in birth**." It might be applied to (1) Christ's resurrection, (2) the birth of the Church.

is come; but when she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish for the joy that a man is born into the world¹." There the context ("I will see you again") shews that the "man" is the Saviour, loosed from "the cords of death" and born for the "woman," who is the Church².

This is an instance shewing how John sometimes intervenes to explain a brief Marcan tradition based on Hebrew prophecy and Jewish interpretation, not readily intelligible to Greeks. Such a tradition might be reduced by the historian Luke to prose, partly because he thought a historian should not (in his own person) write poetry, and partly because an Aramaic version of the original suggested a satisfactory non-metaphorical rendering. John does not use the Synoptic metaphorical word "travail-pangs," but he uses the Synoptic thought and expands the metaphor into a simile that no Greeks could fail to understand.

In the same indirect way, John deals with the word "wars." All the Synoptists use it in a literal sense and connect it with a warning of Jesus not to be alarmed or frightened³. John never mentions it. Adhering to his general custom he prefers an admixture of a positive to a purely negative doctrine. Instead of saying merely "Be *not* alarmed at the *wars* of the world," Jesus says, in the Fourth Gospel, first, "*Peace* I leave with you, *the peace that is my own* I give unto you," and then He adds "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid⁴." And later on, in the last sentence of His Discourse, He again implies war by mentioning "peace" and by adding a mention of conquest: "These things have I spoken unto you that in me ye may have *peace*. In the world ye [must] have tribulation: but be of good cheer; *I have conquered* the world⁵."

Some doctrine about "peace" must have been part of the Gospel of our Saviour, as indeed of any Jewish teacher regarded by Jews as the Messiah. For the very name "Jerusalem" includes "peace." Philo tells us that it means "the vision of

¹ Jn xvi. 21.

² Jn xvi. 22.

³ Mk xiii. 7, Mt. xxiv. 6 *μὴ θροεῖσθε*, Lk. xxi. 9 *μὴ πτοηθῇτε*.

⁴ Jn xiv. 27.

⁵ Jn xvi. 33.

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peace¹." It would be impossible for any Messiah following on the lines of Hebrew prophecy to fail to recognise that if Jerusalem was to be cast down by war, it must also be built up by peace—the war transient and on earth, the peace permanent and from heaven. This was foreshadowed in the person of Melchizedek, the ancient priest of Salim—that is, of "peace"—to whom Abraham paid tithes after the war against the five kings². The Messiah was to be "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." *The Odes of Solomon* says "Peace was prepared for you before ever your war was." That is the view that appears to underlie the Marcan metaphor under consideration, as well as the Talmudic metaphor of "the travail-pangs of the Messiah³." The evil is to be a transient phase preparing the way for the enduring good⁴.

¹ Philo i. 691—2 "The city of God is called by Hebrews Jerusalem, which name, being translated, is Vision of Peace. Wherefore seek not the City of HIM WHO IS in this or that earthly site...but in a soul that is free from war ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$)," that is, free from internal "war." God alone is "peace," corruptible existence is "continuous war."

² See Heb. v. 6 quoting Ps. cx. 4, based on Gen. xiv. 18.

³ See *Light* 3809 b—c quoting the Midrash on Gen. xiv. 1 "Because the empires went to war, Redemption came to Abraham." In Jer. *Berach.* ii. 4 (3) the future mother of the Messiah is described as saying "On the day of the infant's birth, the Temple of Jerusalem is [destined to be] destroyed." To this a stranger replies "We are certain that if, because of his advent, the Temple is destroyed, it will also be rebuilt by him."

Hor. Heb. (on Mk xiii. 8) quotes from Jerome (*Contr. Judaeos* i. 2) the following: "R. Samuel Bar Nachaman said, Whence prove you that in the day when the destruction of the Temple was, Messias was born? He answered, From Isaiah (lxvi. 7) 'Before she travailed she brought forth....'" Jerome says "It is in the *Great Genesis* [*Bereshith Rabba*] a very ancient book." No such passage occurs in Wünsche's edition of *Beresh. R.*, which does not quote Is. lxvi. 7 except to say (Wü. p. 417, on Gen. xxxviii. 1) that it means "Before the first Subjugator (Pharaoh) was born the last Deliverer was already born." Is. liii. 11 "the travail (עמל) of his soul," i.e., troublesome toil, has no connection with child-birth.

⁴ The following Synoptic difference occurs after the words, common to all the Synoptists, "I am [he]," or "I am the Christ":—

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§ 4. *Persecutions*¹

The next section of the Discourse on the Last Days deals

Mk xiii. 6	Mt. xxiv. 5	Lk. xxi. 8
and shall deceive many.	and shall deceive many.	and the season has drawn near, go not after them.

—where “deceive” (A.V.) is retained as the rendering of *πλανάω*, so as to accord with the rendering of *πλάνη* “deceit,” and *πλάνος* “deceiver.” Luke omits this (as also he omits Mk xiii. 22, Mt. xxiv. 24 ἀποπλανᾶν, πλανᾶσθαι, later on), having only the passive, and this but once (xxi. 8).

It must be admitted that John nowhere indicates, verbally, in his Gospel, what Mark appears to mean, that “many” believers will be “deceived” into unbelief. But all through the Last Discourse John indicates something corresponding to this. The word “*many* [people]” he never assigns to Jesus. But he repeatedly uses “*the world*” as a substitute for it. And “the world” is regarded as incapable of seeing the truth because it is under the rule of (xiv. 30) “*the ruler of the world*.” It is said that (xvi. 11) “*the ruler of this world* has been judged” and that (ib. 8—9) “the world” will be “convicted” in respect of “sin.” And the Epistle says (1 Jn i. 8) “If we say that we have *no sin we deceive* (πλανῶμεν) ourselves.” In the Last Prayer Jesus prays “not for the world,” but for those whom the Father has given Him “out of the world” (Jn xvii. 6—9), not that He should (ib. 15) “take them out of the world,” but that He should “keep them from the evil [one].” All this implies a vast present predominance of a spirit of “deceit” or “self-deceit.”

Intervention of any direct kind, however, is reserved for the Johannine Epistles. Comp. 1 Jn i. 8, ii. 26, iii. 7 (which mention “deceiving,” *πλανάω*), ib. iv. 6 “the spirit of *deceit*,” 2 Jn 7 “many *deceivers* (πλάνοι) have gone forth into the world.... This is the *Deceiver* and the Antichrist.” The “deceivers” are not those who say that in a certain time or place they will work a miraculous deliverance, but those who, while professing to teach Christ’s truth, do not teach righteousness, and do not make the love of the brethren the basis of their teaching.

¹ Mk xiii. 9—13
(R.V.)

(9) But take ye heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues

Mt. xxiv. 9—14
(R.V.)

(9) Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of

Lk. xxi. 12—19
(R.V.)

(12) But before all these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and shall persecute you, de-

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with persecutions. The difficulty of discussing it is increased by the fact that Matthew omits here, but places elsewhere (in the Precepts to the Twelve), a great deal that Mark places here. For example, the Marcan precept "Be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak," to which the parallel Luke is similar, has in Matthew nothing similar here, but something closely similar in Matthew's Precepts to the Twelve "Be not anxious how or

Mk xiii. 9—13
(R.V.) *contd.*

shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

(10) And the gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.

(11) And when they lead you [to judgment], and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

(12) And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death (*or*, put them to death).

(13) And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

Mt. xxiv. 9—14
(R.V.) *contd.*

all the nations for my name's sake.

(10) And then shall many stumble, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another.

(11) And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray.

(12) And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

(13) But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

(14) And this gospel (*or*, these good tidings) of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world (*lit.* inhabited earth) for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

Lk. xxi. 12—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

livering you up to the synagogues and prisons, bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake.

(13) It shall turn unto you for a testimony.

(14) Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate beforehand how to answer.

(15) For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay.

(16) But ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and [some] of you shall they cause to be put to death (*or*, shall they put to death).

(17) And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

(18) And not a hair of your head shall perish.

(19) In your patience ye shall win your souls (*or*, lives).

what ye shall speak¹." It will therefore be convenient to print the persecution-extracts from Matthew's Precepts below and to repeat Mark and Luke along with them in parallel columns². Another version of the precept "Be not anxious"

¹ Mk xiii. 11

καὶ ὅταν ἄγωνιν ὑμᾶς
παραδιδόντες, μὴ προ-
μεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε,
ἀλλ' ὃ ἐὰν δοθῇ ὑμῖν ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο λα-
λέετε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑμεῖς
οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ
πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

■ Mk xiii. 9—13
(R.V.)

(9) But take ye heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

(10) And the gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.

(11) And when they lead you [to judgment], and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

(12) And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death

Mt. x. 19—20
(Precepts)

ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν
ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε
πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε· δο-
θήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλή-
σητε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστέ
οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ
πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν
τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.

Mt. x. 17—22
(R.V.)

(17) But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you;

(18) Yea and before governors and kings shall ye be brought for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles.

(19) But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak.

(20) For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.

(21) And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child: and children shall rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death (or, put them to

Lk. xxi. 14—15

θέτε οὖν ἐν ταῖς καρ-
δίαις ὑμῶν μὴ προ-
μελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι,
ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὑμῖν
στόμα καὶ σοφίαν ἥ οὐ
δυνήσονται ἀντιστῆναι
ἢ ἀντειπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ
ἀντικείμενοι ὑμῖν.

Lk. xxi. 12—19
(R.V.)

(12) But before all these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and shall persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons, bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake.

(13) It shall turn unto you for a testimony.

(14) Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate beforehand how to answer:

(15) For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay.

(16) But ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and [some] of you shall they cause to be put to death (or, shall they put to death).

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is placed by Luke on an earlier occasion and this too is printed below in Greek¹.

It would be linguistically and archaeologically interesting to investigate all the Synoptic variations², but space necessitates our limitation to traditions of Mark, or Mark and Matthew, omitted by Luke. These are (1) (Mark) "ye shall be beaten," (2) (Mark-Matthew) a statement that "the gospel" must be "preached" everywhere, (3) (Mark-Matthew) "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." To these it will be convenient to add (4) (Mark) "It is not ye that speak but the Holy Spirit"; for this, though it has parallels in Matthew and Luke elsewhere, has no parallel in Matthew's or Luke's Discourse on the Last Days.

(1) In the parallel to Mark's prediction of "beating"³,

Mk xiii. 9—13 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i>	Mt. x. 17—22 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i>	Lk. xxi. 12—19 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i>
(or, put them to death).	death).	(17) And ye shall
(13) And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.	(22) And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.	be hated of all men for my name's sake.
		(18) And not a hair of your head shall perish.
		(19) In your patience ye shall win your souls (or, lives).

¹ Mk xiii. 11

καὶ ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς
παραδιδόντες, μὴ προ-
μεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε,
ἀλλ' ὃ ἐὰν δοθῇ ὑμῖν
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾠρᾷ τοῦτο
λαλεῖτε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστέ
ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Mt. x. 19—20

ὅταν δὲ παραδώσιν
ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε
πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε· δο-
θήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾠρᾷ τί λαλή-
σητε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστέ
οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ
πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν
τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.

Lk. xii. 11—12

Ὅταν δὲ εἰσφέρωσιν
ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς
καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς
ἐξουσίας, μὴ μεριμνήσητε
πῶς [ἢ τί] ἀπολογήσηθε
ἢ τί εἴπητε· τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον
πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ ᾠρᾷ ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν.

² In particular Mt. xxiv. 9 παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλίψιν invites discussion. But it will be more conveniently discussed when we come to Mk xiii. 19 θλίψις and to the question why Luke never uses θλίψις.

³ Mk xiii. 9 παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε. The *Diatessaron* omits this and follows Luke (xxi. 12) who (like Mt. xxiv. 9) makes no mention of "beating" or "scourging." Consequently the *Diatessaron* confines Christ's prediction of scourging to the Precepts to the Twelve, Mt. x. 17 παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς. Mark's

Luke mentions "*persecuting*¹." John represents Jesus, in the Discourse on the Last Days, as saying to the disciples "If they *persecuted* me they will also *persecute* you²." This is the only Johannine use of "persecute" in Christ's words³. John does not say here that this "persecuting" was to be in "synagogues." But a little later he represents Jesus as saying to the disciples: "These things have I spoken unto you that ye should not be made to stumble.... They shall *put you out of the synagogue*, yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God⁴." John previously mentions

tradition (*lit.*) "ye shall be beaten *into* (*eis*) synagogues" might be defended by Mk i. 21 (v.r.) "he [habitually] *taught into* (*eis*) the synagogue," *i.e.* "he [habitually] went into the synagogue and taught"; but it is more difficult, since the "beating" cannot so easily be regarded as habitual. In Lk. xii. 11 *εἰσφέρωσιν* (or *φέρωσιν*) *ἐπὶ* (or *εἰς*) τὰς συναγωγὰς suggests "*carrying into the synagogues*," which might point to a tradition "Ye shall be carried" (comp. *αἶρε* (*αὐτὸν*) in Lk. xxiii. 18, Jn xix. 15, Acts xxi. 36, xxii. 22). *Ἀρθησεσθε* might be a corruption of Mk *δαρῆσεσθε* written (Steph. Thes. ii. 1008) *δαρθησεσθε*. It may be suggested that Mk xiii. 9 is itself a corruption for *καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δ' ἄρθησεσθε* (for *καὶ... δὲ* see Mt. x. 18 etc.). But in favour of *δαρήσεσθε* is (1) the strangeness of the phrase, (2) the fact that Mark might use it as a fulfilment of a prophecy implied in his version of the Parable of the Vineyard where *δέρω* is twice used (Mk xii. 3, 5). *Δέρω* is used by Luke also there (xx. 10, 11) and in Acts v. 40 of the "beating" of the Apostles in the presence of the Sanhedrin. This makes it all the more remarkable that Luke nowhere describes Jesus as predicting this kind of persecution for His disciples.

¹ Lk. xxi. 12 *πρὸ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ διώξουσιν παραδιδόντες εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς καὶ φυλακὰς. Διώκω*, "drive," might be either a general term "persecute," or a particular term "drive [with blows]" (comp. *ἐργοδιώκτης*). See Wetstein (on Mt. x. 17), quoting Epiphanius. *Haer. Ebionit.* i. 10, p. 135, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἀρπάζουσιν σύροντες χαμαὶ καὶ βοῶντες καὶ αἰκίας ἐπιφέροντες οὐ τὰς τυχούσας, ἀπάγουσι μὲν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, καὶ μαρτύρουσι τοῦτον, and *Evang. Petr.* § 3, MS *εὗρωμεν*, edd. txt *σύρωμεν*.

² Jn xv. 20.

³ The only other instance of *διώκω* in Jn is Jn v. 16 *ἐδίωκον τὸν Ἰησοῦν* followed by v. 18 "*sought the more to kill him*," which implies that *διώκω* did not refer to small acts of persecution.

⁴ Jn xvi. 1—2.

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"*putting out of the synagogue*" as a punishment inflicted, or impending, on followers of Jesus¹. The Greek "*persecute*," meaning "*drive*," might also mean "*drive out*" or "*drive away*."

It is difficult to see how "*drive out from synagogue*" could be confused with "*persecute in synagogue*"—though punishment inflicted *in* a synagogue might often terminate in expulsion *from* the synagogue. But the following facts should be considered together. (1) Here, where Mark connects "*synagogues*" with beating, Luke connects them with "*delivering up*" preceded by "*persecuting*"; (2) Luke, and Luke alone, mentions an instance where Jesus was actually cast out of a synagogue (the one in Nazareth) with the intention of killing Him²; (3) John, and John alone, thrice uses the compound adjective "*outside-synagogue*" (*aposynagōgos*), twice in narrative, and once in Christ's words when He prepared His disciples to expect "*casting out from the synagogue*" as a punishment. It does not seem unreasonable to suspect some confusion between a literal and a moral "*casting out*," such as might explain, in part, Luke's extraordinary and improbable story, and also the Synoptic omission of the Johannine prediction—a prediction by no means improbable.

Comparing Mark's tradition about "*beating* (lit.) *into synagogues*" following "*they shall deliver you up to councils* (or, *synedria*)" with the version given by Matthew in the Precepts to the Twelve, we see that, in the latter, Matthew has both the Marcan words thus: "*They will deliver you up to synedria, and in their synagogues they will scourge you.*" This appears to mean "*They will deliver you up to the synedrion, or Council of Three, attached to every synagogue, and then, after being condemned by it, you will be taken into the synagogue to be beaten*"—thus explaining Mark's "*beaten into the synagogues*³."

¹ Jn ix. 22, xii. 42.

² Lk. iv. 29.

³ See *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. x. 17, which also calls attention to Mt. (ib.) προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων "*beware of men*," and asks "*Of whom else should they beware?*" It suggests that אנשי, "*men of*," might have meant "*men of the great assembly*," "*men of the house of judgment*" etc. The Aramaic phrase for "*the men of the great*"

299 (Mark xiii. 9—13)

(2) About the statement of Mark and Matthew that "the Gospel" shall be "preached" everywhere John could not verbally intervene. For he abstains, not only as Luke does, from the word *evangelion*, "gospel," but also from the verb *evangelize*, which Luke very often uses, and from the verb "*preach*," which all the Synoptists use. Yet the *thought* of "the preaching of the Gospel" underlies the Johannine Discourse, though expressed in different words. In John, the disciples are not to "preach," but to "bear witness." And "the Gospel" to which they bear witness is "the Son" Himself. Or we may describe it as all that is implied by the indwelling of the Son in the hearts of men, uniting them with the Father through the Spirit of truth and love.

Therefore, in the Johannine Last Discourse, instead of saying to the disciples, "Ye shall preach the Gospel," Jesus says to them "When the Paraclete is come...he shall bear witness of me, and ye also bear witness¹." To what audience are the Apostles to "bear" this "witness" about the Son? It is not stated in detail (as being "kings" or "governors" or "nations") but it is implied that the disciples bear witness to the world at large. The Paraclete, it is said, will "convict *the world*²," but the Paraclete cannot do this except through the

council" is (Levy *Ch. i. 373 b*) אַנְשֵׁי כְּנִישָׁתָא רַבְתָּא. Perhaps the similarity of the first two words might cause the second to be dropped.

¹ Jn xv. 26—7 καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρεῖτε, *lit.* "and, what is more, ye too [are appointed to] bear witness." Comp. Is. xliii. 10, 12, xliv. 8, "*ye are my witnesses*," where the context represents the Lord as having proclaimed Himself to be the One Creator and Redeemer, in the presence of Israel, whom He thrice *declares to be His "witnesses,"* that is, appointed to bear witness to the world concerning this truth. It *implies* an imperative ("*become ye my witnesses*") and is once mistranslated as an imperative by LXX xliii. 10 γένησθε. But it is indicative. So it is here, almost certainly, in Jn, though Westcott raises a doubt. The indicative is supported by the Johannine use of καὶ...δὲ in vi. 51, viii. 16, 17, and 1 Jn i. 3. The Spirit, and the Spirit alone, "will be" the primary and originating Witness, but the Apostles "are," for the time, the appointed agents for conveying the witness of the Spirit to the world. Chrys. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔχετε τὸ ἀξίωμα, though not perhaps exactly expressing the meaning, accepts the indicative.

² Jn xvi. 7—8.

disciples. Later on, Jesus says that the unity of the disciples among themselves, and with God, is to cause "the world" to believe: "That they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us, that *the world may believe* that thou didst send me¹."

(3) The Mark-Matthew tradition "He that *endureth to the end*, the same shall be saved," is parallel to the Lucan "In your *endurance* ye shall win your souls²." John nowhere speaks of "enduring." The verb means literally "wait-under," i.e. "wait-under stress," and especially "under pressure of attack from an enemy." Hence, in literary Greek, with an accusative, it means "resist an enemy" or anything regarded as an enemy, e.g. a temptation. But in LXX it frequently represents a Hebrew word meaning "wait-eagerly-for," and especially for the help of Jehovah³. Symmachus frequently corrects the LXX word when thus used; and sometimes he substitutes a word compounded of "wait" and "up"⁴.

John uses the uncompounded verb "*wait*" or "*abide*⁵." He does not however define it by its object as the Psalmists do ("await *the Lord*") but by the element, atmosphere, or region of the waiting, "await *in the Lord*." Nor does he speak of "waiting *till the end*" as Mark and Matthew do. "End" is a word that John never uses except in the sentence "Jesus, having loved his own [disciples] that were in the world, loved them *to the end*⁶." What was that "*end*"? According to the letter it would mean "the end of Christ's earthly life." But John suggests that Christ is Himself in some sense "the end,"

¹ Jn xvii. 21. In emphasizing and defining this "witness" of the disciples, John may have been influenced by the occurrence of the Synoptic phrase *εἰς μαρτύριον* in very different contexts, Mk xiii. 9 *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς*, Mt. xxiv. 14 *εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, Lk. xxi. 13 *ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον*.

² Mk xiii. 13, Mt. xxiv. 13 *ὁ δὲ ὑπομένων εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται*, Lk. xxi. 19 *ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν*.

³ See Gesen. 875 b, and Oxf. Conc. LXX *ὑπομένω*.

⁴ E.g. Ps. xxv. 5, xxvii. 14, LXX *ὑπομένω*, Sym. *ἀναμένω*.

⁵ *Μένω*, in A.V. of N.T., means abide, continue, dwell, endure, be present, remain, stand, tarry [for] (see Strong's Concordance).

⁶ Jn xiii. 1. See *Joh. Gr.* 2319—21.

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the spiritual "end," and that He loved His disciples and will love them to an end that is without any end, a timeless perfection.

Hence the Johannine "waiting" is not a resistance of temptation up to some definite point of time. Nor does it imply (as Luke implies) that a man "wins" his own soul, or spiritual life, by such resistance. It would be truer to say that a man retains and develops his spiritual life by "abiding" in Him who is the end as well as the beginning: "*Abide in me, and I in you...* He that *abideth in me*, and *I in him*, the same beareth much fruit... If ye *abide in me*, and my words *abide in you*, ask whatsoever ye will and it shall be done unto you¹." It is also implied at the end of the Gospel that the "awaiting" or "abiding" of the disciple whom Jesus specially "loved" may or may not continue while some "coming" of Jesus is being accomplished. There is to be a "coming." But as to the question whether the disciple will "abide" during its accomplishment Peter is told not to busy himself: "If I will that he *abide while I am coming*, what is that to thee?"

(4) In the Discourse on the Last Days Mark alone mentions "the Holy Spirit" as "speaking"; Matthew says practically the same thing in the Precepts to the Twelve, and Luke something similar elsewhere, but not in the Discourse³; Luke, in the Discourse, does not mention the Holy Spirit, but mentions a promise of "a mouth" and "wisdom"—where the Diatessaron, instead of "mouth," substitutes "understanding."

All this calls for Johannine Intervention, and accordingly a large part of the Johannine Final Discourse does intervene. It deals with the doctrine of the Spirit, who is to be what Greeks would call the Paraclete, but Romans the Advocate. The Johannine Paraclete, however, means more than Advocate.

¹ Jn xv. 4—7, comp. *ib.* 10—16.

² Jn xxi. 22. The R.V. "tarry" has the disadvantage of not expressing the fact that the beloved disciple, whether he lives or dies, will be "abiding" in the Lord. On *ἕως ἔρχομαι*, "*while I am coming*" (not, as R.V. "*till I come*") see *Law* p. 525.

³ See the texts on pp. 296—7, quoting Mk xiii. 11, Mt. x. 20 Lk. xxi. 15; and Lk. xii. 12 "the Holy Spirit shall teach you."

The latter represents Luke's conception. It suggests a barrister, one possessing "a mouth and wisdom," sparing his client the trouble of "practising beforehand" how to "make his *apologia*¹, or, *defence*." But Paraclete, though it includes that, is, in itself, not quite so technical; and John takes pains to make it wholly untechnical, giving it the general meaning of "a friend called in to aid," and, in particular, the Friend, the Other Self, whom the Son calls in from His Father in heaven to help His brethren, whom He is leaving behind Him on earth.

Both Luke and John agree that the Spirit will "teach" the disciples. But in a somewhat different way. Luke writes, in one passage, "The Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour"—that is, in the hour when the disciples are on their trial—"what ye ought to say"; and in another he mentions the promise of "a mouth and wisdom" that "adversaries shall not be able to withstand or gainsay²." This negative aspect, suggested by "adversaries" and "not able," is somewhat too prominent to suit the Johannine conception of the Paraclete: "The Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, *he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you. Peace I leave with you, the peace that is my own I give unto you...*³."

It may be doubted whether "the Holy Spirit," or the tradition peculiar to Luke in the Discourse, "a mouth and wisdom," better represents the original; and whether John, in setting forth his doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit, is departing from Christ's doctrine (accurately expressed by Luke) or returning to and explaining Christ's doctrine—set forth by Mark in the old customary form ("Holy Spirit"), and slightly, but not sufficiently, conformed by Matthew to Christ's new and more emotional teaching ("the Spirit of your Father").

On the one hand the "sin against the Holy Spirit," a doctrine prominent in Mark, accords with the thought of Isaiah about Israel's "grieving" God's Holy Spirit⁴. Also Haggai,

¹ Lk. xxi. 14 ἀπολογηθῆναι rep. Lk. xii. 11, and Acts (6 times).

² Lk. xii. 12, xxi. 15.

³ Jn xiv. 26—7.

⁴ Is. lxiii. 10—11.

one of the Prophets of the New Temple—that Temple which spiritually played so large a part in Christ's doctrine—represents God as saying to Israel "*My Spirit* standeth in the midst of you¹." And Zechariah, another of that band of Prophets, represents Zerubbabel, the builder of the New Temple, as being encouraged with the words "Not by an army, nor by power, but by *my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts²." But in each of these cases the Targum departs from the original. In Isaiah, for example, the Targum has "They grieved the Prophets concerning His Holy Word"; and Ibn Ezra remarks about the Hebrew text "This is a figurative expression. Some understand by 'the Holy Spirit' the angel of the Lord³." Similarly we may suppose that Jesus spoke of the Holy Spirit as a Person, in the language of Isaiah; and that some of His disciples might say—somewhat in the Targumistic tone—"These are figurative expressions." Then they might paraphrase "Holy Spirit," for example, as "mouth and wisdom."

On the other hand, it may be reasonably said in favour of Luke that "mouth and wisdom" is not likely to be a Greek paraphrase. Jesus would probably express His promise of the Spirit in many forms. Luke may have merely selected one of these ("a mouth and wisdom") here and another ("the Holy Spirit shall teach you") elsewhere. In Exodus, where the Lord says to Moses about Aaron "He shall be to thee as a *mouth*," both the Targums have paraphrased "*mouth*" as "*interpreter*." Mark may have paraphrased here, while Luke adhered to the original⁴.

¹ Hag. ii. 5.

² Zech. iv. 6.

³ Ibn Ezra on Is. lxiii. 10. Comp. Targ. on Ps. li. 11 Heb. (R.V.) "thy holy spirit," *lit.* "the spirit of thy holiness," but Targ. "the prophetic spirit of thy holiness."

⁴ Comp. *Son* 3622 a—b, 3623 a foll., on Heb. "sword of *two mouths*," i.e. "two-edged sword," applicable to the Holy Spirit. And see Exod. iv. 16 "a *mouth*," Onk. and Jer. Targ. "an *interpreter*." Beneath the Lucan word "mouth" there may be latent an allusion to the Hebrew metaphor of the "mouth" or "edge" of a "sword," which Luke interpreted too negatively. Schöttgen on Heb. iv. 12 quotes from R. Nachman "Gladius...(1) *consumit* et (2) *vitam*

The conclusion is doubtful. But whatever may have been the original of the passages here considered, it is probable that the personal aspect of the Holy Spirit, sometimes even expressed so as to suggest the thought of a divine Mother, was more prominent in Christ's doctrine than would be inferred from the Synoptic Gospels alone. The language used by Origen and Jerome indicates that it was current in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The Talmuds never favoured such expressions; and among Christians other views about the birth of Jesus would first overshadow and then discredit a Gospel that described Jesus as saying "My Mother, the Holy Spirit¹." Nevertheless we shall understand the original history at the bottom of the Gospels all the better for keeping these words before us as possibly representing one phase of Christ's thought and, on rare occasions, of His doctrine and most emotional utterance.

§ 5. "*The Abomination of Desolation*" and its sequel,
in *Mark and Matthew*²

This part of the Discourse is probably based on what Eusèbius calls "an oracle," given through revelation to those of

tribuit." The life-giving aspect of "the sword" might be put on one side by some as being paradoxical.

¹ See *Son 3430 a—b* quoting Origen and Jerome.

² Mk xiii. 14—19 (R.V.) Mt. xxiv. 15—21 (R.V.) Lk. xxi. 20—22, xvii. 31, xxi. 23—4 (R.V.)

(14) But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains:

(15) When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by (or, through) Daniel the prophet, standing in the (or, a) holy place (let him that readeth understand),

(16) Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains:

(xxi. 20) But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand.

(21) Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains; and let them that are in the midst of her depart out; and let not them that are in the

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approved repute in Jerusalem, by which (he says) the Christians "were commanded to remove from the city and to dwell in a certain city of Peraea, [people] call it Pella¹." If the Christians had had Luke's clear words before them, "When ye see Jerusalem encircled by armies," they would not have needed an "oracle." But a revelation somewhat like that given to Peter at Joppa², but much fuller, may have been given to selected disciples (Mark mentions Peter and Andrew and the sons of Zebedee³)

Mk xiii. 14—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

Mt. xxiv. 15—21
(R.V.) *contd.*

Lk. xxi. 20—22, xvii.
31, xxi. 23—4 (R.V.)
contd.

country enter therein.

(22) For these are days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.

xvii. 31

(31) In that day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and let him that is in the field likewise not return back.

xxi. 23—4

(23) Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! for there shall be great distress upon the land (*or*, earth), and wrath unto this people.

(24) And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

(15) And let him that is on the housetop not go down nor enter in, to take anything out of his house:

(16) And let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.

(17) But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!

(18) And pray ye that it be not in the winter.

(19) For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never shall be.

(17) Let him that is on the housetop not go down to take out the things that are in his house:

(18) And let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.

(19) But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!

(20) And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a sabbath:

(21) For then shall be great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be.

¹ Notes 2837 (iii) *a* quoting Euseb. iii. 5. 3.

² Acts x. 13 foll.

³ Mk xiii. 3.

and may afterwards have been incorporated in Christ's ante-resurrectional utterances. This would explain the extraordinary freedom with which Luke diverges from Mark. There would be for some time a feeling in the Church that the words were of the nature of an "oracle," or dark saying. They required interpretation—"he that readeth let him understand¹." But "he that readeth" was not a part of the words of Jesus, nor was the context words of Jesus in the ordinary sense.

The Mark-Matthew traditions of importance omitted by Luke at this point are two, 1st, a prediction of an Abomination of Desolation, and 2nd, a precept—if it may be so called—"pray that your flight be not in winter."

(1) In place of "the abomination of desolation" Luke has "Jerusalem surrounded by armies." This is not Luke's invention. It has been shewn elsewhere² that Daniel's Hebrew meant "*on the wing* of abominations one that maketh desolate³," and that the word "*wing*," besides meaning part of a temple or other building, may be applied to the "*wing*" of an invading army, as it is by the Targum interpreting Isaiah's words about the invasion of Judaea by Sennacherib: "The stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel⁴."

There is a great diversity of early Christian opinion as to what this Abomination may have been. Justin Martyr, from whom we might have expected a comment as part of a proof of Christ's prophetic power, makes no comment at all upon it, nor upon the context⁵. Irenaeus, after quoting the second Epistle to the Thessalonians about "the man of sin" destined to be "revealed" as "sitting in the temple of God⁶," proceeds to apply this to the Temple in Jerusalem and to quote Matthew as referring to it in the words "the abomination of desolation . . .

¹ Mk xiii. 14, Mt. xxiv. 15, om. by Luke xxi. 20.

² Notes Pref. p. xvi foll. and 2837 (iii).

³ Dan. ix. 27.

⁴ Is. viii. 8, comp. Jerem. xlviii. 40 "shall fly as an eagle and extend his wings," Targ. "as an eagle that flieth, so shall a king go up with his army and encamp."

⁵ Clark's Scriptural Index to Justin contains a reference to Mt. xxiv. 11, but none to Mt. xxiv. 15—21, nor to Mk xiii. 14—19, nor to Lk. xxi. 20—22, xvii. 31.

⁶ 2 Thess. ii. 3—4.

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standing in the holy place¹." This personification of the Abomination is favoured by the best text in Mark, which reads "standing" as masculine in spite of the neuter gender of "abomination²."

What course does John take? In Christ's words, he makes no mention of anything that could be called a warning to the disciples to flee from Jerusalem at some distant period. But in Christ's acts, dramatically, he represents Jesus as Himself going forth from the doomed City because the Power of Sin, the Ruler of this world, is at hand, and as saying to the disciples "The prince of the world cometh... Arise, let us go hence³." Except in this possibly typical "going hence," John passes by all the detailed precepts that related to the special tribulation of the siege of Jerusalem, and sums them all up in one or two utterances by Jesus of a general nature applicable to all time, such as "In the world ye [must] have *tribulation*; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world⁴."

The one point in which John perhaps intervenes for Mark is, that he helps us to understand Mark's description of the Abomination as in some sense implying a person⁵.

(2) The precept to "pray" that the "flight be not in winter"—to which Matthew adds "neither on a sabbath⁶"—seems at first sight to be (and perhaps is) wholly omitted by Luke. But since we have found Luke's "Jerusalem surrounded by armies" to be, in reality, a parallel to "Abomination of Desolation," it is worth noting that the Hebrew for "winter" is very similar to, and is once actually confused with, the

¹ Iren. v. 25. 1—2. Jerome mentions (1) Antichrist, (2) the image of the Emperor brought into the Holy Place by Pilate, (3) the equestrian statue of Hadrian "quae in ipso Sancto Sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit."

² Mk xiii. 14 ἐστηκότα. Inferior MSS have the neuter; *a* has "stare," Corb. "stantem," *k* "stans."

³ Jn xiv. 30—31. See *Joh. Gr.* 2428 quoting Joseph. *Bell.* vi. 5. 3 about the Voice in the Temple saying "Let us depart hence."

⁴ Jn xvi. 33.

⁵ Comp. Mk ix. 20, 26 where πνεῦμα is regarded as masc., and also 2 Thess. ii. 6—7 τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε followed by μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ὥς ἐκ μέσου γένηται.

⁶ Mk xiii. 18, Mt. xxiv. 20.

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Hebrew for "a reproach," that is, "an object of reproach¹." In this sense, "reproach" is frequently used in prophecy, as in Daniel's expostulation to the Lord: "Jerusalem and thy people are become a *reproach* [i.e. object of reproach or contempt] to all that are round about us²." Luke in his version of the last Days avoids the name of "Daniel" and substitutes "all things that are written³." We ought not therefore to be surprised that Luke does not use Daniel's word for "*reproach*." But he uses language (not in the parallel Mark) borrowed from Isaiah, to express a warning against a *moral drunkenness that would, in effect, make the disciples to be a reproach*. He says it would cause the day of the Lord to come on men "*as a snare*⁴." There is evidence enough for a *prima facie* hypothesis that there has been some confusion between "*winter*" and "*reproach*."

If however there has been such a confusion, it will appear probable that the error lies with Luke and not with Mark, since the Marcan detail can be found in other traditions of Jewish or Hebrew literature. There are several such traditions, given below, about the kindness of God in arranging the going forth of Israel on various occasions so that it might not befall them in "*winter*" when women and children would suffer⁵.

¹ *Son* 3367 foll. and 3369 a, quoting Prov. xx. 4.

² Dan. ix. 16.

³ Lk. xxi. 22.

⁴ Lk. xxi. 34 ὥς παγίς. See *Son* 3368 c—d comparing Is. v. 30, xxiv. 19—20 (LXX and Theod.) with Lk. xxi. 25, 34, 36, and noting the words in common, namely, forms of κραিপάλη, σάλος, and κατισχύω. To these add παγίς in Is. xxiv. 17.

⁵ Wetstein (on Mt.) quotes thus: "*Tanchuma* 52. 2 Clementiam magnam exhibuit Deus Israeli, nam decima mensis Tebet oportuerat eos migrare S.D. Ezek. xxiv. 2. Quid fecit Deus S.B. Si transmigrant jam, inquit, hieme, morientur omnes: tempus ergo iis elongavit, atque eos abduxit aestate. *Eccha R.* 1. 14 Vigilavit Deus S.B. quomodo immitteret mihi malum illud, dixitque: si illos captivos duco in solstitio Tebet, ecce percutientur frigore et morientur: sed ecce abducam illos in aequinoctio Thamus, ut, etiamsi dormiant in viis et plateis, nemo ex illis laedatur. *Bamidbar R.* III. Dixit R. Akiba: non eduxit eum ex Aegypto nisi mense commodo ad exeundum, non mense Thamus propter ardorem, nec in Tebet propter frigus; sed in Nisan, qui justus est ad exeundum ad iter, nec frigore nec ardore gravi."

[Continued]

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Moreover the thought of "winter," if not needful, is at all events helpful in the Mark-Matthew context, "Let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloak¹." Luke's historical sense perhaps prevents him from accepting this. At all events, in his peculiar tradition about "the days of the Son of man," he omits "cloak," and is content to speak of "his goods in the house²." But both "cloak" and "winter" sound like parts of the early "oracle."

In what follows, whereas Mark and Matthew speak of unprecedented "tribulation," *thlipsis*, the parallel Luke speaks of "necessity," *anankè*³. In LXX, both these Greek words are used as renderings of one Hebrew word, but the Marcan word is much more frequent than the Lucan⁴. Writing as a Greek historian, Luke probably disliked *thlipsis*, "tribulation," because

These traditions may be based on the dates given, first for the approach of Nebuchadnezzar's army, and then for the capture of Jerusalem, and then for the carrying away of the people, 2 K. xxv. 1, 3, 8 (all omitted in parall. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 11 foll.) "in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month," "on the ninth day of the [fourth] month," "in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month." In *ib.* 3, Rashi makes no comment on "the [fourth] month"; Syr. has "fifth month," Arab. "fourth month" as also Josephus *Ant.* x. 8. 2. Ezek. xxiv. 1—2, after mentioning "the tenth month, in the tenth [day] of the month," has "Son of man, write thee the name of the day, [even] of this selfsame day; the king of Babylon drew close unto Jerusalem this selfsame day." This would be in winter. But the city was not taken (Josephus says) till eighteen months afterwards, that is, in summer. The emphasis laid by Ezekiel on the date of the "drawing close to Jerusalem" will explain the Jewish traditions about the delay, or respite, from winter to summer.

See *Hor. Heb.* (on Mk xiii. 32) quoting Joseph. *Bell.* vi. 4. 5 about the fatal "tenth day of the month" and *Taanith* ch. v. where R. Jochanan Ben Zaccai says it was the ninth day, but adds "If I had not lived in that age I had not judged it but to have happened on the tenth day."

¹ Mk xiii. 16, Mt. xxiv. 18.

² Lk. xvii. 31 "his goods," τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ.

³ Mk xiii. 19, Mt. xxiv. 21, Lk. xxi. 23.

⁴ Tromm. gives צרה = ἀνάγκη (4), θλίψις (55). Ἀνάγκη is good literary Greek and occurs in the Apocrypha more frequently than in the whole of canon. LXX.

it is mostly used (outside LXX) to mean medical "constriction" or "pressure¹." At all events in the Parable of the Sower where Mark and Matthew use it, Luke uses a substitute². Here, in the Last Days, Mark and Matthew repeat it later on, but Luke again avoids it³.

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we find that John shews no dislike for the word *thlipsis*. He does not indeed use it before the Final Discourse. But there, like Mark and Matthew, he uses it twice. It is not however used in exactly the Marcan sense. In Mark, the meaning seems mainly physical, and there is nothing hopeful in the context of the predictions of "tribulation" and of the "woe" pronounced on "those with child." But John represents Jesus as saying "The woman when she is giving birth hath sorrow...but when she hath brought forth the child she no longer remembereth the *tribulation*..."—and then as concluding His discourse with the words "These things have I said unto you that in me ye may have peace. *In the world ye [must] have tribulation*. But be of good cheer; I have overcome the world⁴."

This is in accordance with Hebrew and Jewish views of "tribulation." The first mention of *thlipsis* is in Genesis, where Jacob says to his household "Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves...and let us...go up to Bethel, and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my *tribulation* and was with me in the way that I went⁵." Resh Lachish, commenting on the

¹ Steph. *Thes.* gives θλίψις as occurring (outside LXX) only in Strabo and Galen. But it is freq. in Artemidorus (see Wetst. on Rom. ii. 9). In Luke's time, however, Greek historians would probably avoid it. The noun does not occur in the Indices to Epictetus and Plutarch.

² Mk iv. 17, Mt. xiii. 21 γενομένης θλίψεως ἣ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον, Lk. viii. 13 ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ.

³ Mk xiii. 24 μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην, Mt. xxiv. 29 μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, Lk. xxi. 25 om.

⁴ Jn xvi. 21, 33.

⁵ Gen. xxxv. 2—3. Deut. v. (on Deut. iii. 24, Wü. p. 23) says "The idol [*i.e.* strange god] is near and far, but God is far and near." The strange gods were "among" the household of Jacob, but not

saying of David to Israel "The Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation!" likens the utterance to that of women comforting a woman in childbirth with the words "*He who heard thy mother will also hear thee.* Even so David said to Israel, *He who heard Jacob will also hear thee*¹." The Jewish comment on the Psalm uses the same illustration from childbirth. It adds that, just as a weary traveller who sees a burial place outside a city's walls knows that the city is not far off, so those who see tribulations must also see, not far away, redemption. And it will come from "the God of Jacob"—not from the God of Abraham or Isaac, but "the God of Jacob," the Wrestler, who knew what trial and tribulation meant².

The Synoptists themselves recognise that *after* this tribulation (or, in Luke, "necessity") there will come deliverance; but John's brief tradition means more than this. It suggests that joy will come *through* tribulation. This is in accordance with the doctrine in the Acts that "*through many tribulations we must needs enter into the Kingdom of God*"³. The Marcan addition about the unprecedented nature of the tribulation appears to be from Daniel⁴. The parallel Lucan addition certainly omits, and rather discredits, the notion of unprecedentedness⁵. In these circumstances it would be very natural that early discussion should arise among Christians concerning the *thlipsis* that their Master was said to have predicted, and concerning the Marcan mention of "women with child" in the context, and the previous Marcan mention of "the beginning of travail-pangs"⁶. The Jews were familiar with the prophetic

really helpful. They were "near" and "[really] far." God is in heaven, and therefore, locally, "far," but "[really] near."

¹ Deut. v. on Deut. iii. 24, Wü. p. 24, quoting Ps. xx. 1. Heb. הָשִׁיב = "hear and answer," R.V. "answer."

² Tehill. on Ps. xx. 1.

³ Acts xiv. 22.

⁴ Dan. xii. 1 "tribulation such as never was since there was a nation," LXX θλίψεως οἷα οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθησαν, Theod. θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ, Vulg. "(tempus) quale non fuit ab eo ex quo gentes esse coeperunt."

⁵ Possibly some took LXX ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθησαν to mean "since they [*i.e.* Israel] came into existence [as a nation]."

⁶ Mk xiii. 8, Mt. xxiv. 8. See above, p. 291, n. 3.

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metaphor (reproduced in Revelation) of the Mother of whom it is said that she "was with child, and she crieth out, travailing in birth," and afterwards "fleeth into the wilderness¹." It is a national metaphor. But it might be misunderstood by Gentiles as applying to individuals, if for example the "oracle" above mentioned said "Shall there not be affliction and a crying out of woe in those days to the woman that is with child and travailing in birth?"

Mark has perhaps thus misunderstood it. But that must remain doubtful. It is less doubtful that John has intervened in order to connect the Marcan traditions about "tribulation" and "women with child"—as also the previous Marcan tradition about "the beginning of travail-pangs"—in one brief prophecy of a general kind, intelligible to Gentiles, and having for its scope not merely the fall of Jerusalem but the destiny of the Church and mankind as a whole. And such a doctrine it is probable that Jesus actually taught.

§ 6. *The "shortening" of "the days," in Mark and Matthew²*

The word here used for "shorten" means mostly "truncate,"

¹ Rev. xii. 2, 6.

² Mk xiii. 20—23
(R.V.)

Mt. xxiv. 22—5
(R.V.)

Lk. xvii. 23
(R.V.)

(20) And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he chose, he shortened the days.

(21) And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe [it] (or, [him]) not:

(22) For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may

(22) And except those days had been shortened, no flesh would have been saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.

(23) Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Here; believe [it] (or, [him]) not.

(24) For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so as to

(23) And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after [them].

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"mutilate," "chip¹." Also the Greek *Kūrios*, here used for "Lord" by Mark (but not by Matthew) without the article, to mean "Jehovah," in words assigned to Christ, and not in a quotation from the Old Testament, is unique in the Gospels².

Concerning the words in Isaiah "*Except the Lord of hosts had left us a very small remnant*," Ibn Ezra says "These are the words of the Israelites"; and they are appropriate as a congregational utterance, or as a pious ejaculation of a representative of the congregation, as in the Psalms ("Except it had been the Lord that was on our side—let Israel now say—except it had been the Lord that was on our side³"). There are other passages in the Psalms where such a phrase as "unless

Mk xiii. 20—23
(R.V.) *contd.*

lead astray, if possible, the elect.

(23) But take ye heed: behold, I have told you all things beforehand.

Mt. xxiv. 22—5
(R.V.) *contd.*

lead astray, if possible, even the elect.

(25) Behold, I have told you beforehand.

¹ *Κολοβόω*, once in LXX, 2 S. iv. 12, Polyb. i. 80. 13, Diod. i. 78 is used of cutting off the hand, foot, or nose. No instance is alleged in Steph. *Thes.* of its being used like *σμικρύνω*, *ὀλιγώω* etc. (in Ps. lxxxix. 45, Prov. x. 27, comp. Ps. cii. 23) to mean "shortening" of days in the mere sense of diminution. It is used as a prefix (e.g. *κολοβόριν* Lev. xxi. 18) to signify physical defect. In Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 8. 5 etc.) it is repeatedly used about stones for building, spoiled by being "chipped."

In Son 3353 *d* foll. it was suggested that Mark and Matthew have been misled by mistaking the Hebrew (see Is. x. 23) for "strictly decide," "decree" (*lit.* "cut," "sharpen") as if it meant "cut short." But it was admitted that this "would not justify Mark, whose word *κολοβόω* means 'curtail,' 'maim,' 'mutilate.'" Now therefore I retract that suggestion in favour of one that endeavours to explain *κολοβόω* as springing, not from a mere blunder of Mark, but from an allusion to an ancient "shortening of days" in the history of Israel.

² See Son 3353 *f*, 3492.

³ Ps. cxxiv. 1—2. In Is. i. 9, the prophet has said to the Israelites, in the name of the Lord, i. 7—8 "Your country is desolate ... as a besieged city." They reply "*Except the Lord of hosts had left us a very small remnant* we should have been as Sodom...." The prophet retorts that the rulers are rulers of Sodom (i. 10) "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom...."

the Lord" occurs in an expression of thanks, and it seems likely to have been in the original, though inappropriate for an utterance of Christ¹.

Matthew, whether objecting or not to Mark's unique use of an active verb with *Kūrios*, at all events substitutes a passive verb without *Kūrios*. But he retains the word "truncate" with its suggestion of something more passionate than a mere diminution, a suggestion that the days are the enemies of Israel. This leads us to ask whether the Old Testament ever represents the Lord as "shortening days" for Israel's sake, and, in particular, as shortening them in order to deliver Israel from an Adversary who might be regarded as using the "days" for the destruction of the people. Such an instance there is, perhaps uniquely, in the life of David where Jehovah is described, both in Samuel and in Chronicles, as cutting short the three days of appointed plague for Israel when there seemed a danger that the whole nation would be destroyed².

One of these narratives mentions "the anger of the Lord," the other mentions "Satan" or "an adversary," as bringing this pestilence on Israel; but both relate that the Lord said to the destroying angel "It is enough³; now stay thine hand."

¹ See Gesen. 530 b, referring to Ps. xciv. 17, xxvii. 13. And comp. Ps. cvi. 23 "he said that he would destroy them had not Moses, his elect, stood before him in the breach." This passage, like that in Mk-Mt., contemplates an intervention of the Lord for the sake of "the elect," though in a different sense.

² 2 S. xxiv. 15 "So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel *from the morning even to the time appointed*." The parall. 1 Chr. xxi. 14 omits the italicised words. They were variously and quaintly interpreted, but in any case as meaning less than one day. See Rashi *ad loc.* and *Berach.* 62 b. 1 *Tehill.* on Ps. xvii. 1 Wü. p. 130 says that there was a danger that the whole of Israel might perish in the three days, since 70,000 perished in one hour. Origen says (*Hom. Numb.* ix. 8, *Lomm.* x. 90) "*intra sex horas abbreviatum videtur*."

³ 2 S. xxiv. 1—16, 1 Chr. xxi. 1—15, LXX (1) πολὺ (v. l. ἱκανόν), (2) ἱκανούσθω σοι. The Heb. רַב "abundant!" (Gesen. 913 a) may mean "it is abundant [for me]" or "abundant [for thee]." In Gen. xlv. 28 it is taken by Rashi and Targums as implying "it is an unexpected and superabundant joy, or favour, to me," but in 1 K. xix. 4 the

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This recalls the part played by "Satan" in the afflictions of Job, and suggests the thought that the Destroyer might be regarded as taking pleasure in an occasion that caused pain to the Supreme Himself; for it is said that He "repented him of the evil¹"; and Isaiah says about the Lord that whenever Israel was afflicted "in all their affliction he was afflicted²."

The intercession of the sinful David for Israel after the flesh differed manifestly in many respects from the intercession of the sinless Son of David for Israel after the spirit; yet the appointed "three days" for the angel of death, and the "shortening" of them, might well appeal to early Jewish Christians as illustrating the kindness of God in shortening the three days during which the power of darkness was allowed to appear to triumph over the light by hiding Jesus from His disciples. And hence might come the personification, so to speak, of the days during which He was thus hidden. The days might seem to be the agents of the Adversary, stretching out their hands against the faith of the disciples; but the hands were cut off, and the days "maimed," by the mercy of the Lord. Thus we might explain why Mark preferred this strong and personifying word instead of saying in plain prose that the days would be "shortened."

In modern times, those who believe in the Coming of the Son of Man are apt to think of it as only a single event, a coming on the clouds of heaven. But we can hardly deny that to the disciples of Jesus the first fulfilment of any predictions of Coming must have seemed to have taken place when He first came to them after His death. The interval between death

Targ. has "this suffices to me as the end [of my life]"—a cry of weariness (followed by "usque quo conturbabor?"). When "to thee (*or*, you)" is supplied by the Hebrew, it implies that the person addressed has gone far enough, or too far, Deut. iii. 26, Ezek. xlv. 9 etc. In 1 Chr. xxi. 15, LXX inserts "*for thee*"—probably with justification, for the impression left by the story is that רב here means "*Thou* hast gone abundantly far" (not that God says to the angel "*My will* is abundantly fulfilled"). If so, the expression implies a rebuke.

¹ 2 S. xxiv. 16, 1 Chr. xxi. 15.

² Is. lxiii. 9, on which see *Son* 3518 f.

and manifestation is predicted by the Gospels in various phrases. Some say "on the third day," some "in three days," or "after three days," or "three days and three nights¹." But the records of the Resurrection represent it as being little more than two nights and a day. The records when compared with the predictions might well suggest a "shortening" of "the days," and the first Christians might exult in this shortening—or as Mark calls it, "cutting short"—as a sign of God's kindness in protecting His elect from the Adversary, Satan, by lightening the burden laid upon their expectant faith. To such a "shortening" John may be alluding when he represents Jesus as saying to the disciples "A little while and ye behold me no more; and again a little while and ye shall see me²." They, in their perplexity, ask one another what is meant by this sentence. But they also ask about another sentence—"and, '*Because I go to the Father*'³." Jesus had uttered the second sentence before the first. But He had not connected the two. The disciples, however, do so, and rightly. For the meaning is, as their Master explains, that His departure and His return are of the nature of a travail and of a birth. In a few hours He will go away. In a few more hours He will return, born anew for them, and henceforth never to be separated from them. And the reason for the non-separation is that the Son *goes to the Father*, the source of all spiritual unity. The Father will be in them, as He also, the Son, will be in them, for all eternity.

It may be urged that the Johannine "little while" implies indeed a "short" period but still something different from a "shortening"—different at least from any artificial "shortening" of the nature of curtailment or truncation. That is true; but is it not also John's deliberate purpose to make this difference? It is in accordance with his general practice of basing the Gospel on laws of spiritual Nature. The "shortening" that he implies is a natural one, in accordance with that kind Providence or Word of God which ordains shortness for a mother's travail and duration for a mother's joy.

¹ See *Son* 3190—7 (iv), 3586.

² *Jn* xvi. 16.

³ *Jn* xvi. 17, comp. xvi. 10.

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According to Mark, the Lord will "cut short" the days "for the sake of the chosen ones whom he hath chosen¹"; and then Mark adds that false Christs and false prophets will arise and work signs "to lead quite astray, if it were possible, the chosen ones²." Luke omits the whole of this. It suggests difficulties about "the chosen ones" (in Greek, "the elect") and leads us to ask how they could possibly be "led quite astray" if it was God who "elected them." John seems to desire to make us give up the attempt to solve this insoluble question. He tells us that Jesus Himself "chose" Judas whom, at an early period, He pronounced "a devil," and yet that He chose disciples out of the world that they might bear fruit³.

As regards the Marcan "false prophets," we must admit that Luke nowhere inserts a warning against them, nor writes of them as existent except in the past⁴. Nor does he ever use the transitive "lead astray" to denote their activity⁵. John is similarly silent in his Gospel. But this cannot be urged as an exception to the rule of Johannine Intervention without mentioning that the Johannine Epistle supplies both these deficiencies⁶. There "many false prophets" are spoken of as "having gone out into the world," and the popular anticipation of "*Antichrist*" ("ye have heard that *antichrist* cometh") is corrected by saying

¹ Mk xiii. 20 διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο, Mt. xxiv. 22 διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.

² Mk xiii. 22 πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, Mt. xxiv. 24 ὥστε πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.

³ See *Law* p. 142 "He uses the term 'electing' in different senses—perhaps deliberately—now including, now excluding Judas."

⁴ Lk. vi. 26 "Woe [unto you], when all men shall speak well of you! For in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets." This implies a danger that some of Christ's disciples might fall into the sins of the false prophets of old.

⁵ He uses the verb once passively Lk. xxi. 8 βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε.

⁶ See I Jn iv. 1 "many *false-prophets*" and *ib.* ii. 26 "these things have I written unto you concerning *those who are leading you astray* (τῶν πλανῶντων ὑμᾶς)," iii. 7 "let no one *lead you astray*." In Jn, the verb is only used (vii. 12 πλανᾷ τὸν ὄχλον, *ib.* 47 μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπλάνησθε;) by the enemies of Jesus.

"even now there have arisen *many antichrists*¹." This seems intended to warn the readers to beware of an antichristian spirit, instead of merely anticipating a single enemy of Christ; and it may reasonably be supposed to be written with allusion to the Marcan traditions about "false-prophets and false-christs" omitted by Luke.

A brief comment must suffice for the Marcan tradition, not in Luke, "But [as for] you, beware. I have told you *all things* beforehand²." This, coming at the end of a section, may mean "In what precedes, I have told you of all your perils. It is for you to beware of them." But Matthew omits "*all things*" and subjoins to "I have told you beforehand" the words "If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness...do not believe [it]³." This seems to limit the words to a warning against "false-christs." Luke omits this warning in either form.

John represents Jesus, not indeed as predicting "*all things*," but as predicting much more than Matthew mentions. Jesus says to the disciples on the night of the Last Supper, 1st, about His betrayal by Judas, "I tell you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am [he]"; 2nd, about His departure, "And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe"; 3rd, about the persecutions awaiting the disciples themselves, "But these things have I spoken unto you, that, when their hour is come, ye may remember them, how that I told you⁴." Thus John keeps a middle course between Mark and Matthew.

¹ 1 Jn ii. 18, comp. *ib.* 22, iv. 3.

² Mk xiii. 23. W. H. omit R.V. "behold" (after "beware," R.V. "take ye heed"), without alternative.

³ Mt. xxiv. 25—6.

⁴ Jn xiii. 19, xiv. 29, xvi. 4.

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§ 7. The "gathering" of "the elect," in Mark and Matthew¹

In what follows concerning the signs in heaven and the coming of the Son of Man, Luke—while inserting some details of his own in Thucydidean Greek²—does not omit anything of

¹ Mk xiii. 24—7
(R.V.)

(24) But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,

(25) And the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken.

(26) And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory.

(27) And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

Mt. xxiv. 29—31
(R.V.)

(29) But immediately, after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:

(30) And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.

(31) And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet (*or*, a trumpet of great sound; *many anc. auth.* with a great trumpet), and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.

Lk. xxi. 25—8
(R.V.)

(25) And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows;

(26) Men fainting (*or*, expiring) for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world (*lit.* the inhabited earth): for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.

(27) And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.

(28) But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh.

² See *Introd.* p. 119 on Lk. xxi. 25—6 ἀπορία, and ἀποψυχόντων.

importance in Mark¹ except the account of the "gathering" of "the elect." This omission is not surprising in view of the difficulty of Mark's phrase "to the uttermost part of *heaven*," following "from the uttermost part of *earth*³." The Diatessaron omits "of *earth*³." Origen takes it fancifully as referring to one of three "abiding-places (conversations)⁴." Victor offers an obscure geographical explanation, which apparently implies that the boundaries of earth and heaven are identical⁵.

Matthew substitutes "of *heaven*" for "of *earth*." He also alters Mark's "*he* will gather" into "*they* will gather," and "*the* angels" into "*his* angels." Thus he emphasizes the fact that the Son of Man, like a king, acts through servants, and that "the angels" are His servants ("his angels"). In the same spirit, having in view a king with a great army, he adds that the gathering shall be preceded by the sound of a great "*trumpet*." Consistently, in the preceding verse, Matthew has added to the Marcan tradition about "*seeing the Son of Man*" another about the "appearing" of "*the ensign, or standard, or sign, of the Son of Man*." All this gives a military aspect to a metaphor that, in Mark, has no touch of militarism.

Luke conveys to the Gentile reader the meaning latent in the Hebrew "gather." To Jews the gathering of Israel meant the gathering of Israelites scattered in various regions as captives, so that it implied release from captivity⁶. This

¹ Mk xiii. 25 "the stars (ἀστέρες) shall be *falling* from the heaven," altered to Lk. xxi. 25 "there shall be signs in . . . stars," can hardly be called an omission of importance. It is a change from poetic hyperbole to prose.

² Mk xiii. 27 ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

³ *Diatess.* ("from the end of heaven to its [other] end") makes no attempt (as Origen does) to add Mark's tradition to Matthew's.

⁴ Origen (on Mt. xxiv. 31, Lomm. iv. 319) "multorum coelorum multarum (or, multa) conversationum initia."

⁵ Victor on Mk xiii. 27 (apparently corrupt) τὸ δὲ ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ, διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐρανῶν ἄκρα· ὥστε Χριστῷ πιστεύειν δεῖ, καὶ μὴ ἀπατάσθαι ὡς ἐλαχίστου μορίου τῆς γῆς οὔσης ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπείροις μεγέθεσιν ὑπερβαλόντος αὐτήν.

⁶ Gesen. 868 a קָבַץ (pi.) "usu. of Jehovah gathering his dispersed people," in LXX = συνάγω (71), ἐπισυνάγω (3), εἰσδέχομαι (14) etc.

might naturally be called (as Luke calls it) "redemption" or "ransom¹." It did not imply a mere gathering into one place, but a gathering into a region or city of freedom, such as is contemplated in the "song" predicted by Isaiah, "We have a strong city.... Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in²." Luke regards the oppressed

Comp. Is. liv. 7 Heb. גָּבַעְתִּי "I will gather thee," LXX "I will pity (ἐλεήσω) thee," Aq. Sym. ἀθροίσω, Theod. συνάξω.

¹ Lk. xxi. 28 ἀπολύτρωσις. Comp. Justin M. *Tryph.* § 86 "Moses with a rod was sent to the ransoming (ἀπολύτρωσιν) of the people"—the only instance of ἀπολύτρωσις in Goodspeed.

² Is. xxvi. 1—2 "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city,... *Open the gates*, that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in." Rashi explains "the righteous nation" as meaning the Israelites returning from captivity, and "keeping truth" as implying a faithful waiting for the proof of the truth of God's promises. R.V. marg. refers to Ps. cxviii. 19—20 "*Open to me the gates of righteousness*" (which is preceded by "the Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over unto death") where the context implies redemption. Again, R.V. marg. in this Psalm refers to Ps. xxiv. 7—9 "*Lift up your heads, O ye gates*,..."

This and Lk. xxi. 28 are perhaps the only instances in the Bible of the phrase "*lift up your heads*," and perhaps Luke had in view this Psalm of exultation. The LXX takes "heads" as "rulers" ("lift up the gates, O rulers"). Origen (*ad loc.*) assumes the gates to be those of heaven (ὡς γὰρ... κλίνας οὐρανοῦς, οὐκ ἀνοίξας, κατέβη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀναληφθεῖς...). Jerome (*ad loc.*) apparently prefers to take them as the gates of Sheol (*Son* 3615 b—c). The *Descensus* (A) § 5 (§ 21) quotes the Psalm (LXX) in describing the shouting that welcomed the approach of Christ to the gates of Sheol. Clement of Alexandria (762—3), writing on the Descent, after saying that the Lord "preached the gospel to those also that were in Hades," proceeds "At all events the Scripture says (comp. Job xxviii. 22) Hades saith to Destruction, We have not seen His form but we have heard His voice," which lends itself to the assumption (see *Descens.* §§ 3—8) that these two were the chief "gate-keepers" of Hell. Now in Job xxxviii. 17 "Hast thou seen the *gates* of the shadow of death?" LXX has "Have the *gate-keepers* of Hell seen and crouched before thee?" The name "*gate-keeper*" is given to Cerberus in Greek literature, and might be given to slaves chained at the gate to keep off intruders (see below, p. 331, n. 5). The

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as bowed down under fetters from which the Deliverer calls them to "look up," as Jesus enabled a daughter of Abraham, bowed down by Satan¹. They had not dared before, but now they will dare, to "lift up their heads" against the enemies that trampled on them². All these details are implied in Mark's saying that the Lord "will gather together toward [himself]" the elect, and Luke draws them out.

John puts first a mention of "*gathering into one*" not uttered by Jesus³. Here, without actually mentioning the Lucan word "*ransom*," John introduces the essence of it in the prediction (as commented on by himself) that he assigns to the high priest, Caiaphas: "It is expedient for you that *one man should die for the people*, and that the whole nation perish not⁴." But instead of Mark's technical term "elect," John, in his own person, substitutes "children of God," thus, "He [*i.e.* Caiaphas] prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather together into one *the children of God that are scattered abroad*⁵." Later on, in the Last Prayer, Jesus repeatedly prays that the disciples may be all "*one*" or "*perfected into one*" even as the Father and the Son are "*one*⁶." Thus John retains Mark's "*gather to-*

Heb. שַׁע "gate-keeper" = LXX (6) "gate," and Heb. "gate" = LXX (3) "gate-keeper." Luke may have followed some early tradition, referring to the Descent, and taking the cry as "Lift up your heads, ye *keepers-of-the-gate*, *i.e.* ye that sit in chains, as slaves, at the entrance of the prison-house."

¹ Lk. xxi. 28 ἀνακύψατε. Philo (ii. 433) describes thus the "emergence" of the earth, purified by fire, after being cast down "to Tartarus itself (πρὸς αὐτὸν Τάρταρον)," when ἀρξεται ποτε διαπνεῖν καὶ ἀνακύπτειν. In (genuine) N.T., ἀνακύπτω occurs elsewhere only in Lk. xiii. 11 about the woman who was "not able to look up" because "Satan" had "bound" her.

² In canon. LXX, ἀνακύπτω occurs only in Job x. 15 (Heb.) "I will not *lift up my head*." The Heb. phrase elsewhere (and prob. there, too) implies the "looking up" of one who has been cast down by enemies (see Gesen. 670 a on Judg. viii. 28, Zech. ii. 4 (R.V. i. 21), Job x. 15, Ps. lxxxiii. 2).

³ Jn xi. 52.

⁴ Jn xi. 50, rep. xviii. 14.

⁵ Jn xi. 52.

⁶ Jn xvii. 11, 21, 22, 23.

gether," but explains the region into which the gathering is to tend as being a spiritual one, the unity of the Father and the Son.

§ 8. "*The fig-tree*¹"

What follows describes the advent of a spiritual springtime. The word "spring" does not occur in our Revised Version of the Old Testament² But the Song of Songs describes its signs: "Lo, the winter is past...the time of the pruning is come... the fig-tree ripeneth her green figs, and the vines are in blossom³." This seems to describe different stages of the spring; and the ripening (or, spicing)⁴ of the green figs is placed before the

¹ Mk xiii. 28—31
(R.V.)

(28) Now from the fig-tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh;

(29) Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that he (*or*, it) is nigh, [even] at the doors.

(30) Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished

(31) Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

² When LXX has *ἐὰν* (Gen. viii. 22, Ps. lxxiv. 17, Zech. xiv. 8) as a rendering of Heb., it is חרף (Gesen. 358 a) "harvest-time," "autumn" (or early winter). A.V. has "spring" once (Ezek. xvii. 9).

³ Cant. ii. 11—13, R.V. marg. "*the pruning*," LXX τομῆς, Aq. and Sym. κλαδεύσεως, and so Gesen. (274 b וּמִיד) but Jewish tradition gives "*the singing*" (and so R.V. txt).

⁴ Gesen. 334 חָנַט b.

Mt. xxiv. 32—5
(R.V.)

(32) Now from the fig-tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh;

(33) Even so ye also, when ye see all these things, know ye that he (*or*, it) is nigh, [even] at the doors.

(34) Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished.

(35) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

Lk. xxi. 29—33
(R.V.)

(29) And he spake to them a parable: Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees:

(30) When they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh.

(31) Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh.

(32) Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all things be accomplished.

(33) Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

flowering of the vine because the fruit of the fig-tree comes before its leaves¹. Mark does not quite accord with the Song, since he makes the fig-tree put out "*leaves*," not "*figs*." Luke omits both "*leaves*" and "*figs*"; and he uses the word used by Aquila in his rendering of the Song ("cast forth")—but without "*figs*" or "*leaves*." Also Luke, perhaps having in view the fact that the Song mentions the vine as well as the fig-tree, adds "*and all the trees*."

But this does not appear in accordance with the earliest traditions, which point to a contrast like that in Jeremiah between "good figs" and "bad figs³." There, the good are the Jews carried away captive to the land of the Chaldeans. The bad are those who remain in Jerusalem, or dwell in Egypt. Mark has described in effect the "bad" fig-tree, the corrupt Jerusalem and its Temple, when he described the withering of the barren fig-tree. Now he describes the good fig-tree, the future remnant of Israel, the Church of Christ, purified by trials and tribulations. These have been severe for a time, but now the disciples are called on to regard them as signs of growth and development. Like winter, or like the pruning-hook, they are intended to prepare the ransomed believers to bring forth fruit.

John intervenes to explain that the spiritual meaning of "summer" does not depend on its being one of four seasons of the year, but on its fruitfulness. The same Hebrew word means both "summer" and "product of summer," whether grain or fruit⁴. John's first mention of "fruit" is connected with an invisible "harvest," in which "he that reapeth...gathereth fruit unto life eternal⁵." The next is connected with "death" and a grain of wheat: "If it die it beareth much *fruit*⁶." Then follows a group of sayings about "fruit" in connection with

¹ See above, p. 205 foll.

² Lk. xxi. 30 ὅταν προβάλωσιν ἤδη, Cant. ii. 13 מַנְתִּי, LXX ἐξήνεγκεν, Aq. προέβαλεν, Sym. ἐξέθηλεν.

³ Jerem. xxiv. 2, 5, 8.

⁴ Gesen. 884 *b* יִרְבֵּ, given by Tromm. as = ἀμητός (3), θέρος, -ινός, -ισμός (7), ὁπώρα (3), παλάθη (2).

⁵ Jn iv. 35—6.

⁶ Jn xii. 24.

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"the true vine," in which "the husbandman," that is the Father, "taketh away every branch that beareth not fruit, and cleanseth every branch that beareth fruit, that it may bear more fruit¹." Here we find a suggestion of that "pruning"—for "cleansing" means "pruning"—which appears to be mentioned in the Song of Solomon as one of the signs of spring. This cleansing or pruning is later on expressed by the "tribulation," or travail-pangs, through which the Church must pass to the new birth².

§ 9. "About that day...knoweth no one...not even the Son, save only the Father," in Mark and Matthew³

Luke omits this saying about the "day" here. In the Acts he represents Jesus as saying to the disciples, after His resurrec-

¹ Jn xv. 1—2.

² Jn xvi. 21, 33.

³ Mk xiii. 32—37
(R.V.)

(32) But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

(33) Take ye heed, watch and pray (*some anc. auth. om. and pray*): for ye know not when the time is.

(34) [It is] as [when] a man, sojourning in another country, having left his house, and given authority to his servants (*lit. bondservants*), to each one his work, command-

Mt. xxiv. 36, xxv.
13—15, xxiv. 42—
46 (R.V.)

(xxiv. 36) But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son (*many auth., some anc., omit* neither the Son), but the Father only.

(xxv. 13) Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour.

(14) For [it is] as [when] a man, going into another country, called his own servants (*lit. bondservants*), and delivered unto them his goods.

(15) And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, to

Lk. xxi. 34—36, xii.
35—43 (R.V.)

(xxi. 34) But take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare:

(35) For [so] shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth.

(36) But watch ye at every season, making supplication, that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

(xii. 35) Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning;

(36) And be ye

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tion, "It is *not for you to know times or seasons* that the Father

Mk xiii. 32—37
(R.V.) *contd.*

ed also the porter to watch.

(35) Watch therefore: for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning;

(36) Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping.

(37) And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.

Mt. xxiv. 36, xxv.
13—15, xxiv. 42—
46 (R.V.) *contd.*

another one; to each according to his several ability; and he went on his journey.

(xxiv. 42) Watch therefore: for ye know not on what day your Lord cometh.

(43) But know this (*or*, But this ye know), that if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief was coming, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken through (*lit.* digged through).

(44) Therefore be ye also ready: for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

(45) Who then is the faithful and wise servant (*lit.* bondservant), whom his lord hath set over his household, to give them their food in due season?

(46) Blessed is that servant (*lit.* bondservant), whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

Lk. xxi. 34—36,
xii. 35—43
(R.V.) *contd.*

yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast; that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may straightway open unto him.

(37) Blessed are those servants (*lit.* bondservants) whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them.

(38) And if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third, and find [them] so, blessed are those [servants].

(39) But know this (*or*, But this ye know), that if the master of the house had known in what hour the thief was coming, he would have watched, and not have left his house to be broken through (*lit.* digged through).

(40) Be ye also ready: for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

(41) And Peter said, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?

hath set within his own authority¹." This might imply that the Son, now that He had risen from the dead, "*knew*," or was on the point of "*knowing*," the "*times*," but that He did not think fit to impart this knowledge to the disciples. But it might also imply that the Father still kept this knowledge within "his own authority," so that not even the risen Saviour knew it, or would know it till He had ascended to the Father, if then. Luke's silence in the Gospel, and his obscure statement in the Acts, favour the view that he regarded the Marcan utterance as post-resurrectional and as being—though clear—likely to be misused by being wrongly dated.

John represents Jesus as saying to the disciples, "If ye loved me, ye would have rejoiced because I go unto the Father, for the Father is greater than I²." That is to say, the perfect unity between the Father and the Son is consistent with an ampler inclusiveness of the Father in heaven as compared with a narrower inclusiveness of the Son on earth. This epithet "greater" does not appear to be intended to make a comparison between the Father in heaven and the Son in heaven. It has been previously introduced to shew how the Son Himself, after ascending to the Father, will be greater than His previous self in His power to help a believer to do greater works: "The

Lk. xxi. 34—36, xii.
35—43 (R.V.) *contd.*

(42) And the Lord said, Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season?

(43) Blessed is that servant (*lit.* bondservant) whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

¹ Acts i. 7. Origen quotes this in his comment on Mt. xxiv. 36 (Lomm. iv. 330—1) and gives a long explanation, after which he adds "*alia expositio quae famosior est.*"

² Jn xiv. 28.

works that I do shall he do also; and *greater* works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father¹."

The Synoptic phrase "*that day*" is used thrice in the Johanneine Last Discourse. But the Synoptists mean by it a definite day of a visible Coming at some unknown date. John means something very different: "*In that day* ye shall know that I am in my Father and ye in me and I in you," "*In that day* ye shall ask me no [question]; verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye shall ask anything of the Father he will give it you in my name," "*In that day* ye shall ask in my name²." "That day" does not begin at any particular "hour." It is a permanent spiritual state of union between man's soul and the Father through the Spirit of the Son.

John seems to take a pleasure in detemporalising (so to speak), as well as delocalising, the coming of the Lord. When he says "Jesus loved the disciples *to the end*" this is the only occasion where he mentions "the end" as a noun³. And when Jesus is said to have "known that *all things had been ended*" and to have cried aloud "*It is ended*⁴," this is the only Johannine occasion where "end" is used as a verb. "End" here implies, in fact, an end that is a beginning—an *omega* that is also an *alpha*. When John desires to speak of the "coming" of the Son in some special form visible to men he generally speaks of it as a manifesting⁵. This is in accordance with the use of the Targumists

¹ Jn xiv. 12.

² Jn xiv. 20, xvi. 23 (on which see above, pp. 61—2), xvi. 26.

³ Jn xiii. 1.

⁴ Jn xix. 28, 30 τετέλεσται (*bis*). There is an intention in repeating τετέλεσται. "He said to Himself... and then He said aloud, '*All is ended.*'" Nonnus repeats τετέλεστο thus: νοήσας ὅτι θεῶς τετέλεστο... τετέλεστο παννυστατίῳ φάτο μύθῳ.

⁵ "Manifesting," φανερώω, a verb not used by the Synoptists except Mark (iv. 22) on which see *Law* p. 28 foll. Mark alone says that "manifestation" is the *object*, Mt.-Lk. say it is the *invariable sequel*. It is also in Mk-App. xvi. 12, 14 (of post-resurrectional manifestations). In Jn i. 31 ἵνα φανερωθῇ τῷ Ἰ., it implies that the Messiah is already in Israel but needs to be manifested or revealed; in *ib.* xxi. 1 (*bis*), 14, it is used of post-resurrectional manifestations. In 1 Jn i. 2 (*bis*) it is used of the Incarnation, but *ib.* ii. 28 of the (second) Parousia.

who habitually say "God manifested Himself," or "was manifested," instead of "God came¹." "Manifested" is the word that he uses even on the single occasion when he uses (in the Epistle) the technical word *parousia*, denoting what is commonly called the Second Coming of the Lord: "Abide in him, that, *if he shall be manifested*, we...may not shrink in shame from him at his *parousia*²." Not that he avoids the word "come" in a spiritual sense. On the contrary he uses it freely, but so freely as to disappoint us if we ask at once "Is He to 'come'? Then when is the 'coming'?" The beginning of the Prologue speaks of the Light as continually "coming into the world³"; the Last Discourse frequently speaks of the Father and the Son and the Paraclete as "coming" to believers and abiding in them⁴; and Christ's final utterance, addressed to Peter, seems to speak of the "coming" either as a continuous process, or at all events as a matter of which the details are not to affect Peter's conduct or to divert him from following Christ in the path prescribed to him: "If I will that he abide *while I am coming*, what is that to thee? Follow thou me⁵."

¹ Φανερώ occurs in LXX only in Jerem. xxxiii. 6 "I will reveal," גלה. "To be revealed" in Targum corresponds to "come" in Scripture, when the latter is used about God, *San* 3314 c, 3334 b etc.

² 1 Jn ii. 28. Παρουσία is not used in the Gospels except Mt. xxiv. 3, 27, 37, 39.

³ Jn i. 9.

⁴ Jn xiv. 3, 18, 23, 28, xvi. 7, 8, 13, 28.

⁵ Jn xxi. 22—3, see *Law* pp. 525—6. Here it should be noted that "abide while I am coming" is the Johannine equivalent of the Synoptic "watch," or "watch and pray." John never uses the word "watch." Consequently he omits Marcan details connected with "watching" such as Mk xiii. 35 "cock-crowing," *ib.* 36 "lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping," etc. John emphasizes the more positive precept of "abiding (μένω)"—a word that occurs in the Fourth Gospel more than three times as often as in the Synoptists taken all together.

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§ 10. "The porter," in Mark and John¹

Mark, alone of the Synoptists, specially mentions a "porter," better called "doorkeeper," among the servants of a man who is away from home, and who has assigned to them their several tasks. The task of the "doorkeeper" is to "keep awake," or "watch." The duty of watching is specially emphasized by Mark, and he concludes by emphasizing its universality, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, 'Watch².'"

What they were to "watch" for was the "coming" of "the lord of the house," and the first "coming" was that which followed closely on Christ's resurrection. Then He was variously manifested to various disciples. But Mary, and the seven fishermen, did not at first recognise Him; nor did the two disciples at Emmaus; nor did "some" on the "mountain" mentioned by Matthew³. Long afterwards the rich and pleasure-loving Laodiceans are warned that there is a danger of their being deaf to the voice of the Lord at a later coming: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock. If any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him and will sup with him⁴." This implies, though it does not mention, the metaphor of a doorkeeper of souls in the Laodicean Church. This doorkeeper ought to be ready to hear, and quick to open, when the voice of the Lord demands entrance⁵.

¹ Mk xiii. 34

Ὦς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ-
δημος ἀφείς τὴν οἰκίαν
αὐτοῦ καὶ δούς τοῖς δού-
λοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν,
ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τῷ θυρωρῷ ἐνετεί-
λατο ἵνα γρηγορῇ (see
Son 3299 foll.).

Mt. xxv. 14—15

Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρω-
πος ἀποδημῶν ἐκάλεσεν
τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους καὶ
παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ
ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ὃ μὲν ἔδωκεν πέντε
τάλαντα (introducing
the parable of the
talents).

[Lk. om., but comp.
xix. 12]

ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενὴς
ἐπορεύθη... (introduc-
ing the parable of the
pounds).

Comp. Jn x. 3 τούτῳ ὁ θυρωρὸς ἀνοίγει.

² "Watch," ἀγρυπνεῖν occurs once, and γρηγορεῖν thrice, in Mk xiii. 33—7.

³ Jn xx. 14, 15, xxi. 4, Lk. xxiv. 16, Mt. xxviii. 17.

⁴ Rev. iii. 20.

⁵ Lucian (*Calumn.* § 30) uses the word "doorkeeper" in an illus-
trative context, bidding us thrust back and shut out bad and

In the Fourth Gospel Jesus, before His death, is represented as promising His presence after death: "If a man love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him¹." But no spiritual "doorkeeper" is mentioned there, or anywhere else except in the Parable of the Good Shepherd: "He that entereth in through the door is a [true] shepherd of the sheep. To him *the doorkeeper* openeth, and the sheep hear his voice...²."

demoralising talk, and welcome, and let in, its opposite: "A man must set Reason, [like] a strict *doorkeeper*, over all utterances (ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς λεγομένοις),... For it would be ridiculous to appoint *doorkeepers* for our house but to leave our ears and mind (διάνοιαν) open [and unprotected]."

Socrates says to Protagoras (*Phileb.* 62 D) "Then do you want me—like some *doorkeeper* pushed and hustled by a mob—to give in, and throw the doors wide open, and let all the sciences stream in, the less defective and the perfect in one flood?"

In *Memoriam* § 94, speaking of "communion with the dead," implies the need of some doorkeeper, different from "doubt," at the "portal" of the soul that desires to be visited by them:

"But when the heart is full of din
And doubt beside the portal waits,
They can but listen at the gates,
And hear the household jar within."

In the passage quoted above from Lucian, the distracting influences that are to be kept out of the soul by the "doorkeeper" are of the nature of the voices of Sirens, stirring up in the soul a tumult of the passions. Comp. Lk. xxi. 34 "Lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare."

Language that might have a very real significance on the eve of our Lord's death preparing the disciples to await His resurrection and first Coming, might come by degrees to have less and less significance when the disciples began to look forward to a second Coming on the clouds of heaven and to apply the old language to a new anticipation.

¹ Jn xiv. 23.

² Jn x. 2—3 "a [true] shepherd" (R.V. marg. "a shepherd," R.V. txt "the shepherd"). This prepares the way for *ib.* 11 "*the good shepherd*," who is the pattern of every "[true] shepherd." "True" is illustrated by Philo's distinction (i. 306, *Law* pp. 254—5) between the "shepherd" and the cattle-feeder.

Here "the doorkeeper" appears to mean a guardian-conscience, a predisposition to receive good influences and reject evil ones. Such a guardianship may exist in a community as well as in a single soul. But the metaphor of a "doorkeeper" is not so natural to apply to a community as to an individual—and Chrysostom's statement that the Evangelist "abode in the metaphor" perhaps covers Chrysostom's difficulty in expanding the metaphor into a simile¹. It is certain that John has followed Mark in his application of the metaphor of a doorkeeper to the spiritual opening of the heart to the approach of the Lord, but the reason for it is doubtful. Probably, however, one reason for this Johannine intervention is the fact that Matthew and Luke have interpreted the Marcan "doorkeeper" as though it meant a steward or controller of the household, perhaps with special allusion to Peter².

¹ Chrys. on Jn x. 3 "He abode in (ἐπέμεινε) the metaphor so as to make the saying more vivid (ἐμφαντικώτερον). But if you please also to test the parable by literal interpretation, nothing forbids [your] understanding Moses here as 'doorkeeper.'" Origen (Intro. to *Comm. Joann.*, Lomm. i. 4) says to Gregory "Knock at that which is closed in them [the scriptures] and it shall be opened to thee by the *doorkeeper* of whom Jesus said, 'To him the doorkeeper openeth.'" This may mean that every one of Christ's shepherds of the flock must approach the Truth through the door, namely, Christ, and that he will then be admitted by the "doorkeeper," the responsive Spirit (of all Truth, and especially the Truth of divine humanity) which answers to the Voice that demands entrance in the name of the Son. But it is obscurely expressed—as also by Clem. Alex. 698. Both writers seem to blend, or identify, the Johannine tradition with (Mt. vii. 7, Lk. xi. 9) "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you" (which indeed Origen quotes in his context). [In *Son* 3303 b "Also the gospel expressly says (Jn x. 3) 'To him'—that is, to the Good Shepherd—'the Porter openeth,'" the word "Good" ought perhaps not to have been inserted.]

² The metaphor of "opening" is applied in O.T. to the "ears" and "eyes," but not to the heart or mind, although Wetstein on Lk. xxiv. 45 quotes "Preces Judaeorum: *Aperi cor meum in lege tua. Ipse aperit cor nostrum in lege sua* (Is. l. 5 'the Lord God hath opened mine ear')." Ibn Ezra and Rashi explain Isaiah as referring to the vision in the course of which his ears were opened so that he heard the Lord say (Is. vi. 8) "Who will go for us?" The metaphor

§ II. The "faithful servant (or, steward)," in Matthew and Luke¹

In a previous volume², it has been shewn that the "door-keeper" might be regarded as the "gatekeeper," and thus taken as "he that sits in the gate"—according to the Hebrew phrase applied to one in authority—or else as "he that has the keys of the gate," that is, the controller of the king's palace. To the facts there alleged, it should be added that "gatekeepers of the temple," while regularly called "gatekeepers" in Ezra, are called "doorkeepers" in Esdras³. And the disgrace of the unfaithful steward in Matthew-Luke⁴ has a parallel in Isaiah (also mentioning the power of the "key" in its context), where the Lord says "Get thee unto this *treasurer* (marg. *steward*) even unto Shebna, who is over the house"—soon to be replaced by a worthier steward of whom it is said "*The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; and he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open*"⁵."

is in 2 Macc. i. 4 "to open your heart in His law." Luke represents the risen Saviour as being unrecognised by the two disciples at Emmaus till He had (xxiv. 45) "*opened their mind* (διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν) that they should *understand the scriptures*," and comp. Acts xvi. 14 καὶ τις γυνή...σεβομένη τὸν θεὸν ἤκουεν, ἧς ὁ Κύριος διήνοιξε τὴν καρδίαν προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ Παύλου, where Chrys. compares Lk. xxiv. 45, and speaks of "pioneering grace (ἡ προοδοποιούσα χάρις)" as the cause of the success of the Apostles. The woman had apparently passed through some preparatory training in the Scriptures. Plutarch says (*Mor.* 36 D) that the reading of poetry "tends to open (προανοίγει) and incline (προσκινεῖ) the mind of the young to the words of philosophy."

¹ For the texts, see above, pp. 327—8.

² See *Son* 3297—305 "The Son of Man coming unexpectedly."

³ Θυρωρός, in LXX, is almost confined to 1 Esdr. Πυλωρός is freq. in Chr., Ezr., and Nehemiah (= שוער).

⁴ Mt. xxiv. 48 foll., Lk. xii. 45 foll.

⁵ Is. xxii. 15—22. For "to this treasurer (or steward)" LXX has εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον. Comp. 1 Chr. ix. 26 (Heb.) "For in [a position of] trust were they (LXX ἐν πίστει εἰσὶ), the four powerful-[men] (i.e. chiefs) of the porters (נְבָרֵי הַשְּׁעָרִים, LXX δυνατοὶ τῶν πυλῶν i.e. having power over the gates)—they (הם), the Levites—and [they] were over the chambers (LXX παστοφόρια) and over the treasures

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Mark's tradition represents the doorkeeper as on the watch merely to let in the Master of the House. This appears to have been the original, or central, conception, to which others—either interpretative or subsidiary—have been added by later Evangelists. One of these gives a picture of some one watching (or rather failing to watch)—not to let in the Master but to keep out a housebreaker¹. Another picture, describing the welcome given to the Master on his return from "a wedding," suggests another confused interpretation of "doorkeeper" as meaning, according to Hesychius, "the paranymp, he that keeps shut the door of the wedding-chamber²." Matthew's and Luke's parables about the "talents" and "pounds"³ appear to be expansions of Mark's brief statement that the Master gave to each servant his appointed *exousia*, i.e. "authority," or "province of work," here confused with, or taken as meaning, *ousia*, "resources" or "property⁴." Lastly, Mark's

(R.V.) in the house of God." This passage shews how a chief of porters might be confused with a common porter.

Ps. lxxxiv. 10 הַסְתַּוְּפָה "*make myself a threshold*," R.V. marg. "*stand at the threshold*," R.V. txt "*be a doorkeeper*," is unique, and throws no light on the usage of "*doorkeeper*" in general.

¹ See Son 3300 on the possibility of confusion between the "steward" i.e. "master of the house[hold]," and "the lord of the house" i.e. the steward's master.

² See Hesych. Θυρωρός, ὁ παράνυμφος (*sic*), ὁ τὴν θύραν τοῦ θαλάμου κλείων.

³ See Son 3302 a on the Heb. "*gate*" as meaning also "*estimation*" in Hebrew and nothing but "*estimation*" in Aramaic. It might be taken as referring to the property delivered "according to estimation," ten talents to one, five to another.

⁴ *Ἐξουσία* could not be taken as *οὐσία* (or *vice versa*) except in a forced interpretation, but *οὐσία* might be a rendering of Heb. "house" (comp. Tob. xiv. 13 *οὐσίαν* v.r. *οἰκίαν*) and see Son 3299 f for "House of Lysanias" which sometimes seems to mean a tetrarchy. Matthew (in the Talents) has (xxv. 21) "*over many things* (πολλῶν)" whereas Luke (in the Pounds) has (xix. 17) "*over cities* (πόλεων)." The two (*Paradosis* 1397) might be confused in Greek. Also Heb. "gates" = freq. "cities" in LXX. Luke gives us the impression that he knew the parable to refer to *ἐξουσία*, not to *οὐσία*, and that he did his best to bring in the correct meaning in some form, "have thou *authority* over ten cities."

phrase "what I say unto you I say unto all" seems to have raised the question what was meant by "you." "Did it mean 'the apostles'?" Those who asked this question might go on to speak of possible inferences: "If so, *perhaps* the Lord said it in answer to one of the apostles, *perhaps* Peter¹, who asked 'Sayest thou this parable to us or also to all?'" This view being adopted—and the word "*perhaps*" being dropped—there may have resulted a tradition that one of the apostles, probably Peter, definitely asked this question².

§ 12. *The disciple that "follows," and the disciple that "waits," in John*

We have now to ask whether John has anything to say that bears upon the Matthew-Luke tradition about a special upper

In Mark (xiii. 34), SS has "his property." The Syr. of Walton omits "*his*," as also do *a*, *k*, and *Corb.*; and *Brix.* "*data servis suis potestate cujusque operis.*" Perhaps Mark may mean that the Master of the House took an unusual course. He did *not* appoint one servant to whom he entrusted control of the household in his absence—like Pharaoh, who made Joseph (Ps. cv. 21) "lord of his house and ruler of all his substance, to bind his princes at his pleasure. . . ." On the contrary, the Master imparted "*the authority*" to all his servants—to each one the authority over the province of work appointed for him, from the highest to the lowest, from the most active, who might be constantly at work, down to "the doorkeeper," whose time might be mainly spent in watching.

¹ Lk. xii. 41. See *Son* 3301 quoting Mk xiii. 1 "one of his disciples."

² It would be natural, as the years passed on after the first Coming or Resurrection, that the precepts about "watching" should be regarded largely as addressed not to all Christians individually but to the presbyters "watching" for the souls entrusted to their charge. Comp. Acts xx. 31, Heb. xiii. 17 (referring to elders).

In concluding this study of the Precepts of Watching it is natural to ask for O.T. precedents. None occur (as far as A.V. Concordance indicates) except in the words of Ezra, during the return from Babylon, delivering to their custodians the holy vessels that were to find a home in the New Temple (Ezr. viii. 28—9) "Ye are holy unto the Lord and the vessels are holy. . . *Watch and keep [them] until ye weigh them* before the chiefs of the priests. . . in the chambers of the

servant in the sense of steward, not a mere doorkeeper, but a keeper of the keys of the House. Reasons will be given for thinking that John does say something on this point, not directly, but indirectly and dramatically, as follows.

In the narrative of Christ's manifestation after the Resurrection for the last time, to the disciples fishing on the sea of Tiberias, the part played by the fishermen is twofold—action and recognition¹. The action is originated by Peter, "I go a-fishing." They also go with him. They all act, but they do not recognise. "The disciples knew not that it was Jesus." After the draught of fishes, there comes recognition. But not to all, and not to Peter; only to an unnamed disciple: "That disciple, therefore, whom Jesus loved, saith unto Peter 'It is the Lord.'" It is Peter that first reaches the Lord on the shore, and it is Peter that "went up and drew the net to the land." We may almost say that all the action is Peter's. But the recognition had come from some one without a name, "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

Later on, Jesus deals indirectly with the question of "greater" servants and "less" servants, and with the part to be played by Peter if he claims to be superior to his companions: "Lovest thou me more than these?" Peter is responsive to "lovest," but dumb to "more than these." "Thou knowest that I love thee" is all he will now say. He will claim no superiority in loving. And now that he has cast aside the desire to be great as compared with others, Jesus shews him the way to be great in reality, assigning to him, first, the work for his activity,

house of the Lord..." LXX ἀγρυπνεῖτε καὶ τηρεῖτε ἕως στήτε ἐνώπιον... Comp. Lk. xxi. 36 ἀγρυπνεῖτε... ἵνα κατισχύσητε... σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν... Both LXX and Luke agree in connecting "watching" with a future "standing." The "standing" in the LXX is a mere error (στήτε for στήσητε). Yet in view of the likelihood of a Christian application of Isaiah's Return from Captivity (Is. lii. 11 "Be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord") it seems by no means improbable that the Lucan tradition is based on Ezr. viii. 28—9 (LXX). The Heb. imperative שְׁקוּ "watch ye" occurs there alone in O.T. to mean "watch," and also in Lk. xxi. 36 (Delitzsch and Clementine Heb.).

¹ Jn xxi. 3—11.

"Feed my sheep," and secondly the work for his endurance, which is implied in following Jesus in the way of the Cross, "Follow thou me¹."

Being commanded to "follow" and seeing the unnamed disciple also "following," without such a command, Peter says, "Lord, what shall this man do?" The question assumes that "this man" will "do" something, and that the Lord, in departing from His disciples, will, as Mark says, "give to each his work." What, then, is to be the "work" of this disciple whom Jesus specially loves? The reply of Jesus indicates that the work of this servant may possibly be best described as abiding or waiting: "If I will that he wait [on earth] while I am coming, what is that to thee²?"

The next sentence shews that the disciple does more than wait. "This is the disciple that beareth witness concerning these things, and that wrote these things, and we know that his witness is true³." This implies that as Peter by preaching, so the unnamed disciple by writing, acted as a "doorkeeper," opening the gate of the Church for converts to Christ. And the preceding context implies that whatever this disciple "wrote" would be inspired by the same Spirit of recognition that moved him to say to Peter "It is the Lord." The waiting Apostle, moved by this Spirit, may be said in some sense to have opened the door for the working Apostle. The Lord gave "to each one his work."

¹ Jn xxi. 15—19.

² Jn xxi. 20—23.

³ Jn xxi. 24.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANOINTING AT BETHANY¹

[Mark xiv. 1—11]

§ 1. "After two days," in Mark and Matthew

THE sequence in Mark, "Now *after two days was the passover* . . . and while he was in Bethany . . . there came a woman," gives

¹ Mk xiv. 1—11
(R.V.)

(1) Now after two days was [the feast of] the passover and the unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him with subtilty, and kill him:

(2) For they said, Not during the feast, lest haply there shall be a tumult of the people.

Mt. xxvi. 1—16
(R.V.)

(1) And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these words, he said unto his disciples,

(2) Ye know that after two days the passover cometh, and the Son of man is delivered up to be crucified.

(3) Then were gathered together the chief priests, and the elders of the people, unto the court of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas;

(4) And they took counsel together that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him.

(5) But they said, Not during the feast, lest a tumult arise among the people.

Lk. xxii. 1—3 [vii. 36—8], xxii. 3—6
(R.V.)

(xxii. 1) Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover.

(2) And the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might put him to death; for they feared the people.

(3) And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot. . . .

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the impression that the anointing by the woman in Bethany took place "two days" before "the passover." But the

Mk xiv. 3—9
(R.V.)

(3) And while he was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse (*or*, a flask) of ointment of spikenard (*lit.* pistic nard) very costly; [and] she brake the cruse, and poured it over his head.

(4) But there were some that had indignation among themselves, [saying], To what purpose hath this waste of the ointment been made?

(5) For this ointment might have been sold for above three hundred pence, and given to the poor. And they murmured against her.

(6) But Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath

Mt. xxvi. 6—13
(R.V.)

(6) Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper,

(7) There came unto him a woman having an alabaster cruse (*or*, a flask) of exceeding precious ointment, and she poured it upon his head as he sat at meat.

(8) But when the disciples saw it, they had indignation, saying, To what purpose is this waste?

(9) For this [ointment] might have been sold for much, and given to the poor.

(10) But Jesus perceiving it said unto them, Why trouble ye the woman? for she hath wrought a good work upon

Lk. vii. 36—8
(R.V.)

(36) And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he entered into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

(37) And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster cruse (*or*, a flask) of ointment,

(38) And standing behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kissed (*lit.* kissed much) his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.

Lk. om.

Jn xii. 1—8
(R.V.)

(1) Jesus therefore six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead.

(2) So they made him a supper there: and Martha served; but Lazarus was one of them that sat at meat with him.

(3) Mary therefore took a pound of ointment of spikenard (*lit.* pistic nard), very precious, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

(4) But Judas Iscariot, one of his disciples, which should betray him, saith,

(5) Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?

(6) Now this he said, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and having the bag (*or*, box) took away (*or*, carried) what was put therein.

(7) Jesus there-

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Diatessaron detaches the Marcan tradition "*after two days was*

Mk xiv. 1—11
(R.V.) *contd.*

wrought a good work on me.

(7) For ye have the poor always with you, and whensoever ye will ye can do them good: but me ye have not always.

(8) She hath done what she could: she hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying.

(9) And verily I say unto you, Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

Mt. xxvi. 1—16
(R.V.) *contd.*

me.

(11) For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always.

(12) For in that she poured (*lit. cast*) this ointment upon my body, she did it to prepare me for burial.

(13) Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

Jn xii. 1—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

fore said, Suffer her to keep it (*or, Let her alone: [it was] that she might keep it*) against the day of my burying.

(8) For the poor ye have always with you; but me ye have not always.

Mk xiv. 10—11
(R.V.)

(10) And Judas Iscariot, he that was one (*lit. the one*) of the twelve, went away unto the chief priests, that he might deliver him unto them.

(11) And they, when they heard it, were glad, and promised to give him money. And he sought how he might conveniently deliver him [unto them].

Mt. xxvi. 14—16
(R.V.)

(14) Then one of the twelve, who was called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests,

(15) And said, What are ye willing to give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they weighed unto him thirty pieces of silver.

(16) And from that time he sought opportunity to deliver him [unto them].

Lk. xxii. 3—6
(R.V.)

(3) And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve.

(4) And he went away, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might deliver him unto them.

(5) And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money.

(6) And he consented, and sought opportunity to deliver him unto them in the absence of the multitude (*or, without tumult*).

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the passover," placing it long after the Marcan verses that describe the Anointing¹. These it combines with John's "six days" as follows: "(Jn xii. 1 foll.) And Jesus, *six days before the passover*, came to Bethany... and they made a feast for him there: and Martha was serving; while Lazarus was one of them that sat [at meat] with him. (Mk xiv. 3 a) *And at the time of Jesus' being at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper* (Jn xii. 9) great multitudes of the Jews heard that Jesus was there; and they came... that they might look also on Lazarus... (Jn xii. 3 a) And Mary (Mk xiv. 3 b and Mt. xxvi. 7) *took a case of the ointment of fine nard of great price, and opened it and poured it out on the head of Jesus as he was reclining...*" The Diatessaron places this before the Entry into Jerusalem; and it implies, though it does not assert, that the anointing took place shortly after Christ's arrival at Bethany, that is to say, about "*six days*" (not "*two days*") before the Passover. Thus John appears to be regarded by the compiler of the Diatessaron as intervening; not, however, on this occasion explaining Mark but correcting him.

Luke omits "*after two days.*" Luke also omits the Marcan words indicating a resolution of the chief priests *not* to take Jesus during the Feast ("not during the feast") for fear of a tumult of the people. Luke's reason for omitting these clauses may be explained by the fact that he found Mark and Matthew apparently taking different views about their meaning. This is indicated by Mark's "for" and Matthew's "but" in the following parallels:—

Mk xiv. 2	Mt. xxvi. 5
<i>For</i> they said, Not during the feast, lest haply there shall be a tumult of the people.	<i>But</i> they said, Not during the feast, lest a tumult arise among the people.

Comp. Jn xiii. 1—2 (R.V.) (1) Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus, knowing that his hour was come... loved them [the disciples] unto the end (*or*, to the uttermost). (2) And during supper, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's [son], to betray him:...

¹ Mk xiv. 1—2 is placed in *Diatess.* § 41, Mk xiv. 3 foll. in *Diatess.* § 39. Mt. xxvi. 2 "Ye know that *after two days* is the passover" does not occur till *Diatess.* § 44.

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These words follow the resolution (in Matthew as well as in Mark) to "take him *with subtilty* and kill him." Mark appears to have meant to emphasize and to explain "with subtilty," as if the rulers said "We must take him *with subtilty*, for we cannot resort to force during the feast, lest there be a tumult. We must dissemble and delay." Matthew, on the other hand, appears to have missed the force of "*with subtilty*"; so he emphasizes the *contrast* between the desire of the rulers to "kill" Jesus, and the fear that compelled them to delay: "We will kill him, *but* we are afraid to do it during the feast." Luke retains the Marcan "for," but in an ambiguous context, saying in effect: "They sought how to kill Jesus [(1) at once, or (2) quietly], *for* they feared [the consequences on] the people [of (1) delay, or (2) public arrest]¹."

If we ask what was Mark's object in inserting the evangelistic statement "*after two days was the passover*," we may find a partial answer in the parallel Matthew, which transfers the words to Jesus: "*Ye know that after two days the passover cometh* and the Son of Man is [to be] delivered up to be crucified." Mark appears to be suggesting—but very obscurely—that the intentions of the chief priests to defer Christ's death till after

¹ See Wetstein on Mt. xxvi. 5 quoting the Mishna of Jer. *Sanhedr.* x. 4 about the practice of delaying an execution till a feast-day: "Non occiditur nequē a iudicibus civitatis suae, neque a Synedrio quod est Jafne, sed ad summum Synedrium quod Hierosolymis est deducitur, atque istic in custodia asservatur usque ad festum, et in festo interficitur (Deut. xvii. 13). Verba R. Akibae." (Comp. Acts xii. 4.)

The reason for the delay was (Deut. xvii. 13) "All the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously." The Mishna adds (Schwab) "R. Judah said that it was not right to torture the condemned by making him suffer the long suspense of death, but that he should be executed at once." This, however, affords additional evidence of the old rule—to delay execution till a feast-day—observed when Jerusalem was standing. Accordingly we may suppose (with Wetstein) that Herod (Acts xii. 4) was keeping Peter in custody with a view to his execution during the Feast of Unleavened Bread ("intending after the [first day of the] passover to bring him forth to the people"). And we may suppose that Barabbas was a prisoner reserved in the same way to be "brought forth to the people after the [first day of the] passover."

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the Passover were frustrated by providence. This view may be paraphrased as follows: "God had ordained that Christ, the Paschal Lamb, should die during the Feast. The supper at Bethany, and the anointing there, and the consequent rebellion of Judas Iscariot, who went out from the supper to offer to betray his Master, were all ordained that the rulers might take Jesus speedily, so that the sacrifice of Christ, 'our Passover¹,' should happen at the divinely appointed time. This was the Lord's will²." Matthew also took this view. But he followed perhaps some version of this view that regarded "the Lord" as meaning "Jesus³." At all events he says, in effect, "This was not only the Lord's will, it was also predicted by the Lord Jesus Himself."

Luke omits all this, as also he omits the narrative of the Anointing in Bethany (placing another narrative of anointing at the house of a Pharisee much earlier). The only trace of a suggestion in Luke's text here that he knew anything about the supper at Bethany is contained in the following parallels:—

Mk xiv. 10 And Judas Is-	Mt. xxvi. 14 Then one of the	Lk. xxii. 3—4 And Satan enter-
cariot, (<i>lit.</i>) the one	twelve, who was	ed into Judas who
of the twelve, went	called Judas Iscariot,	was called Iscariot,
away unto the chief	went unto the chief	being of the number
priests. . . .	priests. . . .	of the twelve. And
		he went away and
		communed with the
		chief priests. . . .

Here Luke perhaps follows Mark in the use of "*went away*." In Mark, the word suggests that Judas "went away" from the supper at Bethany. It is but a faint suggestion. But it is strengthened by John, who alone names Judas Iscariot at that supper as murmuring at the cost of the anointing, and as being

¹ 1 Cor. v. 7 "our passover . . . Christ."

² Comp. Jn xiii. 27 "What thou art doing do *more quickly*," on which see *Joh. Gr.* 1918, 2439 (v) a, 2554 c—e.

³ Comp. Mt. xxiii. 34 where words said by Luke (xi. 49) to be uttered by the "Wisdom of God" are regarded as uttered by Jesus.

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rebuked by Jesus. There is an appropriateness in the supposition that from the table where he murmured at the waste of three hundred pence Judas "went away" to earn thirty pieces of silver, and that Luke repeated the Marcan expression although he omitted the preceding Marcan context.

We have seen above that Luke, at this stage, connects "Judas Iscariot" with "Satan." John does not do this in his account of the supper at Bethany; but in his account of the Last Supper he says "the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him¹." This "already" may very well refer to the supper at Bethany, and may allude to the "entering of Satan into Judas Iscariot" mentioned by Luke². John himself places that "entering" later on³. And perhaps he means the reader to say: "The irrevocable fall of Judas took place not at the supper in Bethany but at the Last Supper."

We may also partially explain the Johannine apparent deviation ("six days") from the Marcan date ("after two days") by the following hypothetical paraphrase of Mark, indicating his method of arranging, or disarranging, events: "The Passover and the Unleavened were now to come *after two days*, and the Jews were still delaying the execution of their purpose to kill Jesus, the Paschal Lamb. [*In order to explain how their delay was cut short I must go back a little. A few days previously, some six days before the Passover,*] when Jesus was present at a supper in Bethany, and was anointed with precious ointment, there had been a murmuring of disciples at the costly waste; and Judas Iscariot had gone away in discontent. And now, *two days before the Passover*, just when the chief priests were deciding to delay, Judas appeared before them with an offer to betray his Master. This changed their plans. Accordingly, they decided on an immediate arrest by night, and at once began to make preparations for it."

This view agrees with the arrangement of the Diatessaron which combines Matthew and Luke in order to shew how the

¹ Jn xiii. 2.

² Lk. xxii. 3.

³ Jn xiii. 27 "And after the sop, then entered Satan into him."

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prophecy of Jesus "*after two days*...the Son of man is [to be] delivered up to be crucified" came to be fulfilled; and how the plan of the chief priests, "not during the feast," came to be frustrated. It was because "Satan entered into Judas," and Judas promised the chief priests to betray Jesus, and they "were pleased," and Judas "from that moment was seeking opportunity to betray him¹."

If Matthew transferred the words from evangelistic comment to Christ's own lips it suggests itself that he saw in them an allusion to the prophecy of Hosea—apparently often referred to in the Gospels—the only passage in the Old Testament where "*after two days*" occurs, "*After two days* will he [*i.e.* the Lord] revive us...²." There may have seemed to Matthew a noteworthy coincidence between Christ's prediction of His resurrection "*after two days*" and of His redemptive sacrifice on the Cross "*after two days*." But in any case it is probable that he has been misled by Mark, and that John has led his readers in the right direction by rearranging events and substituting "six" days for "two."

Perhaps John has another object besides chronological correctness. He may have desired to turn the minds of his readers away from a literal reckoning of the days and hours implied in the Synoptists about the Eucharist, the Passion, and the Resurrection³, by suggesting a New Genesis of "six days"—a hexaemeron at the close of his Gospel as also at the beginning⁴. The story of the first hexaemeron included a mention

¹ *Diatess.* xlv. 1—10, combining Mt. xxvi. 1—5, Lk. xxii. 2 b—4 a, Mt. xxvi. 15, Mk xiv. 11 a, Lk. xxii. 6. Jn xiii. 27 "*do more quickly*" may perhaps imply that even at the moment of that utterance, there was a danger, so to speak, that the crucifixion might be put off till after the time of the Paschal sacrifice.

■ Hos. vi. 2.

³ According to John, "the Passover" would be Christ Himself (1 Cor. v. 7) on the Cross, the Paschal Lamb, and not any Paschal meal before the crucifixion. This difference between the Three Synoptists and John on this point might naturally influence the latter in his description of the sequence of events, and in phrases referring to the Passover. See above, p. 10, n. 3.

⁴ See *Introd.* p. 130, *Proclam.* p. 15.

of "the third day¹" and described the first building up of Christ's little Church at Cana, but only in the rudimentary form then possible, before the Spirit was given. The story of the second hexaemeron includes a mention of "six days," during which there is a hint of expansion in the mention of "certain Greeks," who are brought near to Jesus². But toward the close of the six days Christ's little Church is to be "scattered³." Then comes a "sabbath⁴," a Jewish sabbath, a sabbath of death. Not till "the first day of the week⁵" that follows, will Jesus rise from the dead, and the New Church be born.

§ 2. *Clement of Alexandria on the Anointing*

We now come to an event, or events, as to which the Evangelists themselves appear to differ, and some of the most ancient commentators not only differ from one another but also in some cases appear to have changed their own minds. The discussion of it will be extremely laborious. But to leave it undiscussed would be to pass over one of the most important instances of Christ's mysterious power of calling out passionate devotion, and to make no attempt to realise the revelation that it contains of His divine yet human nature.

Apart from a brief allusion by Ignatius to the Anointing of Christ as resulting in "incorruption for the Church⁶," the earliest

¹ Jn ii. 1.

² Jn xii. 1, 20.

³ Jn xvi. 32.

⁴ Jn xix. 31.

⁵ Jn xx. 1.

⁶ Ign. *Eph.* § 17 (Lightf.) "For this cause the Lord received ointment (μύρον) on His head, that He" (? it) "might breathe (πνέη) incorruption upon the Church. Be not anointed (ἀλείψεσθε) with the ill odour (δυσωδίαν) of the teaching of the prince of this world, lest he lead you captive...." Lightf. says "A reference to the incident in the Gospels; Matt. xxvi. 7 sq., Mark xiv. 3 sq., [Luke vii. 37 sq.], John xii. 3 sq." He is right in including John, who alone says that "the house was filled with the odour of the ointment." But where is there any reference to Luke? There is nothing here peculiar to Luke. And Lukē represents Christ's "feet," not His "head," as being anointed. In Ignatius, there is antithesis between "incorruption (ἀφθαρσίαν)" and *Eph.* § 16 "corrupters-of-houses (οἰκοφθόροι)," as to which Lightf. quotes Orig. *Cels.* vii. 63 φθείρειν τὸν ἄλλου ἀνθρώπου οἶκον, Plutarch *Μον.* 12 Β γυναικῶν οἰκοφθορία

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Christian reference to it is in a chapter of Clement of Alexandria on "The Use of Ointments and Crowns." He deprecates their use, but makes the following admission "I know that the woman [in Luke] having brought an alabaster-cruce of ointment at the Holy Supper anointed the feet of the Lord. . . ." After continuing to quote from Luke as to the woman's action and reception of forgiveness, he proceeds "But this may be a symbol of the Lord's teaching and of His suffering (*or*, Passion)." The "feet," he says, may be the apostles going forth to preach the Lord's Gospel; the "tears" are repentance. Then, introducing the word "*oil (elaion)*" (which no Gospel mentions as used in either anointing), he plays on its similarity to "*mercy (eleos)*": "'The *oil*,' which is the Lord Himself, whence comes the *mercy* that is [poured] on us¹."

Then, without any interval, he adds "But the ointment—oil adulterated-with-guile—is Judas, the traitor, wherewith

γαμετών, and Hesych. οἰκοφθόροι, μοιχοί, to shew that the word may refer to sexual "corruption," as well as to the "corruption" of heresy.

A somewhat similar antithesis is found in 2 Cor. ii. 16 "savour . . . unto death . . . savour . . . unto life," where it is copiously illustrated by Wetstein from Jewish literature. It might also be illustrated by the first and almost unique mention of "nard" in O.T. Cant. i. 12 "my spikenard." On this, the Targum says that, while Moses was on Sinai, the Bride, Israel, corrupted herself, and her odour became worse than that of absinth, and leprosy visited her. Rashi says that in "*nardus mea edit odorem suum*" the word "odor" is put for "foetor," so that the sense is "While the divine Glory was still on Sinai, I defiled myself with the Calf."

The only other mention of *μύρον* in Goodspeed's two vols., besides that in Ignatius, is in Justin M. *Tryph.* § 22 *μύρα* (from Amos v. 18—vi. 7), § 86 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς συνθέσεως τοῦ μύρου χρισμάτων before quoting Ps. xlv. 7 "the oil of gladness above thy fellows."

¹ Clem. Alex. 205 Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάθος ἐμφαίνει δεσποτικὸν (μυστικῶς ταύτῃ νοοῦσι) τὸ ἔλαιον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. *Oxf. Conc.* gives under one heading "ἐλαιον (ἐλεον)." The two are interchanged in the MSS (where Heb. = "oil") of Ps. xcii. 10, cix. 24 etc. Though "oil" is not mentioned by Luke as being used, it is mentioned in the words he assigns to Jesus, after the anointing, (vii. 46) "My head with *oil* (ἐλαίῳ) thou didst *not* anoint, but she hath anointed my feet with ointment (*μύρῳ*)." See p. 350.

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[the] Lord was anointed-with-chrisms as to His feet—being [thereby] released from His sojourn in the world¹. For the [bodies of the] dead are anointed-with-perfume². And as for ‘tears’ [in Luke], it is we, the sinners, [we] that have repented, [we] that have believed in Him, to whom He has ‘forgiven sins’ [as to the woman in Luke]. And the ‘hair’ that is dishevelled is sorrowing Jerusalem....And the Lord Himself teaches us that Judas is adulterated-with-guile, saying ‘Whosoever shall dip along with me in the dish, he shall deliver me up³.’ Thou seest the companion-at-table, the man-of-guile. And this same Judas betrayed the Teacher with a kiss. For [one and] the same man is found a hypocrite and bringing a kiss ‘adulterated-with-guile,’ imitating another ancient hypocrite...⁴.”

¹ Clem. Alex. 205 τὸ δὲ μύρον δεδοωμένον ἑλαιὸν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰούδας ὁ προδότης ὃ τοὺς πόδας ἐχρίσθη Κύριος (τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ἀναστροφῆς ἀπαλλαστόμενος). Μυρίζονται γὰρ οἱ νεκροί. The language is forced and fanciful but probably explicable as an allusion (see p. 350) to Ps. cxli. 5 (LXX). The renderings “anointed-with-chrisms” and “anointed-with-perfume” are intended to distinguish χρίω and μυρίζω from “anoint,” ἀλείφω.

² “Anointed-with-perfume (μυρίζονται).” This word does not occur in the Gk Test. except in Mk xiv. 8 προέλαβεν μυρίσαι (parall. to Mt. xxvi. 12 βαλοῦσα...τὸ μύρον). It is quite different from ἀλείφω and χρίω. Artemidorus (i: 75), writing Περὶ Μύρων, says Μυρίσσειναι γυναῖξί πάσαις ἀγαθὸν πλὴν μοιχευομένων. Ἄνδράσι δὲ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃς ἐστὶ πλὴν τῶν ἔθους ἐχόντων μυρίσσειναι. This probably means (see editor’s note) “It will be a sign of disgrace for men [as distinct from women], except for such effeminate creatures as are men only in name.” Artemidorus also recognises μύρα as a sign of death, if a sick man dreams of them *ib.* iv. 22 νοσοῦντι δὲ πονηρὰ τὰ μύρα διὰ τὸ συνεισφέρειναι νεκρῶ. Plutarch *Μορ.* 142 A compares a wife that is afraid to smile on her husband, for fear of appearing bold and unchaste, to a woman who, “for fear of seeming to anoint her head with perfume (ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ μυρίσσειναι τὴν κεφαλὴν) does not even anoint herself (μηδὲ ἀλειφομένης).”

Irenaeus i. 21. 3, and 4, twice uses μυρίζουσι about heretical anointing with “balsam,” and adds τὸ γὰρ μύρον τοῦτο τύπον τῆς ὑπερ τὰ ὅλα εὐωδίας εἶναι λέγουσιν.

³ Mt. xxvi. 23.

⁴ Φίλημα δεδοωμένον ἔχων. Comp. Gen. xxxiii. 4 (Field) “LXX καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν, Ἑβρ. οὐεσσάκη.” This calls attention to a peculiar pointing of the Heb. “and he [*i.e.* Esau] kissed him.” Con-

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All this, and there is more, is extremely bewildering, and seems at first sight unlikely to repay examination. But Clement's fancies deserve attention if they point back to earlier fancies of the same kind, and if they were the causes (at least in part) of Origen's (and Jerome's) early view—that the Anointing in the Four Gospels was the act of one woman. It is therefore worth while to try to disentangle some of the knots in this Clementine comment.

First, it appears to be based on Luke's narrative of an anointing by a woman that was a sinner in the house of Simon a Pharisee. There is not a phrase that comes exactly from any other source. But, at the beginning, there is a phrase, "*at the Holy Supper*¹," quite inconsistent with the early place given by Luke to his narrative. And later on, Clement's comment abruptly introduces "the traitor Judas" in connection with an "anointing" of "feet" and "ointment," and "adulterated oil"—language that seems vaguely to refer to the Anointing in Bethany. Later still, Judas is mentioned as "dipping in the dish," which clearly alludes to Mark's (and Matthew's) account of the Eucharist².

Now Luke alone mentions "*oil*" as the gift that is *not* offered by Simon the Pharisee ("my head with *oil* thou didst not anoint³"). And in a passage from the Psalms, the LXX not only mentions the "*oil (elaion)*" of a sinner, but also contrasts it (as Clement does) with "*mercy (eleos)*" in the words "The righteous will chasten me with *mercy*...but let not the *oil* of a sinner (*lit.*) fatten my head⁴." Clement does

cerning this, Field prints an ancient scholium ("videtur Origenis esse") saying that the Jews pointed the Hebrew thus in order to indicate that the "kiss" was a treacherous one, κατὰ δόλον γὰρ κατεφίλησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. Some Rabbis (Rashi) took this view, but not all. It is probable that Clement is alluding to the kiss of Esau as the "ancient hypocrite."

¹ Clem. Alex. 205 παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ ἅγιον. The Lord's Supper is described in Lk. xxii. 14 foll., the Anointing in Lk. vii. 36—40.

² Mk xiv. 20, Mt. xxvi. 23.

³ Lk. vii. 46.

⁴ Ps. cxli. 5. R.V. "Let the righteous smite me, [it shall be] a kindness; and let him reprove me, [it shall be as] oil upon the head" (quoted from LXX by Clem. Alex. elsewhere (145), but not here).

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not here expressly quote this Psalm, but both Origen and Jerome follow the LXX in the phrase "*the oil of a sinner*," and the hypothesis that Clement is alluding to it, and applying it to Judas, makes his words so much clearer that we can hardly doubt that it is true.

It remains to explain the extraordinary fancifulness of the connection between Judas and the "oil adulterated by guile," contrasted with the "oil" of "mercy." "Guile" in the four Gospels, so far as narrative is concerned, is restricted to a passage—immediately before the Anointing in Bethany—where it is said that the rulers of the Jews sought to seize Jesus "by guile"—which "guile" Judas almost immediately supplies¹. Now "guileless" is a Greek term applied in the Petrine Epistle to "the milk of the word," and applied in Papyri to corn, or wine, or anything that is unadulterated². Clement, who regards the treacherous Judas as anointing the feet of Jesus for the path of death, calls his treachery "adulterated oil" in contrast with the implied guilelessness of the "*oil (elaion)*" that is "*mercy (eleos)*."

As for the "ancient hypocrite" whom Judas "imitated" when he brought "a kiss adulterated with guile," it has been pointed out that it probably refers to the kiss given by Esau to Jacob. On this, a scholium attributable to Origen tells us "In every Hebrew book '*kissed*' is dotted, not that it may be left unread, but to suggest the wickedness of Esau, for he kissed Jacob in guile³."

It will be observed that no attempt is made by Clement to explain the differences of scene and circumstance in the Gospel narratives, even those differences as to the "head" or "feet" of Jesus which might affect an allegorizing interpretation. He is absorbed in his own motive. And his motive is, first, to protest against a literalistic interpretation, which would justify

¹ Mk xiv. 1, Mt. xxvi. 4. Elsewhere δόλος in Gospels occurs only in Mk vii. 22 (a list of sins), Jn. i. 47 "an Israelite in whom is no guile."

² 1 Pet. ii. 2 ἄδολον. See *Berlin Urkunde* 290. 13, 586. 13, *Oxy. Pap.* 101. 38 etc.

³ See above, p. 349, n. 4, quoting Gen. xxxiii. 4.

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Christians in using expensive ointments; secondly, a desire to draw out the contrast between two invisible anointings, that of the false Israel, the traitor, unto death, that of the true Israel, penitent and forgiven, unto life¹.

§ 3. *Origen and others on the Anointing*

Origen, in a passage of his Johannine Commentary, speaks of "the woman that had done the deeds of evil and repented," as being "enabled by her genuine conversion from her evil deeds to pour down a sweet-odour on Jesus"; and then adds that she diffused in "the whole house" the breath of the ointment². The "pouring down" is peculiar to Mark and Matthew³. The

¹ The passage relating to ointments terminates as follows, 206 "It is not unfitting then that He should indicate (*καταμηνύειν*) on the one hand oil [pure and simple] as a disciple that has received mercy (*ἐλαϊον μὲν ὡς μαθητὴν ἡλεημένον*), but on the other hand [oil] adulterated-with-guile (*lit. guileful, δολερὸν δὲ*) as a traitor—oil drugged (*ἐλαϊον πεφαρμαγμένον*). This then, you see, was what was prophesied by the feet [of Jesus] anointed-with-perfume (*οἱ μυριζόμενοι πόδες*) namely, the treachery of Judas when the Lord took the path [*ὁδεύοντας Κύριον, or ? Κύριον, providing the Lord with the path*] to His passion. And the Saviour Himself washing-clean (*ἀπονίπτων*) the feet of the disciples (Jn xiii. 5) . . . signified in a figure (*ἡνίκατο*) their going forth to be the benefactors of the nation. . . . And for these the ointment breathed fragrance. . . for indeed the Passion of the Lord hath filled [all] with fulness—us on the one hand with fulness of sweet savour, but the Hebrews with fulness of sin. This the Apostle most clearly shewed when he said (2 Cor. ii. 14—16) 'Thanks be to God. . . for we are to God a sweet savour of the Lord. . . to the one a savour of death unto death, to the other a savour of life unto life.'"

It is the thought of this antithesis that mainly leads Clement away from the task of a commentator to that of an allegorizer. But it is not likely that Clement was the first Christian writer to allegorize the stories of the Anointing. It will be seen below that Jewish traditions about "spikenard (*νάρδος*)"—which in O.T. occurs only in Cant. i. 12, iv. 13, 14—contain a similar thought of antithesis between the savour of faithfulness and that of unfaithfulness.

"Treachery" is the term used to describe Israel as an unfaithful wife in Jerem. iii. 20, comp. Hos. v. 7 (Gesen. 93 *b*).

² Origen *Comm. Joann.* i. 12, Lomm. i. 27.

³ "Pour down," *καταχέω*, Mk xiv. 3, Mt. xxvi. 7, unique in N.T.

tradition about "the house" is peculiar to John¹. The tradition that the woman was "a sinner" is peculiar to Luke². Here, then, Origen assumes that the four Evangelists are speaking of one and the same woman.

Origen's Commentary on Matthew is a later work. But even there, in the earlier portion of it, he confuses the Lucan "Simon the Pharisee" with the Marcan "Simon the leper" in a highly figurative passage likening Israel to a wife that has become adulterous, and the Gentiles to the harlot, Rahab, who has become penitent. The latter he describes as "no longer playing the harlot but coming to the feet of Jesus, and wetting them with the tears of repentance" so that "on account of her He spoke in reproach to Simon the leper, the former people, such things as are written³."

But later on in the Commentary on Matthew, when he comes to discuss the Anointing in its place, he compares it, not now poetically but critically, with the other three accounts. He begins by saying "Many think that the four Evangelists have written about one woman"; and he admits that there is "much similarity and a kind of family-likeness (*cognatio quaedam*)" in the narratives—mentioning in particular the coincidence of name between Simon the Pharisee and Simon the leper. But he asks how it is possible to harmonize the details of anointing the head in some narratives and the feet in others, and to suppose that the woman is regarded in each narrative as a sinner. Some, he says, will infer that there were four different women; but he himself "rather agrees" that there were three,

Mk κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς, Mt. κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου. Origen omits "head."

¹ Παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ τὴν τοῦ μύρου πνοὴν . . . ἐμπεποιηκυίας, Jn xii. 3 ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη ἐκ τῆς ὁσμῆς τοῦ μύρου.

² Lk. vii. 37.

³ *Comm. Matth.* xii. 4, *Lomm.* iii. 136—7. Comp. the allegorical outburst in Pseudo-Jerome on Mk xiv. 1 with its reference to the "scarlet line (Josh. ii. 18)" of Rahab: "Now let us sprinkle our book with blood [of the Paschal Lamb] and the thresholds of our houses and let us place the scarlet line of thread round the House of our Prayer...."

(1) the unnamed woman in Mark and Matthew, (2) the sinner in Luke, (3) Mary the sister of Martha in John¹.

Jerome similarly varies. In his treatise against Jovinianus (A.D. 393), he speaks of "a distinction indicated by the two women in the Gospel, the penitent, and the holy woman, one of whom held His feet, the other His head. Some authorities, however, think there was only one woman, and that she who began at His feet gradually advanced to His head²." In a later letter (398 A.D.) he says "A harlot washes His feet with her tears and against His burial anoints His body with the ointment of good works." This is followed by a confusion between Simon the Pharisee and Simon the leper. "Simon the leper invites the Master with His disciples"; and it is preceded by "Martha and Mary make ready a feast and then welcome the Lord to it"—which probably refers to the Johannine account of Martha "ministering," but might refer to the Lucan account of Martha "cumbered with much serving³."

In his Commentary on Matthew, however, Jerome shews that he has decided against the view of "some authorities" above mentioned: "Let no one think that one and the same woman poured ointment on the head and on the feet. For the latter washes [the feet] with her tears and wipes them with her hair, and is manifestly called a harlot. But of the former nothing of this kind is written⁴."

Chrysostom, while giving up as superficial⁵ the view that the four Gospels speak of one woman, says "In the Three, there seems to me to be one and the same woman, but in John not [the same], but a different [one], marvellous [in character], the

¹ Origen on Mt. xxvi. 6 foll., Lomm. iv. 392 foll.; iv. 394 "ego autem magis consentio tres fuisse." So, too, on Cant. i. 12 "nardus mea" (*Cant. Hom.* ii. 2, Lomm. xiv. 258) Origen says that the woman mentioned by John was distinct from the one mentioned by Luke, but even there he says inaccurately "Maria...effudit super *caput* (instead of *pedes*) Jesu."

² *Letters (Contr. Jovin.* ii. 29) transl. Fremantle p. 410 a.

³ Jerome *Letters* lxxi. 2 transl. Fremantle p. 152 b.

⁴ Jerome, on Mt. xxvi. 6 foll.

⁵ Chrys. on Mt. xxvi. 6 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ παρὰ τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς ἅπασιν, οὐκ ἔστι δέ.

sister of Lazarus." Then he proceeds to assume that the woman in Matthew was conscious of "impurity," and says "She did not approach Jesus as a mere man, for otherwise she would not have 'wiped [Him] with her hair'." The "wiping" with the "hair" is nowhere mentioned by Matthew. But Chrysostom adds "That part of the body which was the most precious of all, namely, her *head*, she applied to the *feet* of Christ." The "head" of the woman, and the "feet" of Christ, are mentioned by Luke, but nowhere by Matthew—on whom Chrysostom is nominally writing a commentary.

All this looseness is very regrettable but also very instructive. It shews that Luke's narrative, about the "woman that was a sinner," had taken such hold of Christian thought that early believers were disposed to read sinfulness even into such ancient narratives of Anointing as did not mention it. And this may help us to understand how the story of the woman taken in adultery came to be interpolated in the Fourth Gospel. That Gospel, mentioning Mary the sister of Lazarus by name, made critics like Origen ask "Is it possible that this Mary whom 'Jesus loved¹,' could have been 'a sinner'?" The answer being in the negative, the Fourth Gospel might seem to some to shew a deficiency which the interpolation aimed at supplying. It is in language resembling that of many passages in Luke where the style is Hebraic.

§ 4. *Words and phrases common to Mark and John*

From the facts alleged above it appears that poetic imagery and doctrinal motive have influenced very early writers, even the prosaic Jerome, commenting on the narratives of Anointing. It does not follow that the same two causes influenced the Evangelists themselves; but we ought to be prepared to find traces of such influence—especially in Mark whose Gospel often shews signs of a poetic original. Even if we cannot find our way back to any combination of their details so as to say confidently

¹ Jn xi. 1—5 "Lazarus of Bethany, . . . the village of Mary and her sister Martha. . . . Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister, and Lazarus." The reversal of names is curious.

"This represents the historical fact," we may be able to shew in some instances probable causes of ramification, if we begin from Mark, and inquire what Marcan details are omitted by later Synoptists but retained by John.

Mark and John have in common (1) "nard," (2) "pistic," or "spikenard," (3) "three hundred denarii," (4) "let her alone."

(1) "*Nard*¹" is not a Greek word. It is not alleged as occurring before the first century except as the transliteration in LXX of a Hebrew *nêrd* that occurs in two passages of the Song of Songs. In the first of these, many Rabbinical traditions recognise an obscure reference to the "evil odour" of Israel, the unfaithful Bride of Jehovah². The word is common in first-century Latin. Mark, who has many Latin-Greek words, might retain it without perceiving any allusion to LXX. Matthew might reject it as not Greek and not necessary. Luke might reject the word, but retain and greatly amplify the supposed allusion to the unfaithful and adulterous Bride, Israel. John, rejecting Luke's view, and rejecting also the Rabbinical view of the "nard" in the Song of Songs, might go back to Mark's word as one that poetically expressed the offering made by the Church to her Saviour.

(2) "*Pistic*" is transliterated in SS, *d*, and *k*. *Pistacia* is given by Krauss as a Hebrew name—in Pliny, *pistacium*, and similarly in the Greek of the second century—for "*pistacium-nut*"; and the word is sometimes used in Hebrew to mean a measure (like our "barley-corn")—"a nut-size" of any herbal compound³. Nonnus calls it *pistîkê*, making the *i* long, which indicates that he regarded it as distinct from the Greek *pistîkê* "faithful." But Artemidorus uses the expression "a *pistic* and home-keeping woman⁴," and repeats it twice as "a *faithful* (*pistê*) and home-keeping woman⁵," to mean a faithful wife⁶.

¹ Mk xiv. 3, Jn xii. 3.

² See above, p. 347, n. 6 *ad fin.*

³ See Levy iii. 450-a, iv. 82 a. In Pliny (xiii. 51, xxiii. 150) *pistacia* are mentioned merely as an antidote against a serpent's sting.

⁴ Artemid. ii. 32 πιστικὴν καὶ οἰκουρόν.

⁵ *Ib.* ii. 66, iii. 54.

⁶ Plutarch *Vit.* 281 c φιλικῶς καὶ πιστικῶς (of men) means "on terms of faithful friendship."

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These are sufficient reasons for not being surprised at the insertion of the word in any ancient Gospel that alluded to a contrast between a faithful and an unfaithful woman, expressed in the language of the Song of Songs, with a play on the double meaning—"pistacia" in Semitic, "*faithful*" in Greek. Mark might retain this, whether he understood the allusion or did not. Matthew might reject it because he did not understand it. Luke might reject it because he did *not* regard the sinful woman as "*faithful*" at first, but only after the Lord had said "thy *faith* (*pistis*) hath saved thee¹." John, rejecting Luke's view, might go back to Mark's word, placing it in a new framework of circumstance so as to shew that she was *not* "a sinner."

(3) "*Three hundred denarii*" is altered by Matthew into "much²." The words and their context lie outside Luke's version. John may have retained it simply because it was the ancient tradition and more life-like than Matthew's. But in the Feeding of the Five Thousand we have found John retaining a Marcan tradition about "two hundred denarii," omitted by Matthew and Luke³, and there it seemed probable that John gave the words an allegorical interpretation. Perhaps it may be so here also. It may be one of many instances of Johannine irony. The murmurers may be regarded as unconsciously testifying to the special affection that prompted the gift of the ointment, or to its spiritual value. In the Bible, "three hundred pieces of silver" is used perhaps only once, and there as a mark of special affection, of Joseph's gift to Benjamin⁴. But an allusion to Joseph and Benjamin is very unlikely here. If there is symbolism, it is more probably to be looked for in the very early Christian identification of "three hundred" with T, the sign of the Cross, based on a passage in Genesis mentioning "armed servants of Abram eighteen and three hundred⁵." Rabbinical tradition said that 318 corresponded to the name

¹ Lk. vii. 50.

² Mk xiv. 5, Jn xii. 5, comp. Mt. xxvi. 9.

³ *Law* pp. 274—82.

⁴ Gen. xlv. 22. Rashi and *Gen. r.* make no comment.

⁵ Gen. xiv. 14.

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of "Eliezer" ("God is my help"); but first-century Christian tradition said that "300" meant the Cross (T), while "10" and "8" represented the name of "Jesus¹." Such an allusion would be appropriate to the context which describes Mary on one side, and Judas on the other, as preparing the way for the Crucifixion: "'This could have been sold for three hundred pence'—so spake Judas, speaking a truth beyond his knowledge; for her offering of loving faith was so precious that it could buy Salvation, yes, the Salvation of the Cross."

(4) "Let her alone," is addressed, in Mark, to the disciples (plural, *aphete*); in John, to Judas (singular, *aphes*)². The Greek Imperative is the same as that used in the Crucifixion ("let alone"), where Mark has the plural and Matthew the singular—resulting in two quite different meanings³. It is also peculiar to Mark's version of the story of the Syrophoenician woman, where evidence points to its meaning originally "let alone⁴." Now a form of this same verb occurs in Luke's story of "the woman that was a sinner," a form almost peculiar to Luke and to the Johannine Epistle, meaning "remit (sins)⁵." In Greek, "let her

¹ In ancient Hebrew, as well as in Greek, *tau* might be represented by a cross (T). See Barn. § 9 (on Gen. xiv. 14) "'I' is 'ten'; 'H' is 'eight'; there you have IH[COYN], i.e. Jesus. But because the Cross was destined to find its grace in the 'T,' he says also 'three hundred.'" Clem. Alex. 782 adopts this ("they say") as the first instance of "the mystical meanings of numbers" in his treatise on the subject.

² Mk xiv. 6 R.V., Jn xii. 7 R.V. marg.

³ Mk xv. 36, Mt. xxvii. 49 ἄφετε (Mt. ἄφες) ἵδωμεν. The two meanings are quite different. See *From Letter 1056—68*, including remarks on the doubtful tradition peculiar to Lk. [xxiii. 34] Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς.

⁴ Mk vii. 27. See *Son 3353* (iv) *g* foll.

⁵ Ἀφίονται in N.T. occurs only in Lk. v. 20, 23 (parall. to Mk-Mt. ἀφίενται), vii. 47, 48, Jn xx. 23 (v.r. ἀφίονται), 1 Jn ii. 12 ἀφένονται (but Latin "remittuntur" points to ἀφίονται). Lk. xi. 4 ἀφίομεν uses the form in -ω, whereas the parall. Mt. vi. 12 ἀφήκαμεν uses the form in -ημι.

Steph. *Thes.* (ἀφίημι 2662—3) quotes Suicer as saying that ἀφέωκα is "Doric" for ἀφείκα, and this is repeated by modern commentators. But not a single instance has been hitherto alleged of the early existence of the active, ἀφέωκα, nor indeed of the passive

alone" might be almost identical with "*it is remitted to her*," that is, "*she is forgiven*¹." That there was some early ambiguity about "*let her alone*" is suggested by the fact that it is supplemented in Mark, and supplanted in Matthew, by "*why trouble ye the woman?*"—indicating that Mark added an easy paraphrase to a difficult original and that Matthew preferred the paraphrase by itself. It is undeniable that Luke twice alters the form of the Marcan word in the Healing of the Paralytic ("thy sins *are forgiven*"). In the Anointing, Luke may have regarded Mark as

outside N.T. Nor has anyone explained why Luke, and probably John, should prefer a "Doric" form (Blass § 23. 7 "Doric and Ionic." Suicer adds "also Ionic"). The words "Thy sins are forgiven thee" must surely have been most familiar and most sacred to all Greek-speaking Christians, before Luke and John wrote their Gospels. If so, what motive could induce these two Evangelists to resort to "Doric" or "Doric and Ionic" forms, unknown in LXX, to express forgiving?

Suicer may have been led into error by some MSS that wrote ἀφεωνται for ἀφεινται (the substitution of ω for ο being quite common in many MSS). The form ἀφέω is found in Exod. xxxii. 32 ἀφείς "thou *forgivest*," and Rev. ii. 20 ἀφείς "thou *sufferest*." The former describes the intercession of Moses that Israel may be "forgiven"; the latter describes a rebuke for "suffering," *i.e.* tolerating, Jezebel. The two passages illustrate the ramifications of the use of ἀφίημι and indicate how various forms of it might be assigned to various phrases. It is possible that the Attic perfect ἀφείνται and the Attic present ἀφίενται might be felt by some to lay too much emphasis on the past ("have been but are not now") or on the present ("are in the act of being"). The vernacular ἀφείονται, more correctly ἀφίονται, may therefore have been preferred. Sophocl. Lex. quotes Dorotheus (600 A.D.) as twice using forms of ἀφέω.

Goodspeed gives no instance of ἀφέωκα active or passive. Steph. Thes. 2662 D gives (from "inscr. Arcad. nuper reperta") imperat. ἀφέωσθω, and refers (803 A) to Tab. Heracl. 2, 105 ἀνεῶσθαι, and (804 A) to Herod. ii. 165 ἀνέωνται. The Papyri have Berl. Urkund. (39 A.D.) 1078 ἐπιμελώσθε for ἐπιμελείσθε, and Oxyg. (127 A.D.) 496. 15 αἰρῶται for αἰρῆται.

¹ Αφιεται, or αφειται, being written with -ε for αι, or *vice versa* (as often in MSS, Joh. Gr. 2658 e), and αυτη being taken for αυτην, or *vice versa* (Corrections 360 a, Joh. Gr. 2687 d), might cause confusion. D has αφεωντε in Mk ii. 5, αφιοντε in Mt. ix. 2 and αφαιωνται in Lk. v. 20.

erroneously taking "*she is forgiven*" as meaning "*let her alone.*" John may be intervening in favour of Mark's interpretation.

§ 5. *Words and phrases common to Luke and John*

Luke and John agree in saying that the woman described in their several narratives "wiped" the "feet" of Jesus with her "hair" (Luke "the hairs of her head")¹. This Greek word for "wipe" is not used in the canonical LXX. John, however, uses it not only in this narrative but also before, when first mentioning Lazarus and Martha: "There was a certain [man] [lying] sick, Lazarus (*lit.*) from Bethany out of the village of Mary and Martha her sister. Now Mary was the [woman] that (*or*, the [Mary] that) anointed the Lord with ointment and *wiped* his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was lying sick²."

John uses the word again to describe an act of Jesus: "He began to wash the feet of the disciples and to *wipe* [*them*] with the napkin with which he was girded³." This "wiping" of the feet of the disciples after they had been dipped in water presents no difficulty, but it is not so simple in the Johannine narrative of the Anointing. The difficulty is stated thus in *Horae Hebraicae*: "Did she not wash his feet before she anointed them? I do not ask whether she did not wash them with her *tears*, as before (Luke vii):...but did she not wash his feet *at all*? I ask this because the custom of the country seems to persuade she should do so." The writer supports his objection by an instance where a maid brings first water for washing, and then oil for anointing, and then he adds "Either therefore this

¹ Lk. vii. 38, Jn xii. 3.

² Jn xi. 1—2. Contrast the first mention of Martha and Mary in Luke (x. 38—9): "Now as they were going on their way he entered into a certain village. And a certain woman, by name Martha, received him into her (*lit.* the) house. And this [woman] had a sister called Mary, who also, sitting at (*παρκαθίσθῆσα πρὸς*) the Lord's feet, was listening to his word": Martha is here placed before Mary. There is no indication that the "village" is Bethany. Luke has previously mentioned (vii. 38, 44) the woman that "wiped (*ἐκμάσσω, bis*)" the feet of Jesus.

³ Jn xiii. 5.

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word (she *wiped*) must relate to some previous washing of his feet; or, if it ought to refer to the ointment, it scarcely would suppose wiping off the ointment now laid on; but rather, that with the hairs of her head she rubbed and chafed it¹."

It seems obvious that John must have had some strong reason for twice describing Mary as not only "anointing" but also "wiping." "Anointing" alone suffices for Mark and Matthew; why does it not suffice for John? And if he must add "wiping" why does he add it in such a context as to suggest that the ointment is "wiped" off as soon as it is laid on? In Luke, the "wiping" is intelligible—tears being wiped off the feet, and the ointment being then poured on them—but it is not so in John.

Turning to Hebrew and Jewish literature for some explanation we find that the regular Hebrew for "*wipe*," also used in Aramaic and Syriac, is transliterated, though very rarely, both in Hebrew and Syriac, as the Greek word *moichas*, "adulteress²." Not much importance would be attached to this if we did not find that the only mention of *moicheia* in John occurs in a narrative, interpolated in his Gospel, and written in Lucan style, about a woman taken in adultery and pardoned by Jesus³. This suggests that John may have emphasized his own interpretation of a doubtful word—regarded by some, but not by him, as meaning "adulteress" or "woman that was a sinner"—by twice repeating that it had quite a different meaning. If that is so, John is here intervening, not in favour of Mark who is silent on the point, but against Luke.

¹ See *Hor. Heb.* on Jn xii. 2 quoting *Menacoth* 85 b. By "previous washing" the writer seems to suggest a pluperf. rendering of ἐξέμαξεν "Now she *had previously wiped* the feet dry from the water." There are many such instances in Jn, but this does not seem likely to be one, for (*Joh. Gr.* 2460—1) δέ, not καί, would be the natural particle to introduce such a clause.

² Levy iii. 74, מִיחָ, refers to *Cant. r.* (on *Cant. iii. 4*, Wü. p. 85) where there is a transliteration of μωχάς. He adds (as prob.) *Sanhedr.* 109 b, but Krauss (p. 331) and Goldschm. *ad loc.* render the word "strike." *Thes. Syr.* 2084 gives מִיחָ from μωχός.

³ Jn viii. 3 μωχεία, W.H. marg. ἁμαρτία.

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Perhaps our narrative may be illustrated by a passage in Exodus where the LXX uniquely uses the Greek word "anoint-with-chrism" to forbid the ordinary use of the spice-compounded sacerdotal ointment: "Upon the flesh of [common] man it shall not be *poured*." The Hebrew "anointed" is rendered by Onkelos "poured," but in the Jerusalem Targum by a word meaning "polished," "dried," or "wiped¹." If the original of our narrative had simply "poured on *him*," Mark may have added "his head," with allusion to "the precious oil upon the head" of Aaron, mentioned in the Psalms². To this Matthew may have added "as he sat at meat," to shew that it was not (like the "precious³ oil" in the Psalm) poured on the standing figure. But Luke, from his point of view, would regard "on him" as meaning "on the feet," not on the head; and John, though from a different point of view, would agree with Luke. The Jerusalem Targum indicates a possibility of confusing "wiped" with "anointed," which may help to explain the difficulty above mentioned in the Johannine text.

John does not follow Luke in mentioning the woman's "tears." "Tears" might seem appropriate to the Johannine mention of "preparation for burial." But in Luke they are apparently tears of penitence for the woman's own sin, not of sorrow for the Lord's approaching death; whereas love and devotion and faith, rather than penitence, seem to be the motives of the Johannine anointing. The Lucan "kissing" of the feet is also omitted by John. Thus the study of John's agreements and disagreements with Luke leads to no safe conclusion except that John, while discouraging the view that

¹ Exod. xxx. 32 יִסַּךְ, from a unique יִסַּךְ if txt correct, but prob. leg. יִסַּךְ from יִסַּךְ (Gesen. 414 b, 692 a) "anoint," LXX χρίσθησεται, Onk. נִסַּךְ "pour," Jer. Targ. מִרַּק "wipe" (Levy Ch. ii. 72 b).

² Ps. cxxxiii. 2.

³ The word for "precious" in the phrase "*precious* ointment" is "*good*" (Gesen. 374 a, 2 K. xx. 13, Is. xxxix. 2, Ps. cxxxiii. 2, Eccles. vii. 1). LXX omits it in Is. xxxix. 2, Ps. cxxxiii. 2, perhaps taking the two words together as μύρον, "[scented] ointment." Luke is the only one of the four Evangelists that omits this epithet (in some form)

the woman was a "sinner," desires for some reason to lay stress on the tradition about one secondary act—the "wiping" of "feet"—which Jesus requited by a similar act, Himself "wiping" the "feet" of His disciples. Perhaps John deliberately omits any previous washing of Christ's feet because he desired to suggest that the Lord did not need it. His feet walked unspotted and undefiled through the path of life. He accepted the anointing of His feet, not as a purification but as an offering from Mary in the name of the disciples; but He returned it to them as a purification for them, taking their impurities upon Himself.

§ 6. *The single phrase common to all the Synoptists*

The only phrase common to all the Synoptists is "an alabaster-cruce of ointment." Instead of this, John has "a pound of ointment¹." The difference, at first sight, seems hardly worth notice. But careful students of the Fourth Gospel will not easily believe that John could depart from all the older Gospels on a detail of this kind—which, though apparently unimportant, would strike the popular mind at once—without some very good reason.

From John's point of view such a reason would exist if the Synoptic phrase gave the impression that the possession of the "alabaster-cruce" suggested extravagance or dissolute luxury in the possessor. Now such a suggestion is indicated in the early mention of "an alabaster-cruce of ointment" by Herodotus². Plutarch, too, mentions such "alabaster-cruses," and in such contexts as to indicate that they are held up to contempt³. But, besides these, Wetstein quotes passages from Aristophanes and Lucian shewing that the phrase meant, in effect, "scent-

¹ Mk xiv. 3, Mt. xxvi. 7, Lk. vii. 37, Jn xii. 3.

² In Herod. iii. 20, ἀλάβαστρος μύρον is one of several ostentatious presents sent by Cambyses to the king of Aethiopia who treats them with contempt.

³ Plut. *Vit.* 243 D, "like the lamentations of a woman regretting the loss of her scent-bottles (ἀλαβάστρους) and purple attire," comp. 676 A describing Alexander's contempt for the luxuries that he finds in the tent of the conquered Darius including ἀλαβάστρους.

bottle," and that it might often be associated with dissolute women¹. One of these (in Lucian) is reproached with ingratitude by one of her many lovers who says to her "I brought you *an alabaster-cruce of ointment* from Phoenicia²." In Mark (as also in Matthew) the woman is described as "having³" it with her, which might mean, though it does not go so far as to say, that she habitually carried it with her.

John's version seems at first sight studiously prosaic, almost like a line out of a recipe, "*taking a pound* of so-and-so." But, in the first place, if we examine the Johannine *litra* or "pound," we find that it is very frequent in Hebrew; and there is a Jewish tradition: "Under the term 'Shekel,' the coin mentioned in the Pentateuch is called 'Sela'; that in the Prophets, '*Litra*'; that in the Hagiographa, '*Talent*'⁴." In the next place, turning to the description, previously quoted, of the compounding of "the holy ointment" in Exodus, we find that the Recipe, so to speak, begins thus: "*Take* thou also unto thee the chief spices, of flowing myrrh five hundred [*shekels*]...and of cassia five hundred, after the *shekel of the sanctuary*...⁵." If John regarded the woman in Bethany as "taking" ointment to the amount of the weight of a "*shekel*," according to its estimation in the Prophets, for the purpose of anointing Jesus, he might naturally use this Hebrew-Greek term, *litra*, as having a typical meaning—"after the *shekel of the sanctuary*." According to this view John substituted a typical sacred "*litra*" for a secular term that might mean "scent-bottle," simply for the sake of edification⁶. If that is

¹ Wetst. on Mt. xxvi. 7.

² Lucian *Dial. Meretric.* xiv. (Reitz iii. p. 319). Reitz's Index (usually very accurate and complete) does not contain ἀλάβαστρος. Nor does Steph. *Thes.* quote instances from Lucian. But see Wetstein. It is important to realise the bad impression that the phrase ἀλάβαστρος μύρου would convey to Greeks.

³ Mk xiv. 3, Mt. xxvi. 7 ἔχουσα, Lk. vii. 37 κομίσασα "having brought."

⁴ See Levy ii. 500 a ("j. Kidd. i. 60 c") and *Gen. r.* on Gen. xxiii. 11, Wü. p. 276.

⁵ Exod. xxx. 23—4.

⁶ No other explanation suggests itself except some confusion

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the case, this Synoptic phrase, unimportant though it at first appears to be, assumes great importance as indicating that in Mark-Matthew, as well as in Luke, the woman was regarded as being of dissolute character, and as favouring the view of Ignatius and Clement of Alexandria, who assumed that the Four Gospels in their widely different descriptions referred to one and the same historical fact.

§ 7. "Bethany," in Mark, Matthew, and John

The first mention of Bethany in the Synoptists is connected with the Riding into Jerusalem, about which Origen says: "And now let us see about (1) 'Bethphage' on the one hand according to Matthew, but (2) 'Bethany' according to Mark, and (3) 'Bethphage and Bethany' according to Luke¹." Several authorities insert "Bethphage" in Mark here, but D and the old Latin versions reject it². Bethany is nowhere mentioned in Goodspeed; Bethphage is mentioned once—where Justin Martyr, referring to this narrative, describes the ass as at its entrance³. SS, in Luke, has "at Beth Phagge and Beth Ania," but in Mark, "to Beth Phagge to Beth Ania." This might mean

between לטרא "litra" and Aram. לטום (also Syr.) Levy Ch. i. 409 b "pistachio nut," see above, p. 356, on πιστική.

¹ Origen on Mt. xxi. 1 (Lomm. iv. 52) Ἰδωμεν δὲ περὶ τῆς Βηθφαγῆ μὲν κατὰ Ματθαῖον, Βηθανίας δὲ κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον, Βηθφαγῆ δὲ καὶ Βηθανίας κατὰ τὸν Λουκᾶν.—Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἔλαιων.—Ἑρμηνεύεσθαι δὲ φάμεν τὴν Βηθφαγῆ μὲν, οἶκον σιαγόνων, ἥτις τῶν ἱερέων ἦν χωρίον· Βηθανία δέ, οἶκος ὑπακοῆς.

² Mk xi. 1

καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγὴ καὶ Βηθανίαν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἔλαιων (marg. εἰς Ἱερ. καὶ εἰς Βηθανίαν πρὸς τὸ ὄ. τὸ ἔλαιων).

Mt. xxi. 1

καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Βηθφαγὴ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἔλαιων.

Lk. xix. 29

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγὴ καὶ Βηθανίαν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἔλαιων.

³ Justin Martyr Tryph. § 53 ἐν τινι εἰσόδῳ κόμης Βεθφαγῆς λεγομένης. Hor. Heb. i. 82 quotes *Baba Mezia* 90 a on Bethphage, and says that the Glosser takes *phage* as "a beaten way," but Hor. Heb. prefers פני "green figs." Levy i. 227 a assumes this and refers to *Pesach*. 91 a etc.

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"*belonging to Beth Ania*," or it might mean that "*Beth Ania*" was another name for "*Beth Phagge*."

Beth Phage was a well-known suburb of Jerusalem frequently mentioned and much discussed by the Talmudists¹. As for Bethany it can only be alleged that certain names somewhat like it, such as "*Beth Hino*" and "*Beth Hini*," are found in Talmudic passages, but the identification of them with the Gospel Bethany rests on conjecture. Levy assumes the identity of the Talmudic Bethphage with the Gospel Bethphage and mentions it as a name of frequent occurrence applied to a suburb of Jerusalem². But concerning "*Beth Hini*" he merely says that it is "*the name of a place*," and that it is spelt in two different ways in the two passages to which he refers³.

It is only fair to add that the author of *Horae Hebraicae*, who appears to have originated the identification of Bethany with Beth Hini⁴, does not conceal the variations of the spelling of the latter, or the fact that Beth Hini itself has no meaning assigned to it⁵; and in his commentary on Luke he says that "*there was a certain town near Jerusalem called Magdala, of a very ill fame, which perhaps was Bethany itself... I am apt to think that Bethany itself might go under the name of Magdala*."⁶ These quotations, to which others might be added

¹ *Hor. Heb.* i. 80—83 devotes a whole section to Bethphage, and Neubauer pp. 147—9 quotes many passages about it from the Mishna. Though a suburb, it was yet regarded, for certain religious purposes, as included in the City.

² Levy i. 227 *a* בית פאני, Βηθφαγή, "Beth-Phage, Vorstadt Jerusalems, Pes. 91 *a* u. ö."

³ Levy i. 225 *b* בית היני "Beth Hini, Name eines Ortes B. mez. 88 *a* (j. Pea i. 16 *c* un. steht dafür בני חנון)." Neubauer p. 150 prefers the former reading but adds (pp. 149—50) "On écrit aussi ce nom בית חני (Tosiftha, *Schebiith*, ch. 7)."

⁴ Wetstein, on Mt. xxi. 17, quotes *Hor. Heb.*

⁵ *Hor. Heb.* i. 90 derives *-hene* in "*Beth-hene*" from *Ahene*, אהני, meaning "*dates of palm-trees*" not yet ripe. But Levy i. 35 *a* says that אהני means mostly unripe figs. Wetstein also does not mention this conjecture of *Hor. Heb.*

⁶ *Hor. Heb.* iii. 87, on Lk. viii. 2.

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from the Horae, indicate the weakness of the hypothesis that identifies Beth Hini with the Christian Bethany¹.

We pass to the evidence of the Gospels themselves. After mentioning Bethany in connection with the Entry into Jerusalem and the Temple, Mark's next mention of it is in connection with Christ's first "coming out" from the Temple in the evening. To this there is no Synoptic parallel:—

Mk xi. 11

Mt. om.

Lk. om.

And...it being
now eventide, he went
out unto *Bethany*
with the twelve.

But Mark subsequently mentions a second "going out²," and to this there is a parallel, mentioning "*Bethany*" in Matthew and "*lodging*" in Matthew and Luke:—

Mk xi. 19

Mt. xxi. 17

Lk. xxi. 37

And whenever	And he left them,	And...every night
evening came, he	and went forth out	he went out and
(W.H. txt they) went	of the city to <i>Bethany</i>	<i>lodged</i> in the mount

¹ *Hor. Heb.* i. 233 quotes *J. Berach.* fol. 16. 1 "the shops of the children of Chanan" as being identical with *Bab. Mez.* 88 a "the shops of *Beth Heno*" and says "The shop-keepers were 'the sons of Chanan' ...the place was '*Beth Heno* בית הינו'; which I fear not to assert to be the same with Bethany. The reason of my confidence is twofold: 1. Because the Talmudists call Bethany בית היני, *Beth Hene*, to which how near does *Beth Heno* come!" The second reason is "Because in them there is open mention of shops in mount Olivet," and then he proceeds to quote *J. Taanith* fol. 69. 2 about four shops on Mount Olivet. The argument amounts to this: "The Christian *Bethany* was a place on Mount Olivet; there were some shops of *Beth Heno* on Mount Olivet; *Heno* is very like *Hene*; therefore the Christian Bethany was identical with *Beth Heno*."

Hor. Heb. i. 234 quotes *Cholin* 53 a about "the lavatory (מרחץ) of *Beth Hene* (היני). Goldschm., there, gives twice v.r. הינו "Heno" (or "Hino"). *Levy* i. 466 a gives "Hini" only as the name of a Babylonian town thrice mentioned in Talmud, and as the name of a man, referring under the latter heading to his note in i. 225 b on Beth Hini quoted above.

² It is of a general kind in Mk and Lk. (imperf.), but of a particular kind in Mt. (aorist).

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Mk xi. 19 <i>contd.</i>	Mt. xxi. 17 <i>contd.</i>	Lk. xxi. 37 <i>contd.</i>
forth (<i>lit.</i> used to go forth) out of the city.	and lodged there.	that is called [the mount] of Olives ¹ .

Why does Luke omit "Bethany" here? The omission suggests that the tradition here followed by him regarded "Bethany" not as the name of a village but as a noun connected with "lodging"; and this view is favoured by the fact that the Aramaic "lodge," *beth*, is identical with the Hebrew *beth*, "house," which is the first part of "Bethany." This is the first mention of Bethany in Matthew, and perhaps Matthew's tradition originally meant: "went forth out of the city to the place where he lodged and lodged there."

But at this point there comes appropriately the suggestion of Horae Hebraicae, above mentioned, that Bethany may have meant "the place of (*beth*) unripe figs or dates (*any*)."¹ For the following verses in Matthew describe Jesus as seeing "a fig-tree." And it happens that both in Hebrew and in Aramaic there is another word for fig-tree (*thany*) that might make up the name

¹ Mk xi. 19 καὶ ὅταν ὄψῃ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο (marg. ἐξεπορεύετο) ἕξω τῆς πόλεως.	Mt. xxi. 17 καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἕξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν, καὶ ἡλίσθη ἐκεῖ.	Lk. xxi. 37—8 ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδασκῶν (marg. διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ), τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχό- μενος ἡλίσσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὠρθριζεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.
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Ἀλίσσεται, "pass the night," occurs nowhere else in N.T. In Heb., outside Job, it almost always = לָיַל or לַיְלָה. This in Aram. (Brederek p. 60) is בֵּיתָה. The Talmud relates that a Rabbi (*Pesach*. 42 a) was obliged to avoid the Heb. word "lodge, or, remain for the night," לָיַל, because it was mistaken for the pronominal dative "[belonging] to us" (Levy i. 228) so that he had to substitute the Aram. *beth*. Now this pronominal dative is employed in Jewish Aramaic in such a phrase as "they went away" (Dalm. *Words* p. 22), Aram. "they went away for themselves (לֵי)."¹ But this, in effect, is what Mark (W. H. txt) has here, having the pl. where Mt.-Lk. have the sing. This indicates that the original tradition here mentioned no such place as Bethany, but merely something about a place for "passing the night," which Luke inferentially described as "the mount called Olivet," and Matthew alone, by error, "Bethany."

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"beth-thany" or "*bethany*¹." It would be very natural that a great number of early Christian traditions should gather round the place on the Mount of Olives where Jesus, in danger of arrest by the Jewish rulers, and not able to "lay his head²" in Jerusalem, spent the nights in converse with His disciples during the week before the Crucifixion: "He left the unbelievers," says Jerome, "and going forth from the City of the gainsayers, He went to Bethany, which, being interpreted, is House of Obedience, prefiguring already the calling of the Gentiles, and there He remained (*mansit*), because He could not continue-to-remain (*permanere*) in Israel³."

This is an early Christian view of the name Beth-any—"house of *obedience*." And it is possible to trace this meaning, though but faintly, back to a Hebrew word corresponding to the second part of the name "Bethania⁴." But another meaning (much more prominent in Hebrew) is "*afflicted*" or "*poor*⁵," and perhaps Jerome assumes this in his next words: "This also is to be understood that He was of such extreme *poverty* (*paupertatis*) and so averse from flattering anyone that in that vast City He found no host, no abiding-place, but dwelt on a small farm (*agro*) with (*apud*) Lazarus and his

¹ See Levy iv. 623 תַּנְיָה, Aram. תַּנְיָתָה. Instead of Heb. *beth*-, "place of," Aram. freq. has (Levy *Ch.* i. 92, 96) *be*-, בֵּי.

² Mt. viii. 20, Lk. ix. 58.

³ Jerome on Mt. xxi. 17.

⁴ Heb. עֲנָה (Gesen. 772 *b*) "respond," may mean (1) "respond" (with docility) to command, (2) "respond" (with graciousness) to supplication. But there is only one instance in LXX where a form of this word is rendered ὑπακοή (2 S. xxii. 36) "Thy *responsiveness* hath multiplied me." Here (Field) some copies have "humiliations (*ταπεινώσεις*)" or "chastening (*παιδεία*)," and it is not surprising; for the LXX ἡ ὑπακοή σου, if found in N.T., would naturally mean "Thy [*i.e.* God's] obedience."

The same Heb. occurs in Ps. xviii. 35. Here LXX has ἡ παιδεία (*i.e.* *παιδεία*) σου, perhaps meaning "thy *chastening*," but Aq. "thy gentleness (*πραότης*)," Sym. "my *responding* [*obediently*] [*to thee*]," τὸ ὑπακούειν.

⁵ See the previous note and Gesen. 776 on עֲנָה "be afflicted," and Son 3242 (i)—(iv) on "The 'meek' king," and esp. 3242 (i) *b—g*.

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sisters—those whose village is [in the Gospel, Jn xi. 1] Bethany¹."

This last sentence from Jerome indicates the Johannine view of Bethany. It is introduced in the phrase "Lazarus from Bethany" as a place connected with "the village of Mary and Martha," all of whom Jesus "loves²." Then it is said to be "near Jerusalem³"—which distinguishes it from "Bethany beyond Jordan" where Jesus had been baptized. Jesus goes to it at the peril of His life, since the Jews had been recently "seeking to stone" Him⁴. After the raising of Lazarus, Jesus for a time "walked no longer openly among the Jews⁵." Then comes the third and last mention of the name: "Jesus, therefore, six days before the Passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus [had] raised from the dead. They made, therefore, a feast for him there, and Martha was ministering,

¹ "In agro parvulo apud Lazarum sororesque ejus habitaret, eorum quippe vicus Bethania est." This refers to Jn xi. 1 ἦν δέ τις ἀσθενῶν, Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς. But what is the meaning of "agro parvulo"? Does it mean that the small field or orchard attached to the house of the family of Lazarus was the "garden" of which John says (xviii. 2) πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ? Συνάγειν here ought perhaps to be rendered, as in Mt. xxv. 35, 38, 43, and also in LXX with εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν etc. (Steph. Thes. vii. 1178 D) "hospitably receive." If the meaning had been "Jesus and his disciples were gathered together" the natural Gk would have been συνήχθησαν ἰ. καὶ οἱ μ. αὐτοῦ.

Westcott says, "The exact force of the original is rather 'Jesus and (with) His disciples assembled (συνήχθη) there.' The idea appears to be that of a place of gathering, where the Lord's followers met Him for instruction, and not simply of a restingplace during the night. But it is possible that the spot was used for this latter purpose also during the present visit (Luke xxi. 37 ἠύλιξτο), and that Judas expected to find all sleeping at the time of his arrival."

Nonnus seems against this interpretation ("assembled") and rather in favour of "hospitable reception," or "lodging": κείθι καὶ αὐτῶν σύννομος ἀγρομένων αὐλίζετο λαὸς ἐταίρων.

Jerome's statement (on Mt. xxi. 17) that Jesus found "no host" in Jerusalem appears to ignore the evidence of Mk xiv. 13—15, Mt. xxvi. 18.

² Jn xi. 1, 5.

³ Jn xi. 18.

⁴ Jn xi. 8—16.

⁵ Jn xi. 54.

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but Lazarus was one of those that sat at meat with him. Mary therefore...¹."

All this gives us the impression that Bethany was Christ's usual lodging-place at all times when He was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and especially during the dangerous nights of His last week there. And John—like Luke though in a different way—might emphasize the anxious painstaking service of the hostess Martha. This being the case, it is not beside the mark to point out that, in the Johannine account of the Anointing in Bethany, *ania* is the word used in the version of SS to describe the action of the hospitable Martha, so that we read continuously "Jesus came to the village Beth *Ania* unto Lazar, him that was dead and lived. And he made for him a supper there...but Martha *was-occupied* (*ania*) in serving." Luke describes Martha as "*torn-in-pieces*"² with serving, and SS again has *ania* there. Ecclesiastes twice or thrice uses *ania*, LXX "*torn-in-pieces*," to describe worry³. This curious coincidence between the Syriac descriptions of Martha's action in Luke and John indicates a possibility of an early half-playful tradition about her as "the *afflicted* (or, *anxious*)" hostess, the *Ania*, and of her house as being "*Beth-Ania*."

We now come to the Mark-Matthew tradition that the house belonged to "Simon the leper." Ancient commentators attempt variously and unsatisfactorily to answer the natural questions that arise out of this phrase. Jerome quotes the appellation of "Matthew [once] the publican" as analogous to "Simon [once] the leper"⁴; but he omits to tell us that the

¹ Jn xii. 1 foll.

² Lk. x. 40 περισπᾶτο.

³ Eccles. i. 13, iii. 10, v. 19, see Gesen. 775 *b*, 773 *a*, comp. 776 *a*.

⁴ Jerome on Mt. xxvi. 6. He adds that Jesus, before His Passion, "stays (moratur) in Bethany, the House of Obedience, which formerly was [the house] of Simon the leper (quae quondam fuit Simonis leprosi)." Does this mean "the house formerly [known as] the house of Simon the leper" and continuing to bear that name after the owner had been healed? He goes on to say "Not that he remained a leper also at that time, but as one who, being a leper before, was afterwards healed by the Saviour—the old name being retained

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Gospel that mentions "Matthew [once] *the publican*," has previously mentioned him as "*a man called Matthew, sitting at the publican's-office*¹." If Matthew intended to identify Christ's host at Bethany with the leper described as healed early in the Gospel² he should have introduced that leper as "*a man called Simon, a leper*." It is possible that Mark and Matthew assumed this. If they did, there would be something to be said for the view that the appellation exalts the Saviour: "Jesus had healed a man called Simon of leprosy in one of His first acts of healing, and now it is in the house of this same *Simon the leper* that He receives the homage of the Anointing a few days or hours before His death³."

Origen, however, regards the man as still leprous. Playing on the meaning of "Simon," *i.e.* obedience, he remarks on the fact that "*'Simon,' too, is a mysterious sign of obedience*"—meaning "*Simon*," as well as *Bethany* "*the House of Obedience*." Then he adds that the obedience was that of the letter, not that of the spirit: "Jesus therefore was *in the house of one [rightly]*

(permanente) in order that the power of the Healer should be manifested (ut virtus curantis appareat)." This view he supports by the analogy of "Matthew the publican."

Then he comes to allegory: "Quidam Simonis leprosi domum eam volunt intelligi partem populi quae crediderit Domino et ab eo curata sit. Simon quoque ipse obediens dicitur, qui juxta aliam intelligentiam mundus interpretari potest in cujus domo curata est Ecclesia." In interpreting "Simon" as "obedience" Jerome follows Origen.

¹ Mt. ix. 9, x. 3.

² Mt. viii. 2.

³ Chrysostom, on Mt. xxvi. 6, says that the woman saw (εἶδεν) that Jesus had healed (θεραπεύσαντα) Simon the leper and hence was emboldened to seek from Him the purification of her soul. He adds that the leprosy must have been healed, οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴλετο (v.l. ἐγένετο) μέναι παρὰ τῷ λεπρῷ. Ephrem Syrus (p. 205) argues at great length that the leprosy must have been healed and assumes that Simon was present at the table: "Quomodo enim lepra in corpore Simonis permanere poterat, qui purificatorem leprae in domo sua recubantem vidit?" He adds finally "Perhaps the same thing happened as to Zacchaeus... to whom the Lord said (Lk. xix. 9) 'To-day is salvation come to this house'; as a reward for his hospitality he received purification."

indeed called 'Simon' [as] being obedient, yet leprous, and still having need of purification from Jesus¹."

It is significant that the author of *Horae Hebraicae*, and Wetstein, to both of whom one can mostly turn with confidence for illustrations of fact, give no illustrations of "Simon the leper" as an appellation, and make no attempt to answer the questions raised by ancient commentaries. Their silence justifies the inference that something is wrong, and that the appellation is not a "fact." But it does not justify our treating the title as an invention. Its very difficulty shews that it was not invented. Perhaps the best hypothesis is that it was originated as a paraphrase of Beth-Ania, The House of the Meek, or The House of the Afflicted. Christians would be led to think of this appellation in connection with Isaiah's prophecy, "We did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, afflicted²." In that passage the Vulgate renders "stricken" by "leprous" and so does Aquila³. "Leper" is also specified in the Talmud as one of many names of the Messiah⁴.

As regards the introduction of the name Simon I am unable to offer any satisfactory explanation, or even suggestion, except that it is a name sometimes apparently confused with "those that were with Him," meaning Christ's companions⁵. We have seen that it is interpreted both by Origen and by Jerome as "Obedient" or "Obedience," and this is also their interpretation of Beth Ania, so that, according to their allegorizing views, Beth Simon and Beth Ania might be interchanged.

¹ Origen on Mt. xxvi. 6, Lomm. iv. 397 "Factus est ergo Jesus in domo Simonis quidem alicujus obedientis, tamen leprosi, et adhuc opus habentis mundatione ab Jesu."

² Is. liii. 4.

³ Is. liii. 4 שָׁחַח, "stricken," Gesen. 619 *a* in particular, of leprosy, Aq. ἀφηνέον (so Field), of which Jerome says "id est, *leprosum*."

⁴ *Sanhedr.* 98 b. I have found nothing like this in any very early Christian writer except a saying of Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* § 41) that the Levitical offering of fine flour on behalf of purified lepers was "a type of the bread of the Eucharist the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of the suffering that He endured...."

⁵ *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *g* foll.

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The Lucan addition of "Pharisee" might perhaps be explained from a confusion of *pâras*, "break [bread]" (applied to the host at a meal), with *parash*, or *pharash*, in "Pharisee¹." On the supposition that Simon of Bethany was present at the Anointing, it might be asked what he did as host. SS, in John, prefixes to the words "Lazarus was one of the guests" the statement that Jesus "came... to Lazarus... and he [i.e. *Lazarus*] made for Him a supper." "Was it not Simon," some might ask, "that really did what is here attributed to Lazarus? And, if so, was this Simon one of 'certain persons' (Mark) that murmured at the anointing?" Luke may have answered both these questions in the affirmative. Finding that Simon was not described by Mark as doing anything in his own house, and rejecting as absurd the notion that he was a "leper," he may have availed himself gladly of any tradition that suggested that he was a disapproving and murmuring Pharisee.

§ 8. "(R.V.) *Burying*," or "*burial*," in Mark, Matthew, and John²

If we put aside, as doubtful, the saying about "the poor" in John³, the verb or verbal noun rendered by R.V. "burying" or "burial," is the only one that Mark, Matthew, and John agree in assigning to Jesus in this narrative. The Thesaurus quotes authorities shewing that the word means, not "burying," but "embalming⁴." The Hebrew word for "embalm," *chânat*, is quite

¹ Law p. 323.

² Mk xiv. 8

Mt. xxvi. 12

Jn xii. 7

ὁ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν,
προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ
σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐντα-
φιασμόν.

βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη
τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ
σώματός μου πρὸς τὸ
ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν.

... ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα
εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐντα-
φιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ
αὐτό.

³ Jn xii. 8 is omitted by SS as well as by D, and is placed at the end of the narrative (instead of before the end as in Mk-Mt.) where an editor might naturally interpolate it as a suitable climax.

⁴ See Steph. *Thes.* iii. 1154 (ὁ ἐνταφιάζω) where the editors refer to authorities, quoted by Suicer, as contradicting the assertion of H. S. that the verb means "bury," and as shewing that it means "prepare for burying."

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different from the Hebrew for "bury¹." The former, *chánat*, occurs toward the end of Genesis about the embalming of Jacob and of Joseph². As to the embalming of Jacob, the Hebrew is rendered in LXX by the word here used in the Gospels, which means literally "make arrangements for entombing" (as distinguished from "burying³"). But, as to the embalming of Joseph, LXX renders the Hebrew "embalm" by the Greek "bury" thus: "They *embalmed* (LXX *buried*) him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt⁴."

About Joseph, Aquila renders the word "they *aromatized*, or *spiced*, him." This gives exactly the meaning of the Hebrew verb. It occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament except about a fig-tree "*putting forth*" its spicy fruit-buds, literally "*spicing* its buds⁵." "Embalming" was an Egyptian not a Hebrew custom. But when a corpse had to be carried a long way for burial, as in Jacob's case, or when the burial had to be deferred for many years, as in Joseph's case, it was naturally practised even by Hebrews. Jewish traditions are remarkably silent about the embalming of Jacob and Joseph⁶. The Midrash on the embalming of Jacob quotes a tradition condemning, as well as one defending, the act⁷. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Judah says "Let no one embalm me⁸."

¹ Heb. for "embalm," *ἐνταφιάζειν*, is חָנַט (sim. Onk.); Heb. for "bury," *θάπτειν*, is קָבַר. Delitzsch has חָנַט for *ἐνταφιάζειν*.

² Gen. 1. 2 (*bis*), 26 (Gesen. 334 *b* by error l. 22, 26). Comp. Gen. 1. 3, חֲנִיטִים pl. abstr. "embalming" LXX τῆς ταφῆς, Aq. τῶν ἀρωματιζομένων, *i.e.* of the spicers or embalmers.

³ Gen. 1. 2, but the noun *ib*. 3 in LXX is rendered ταφή.

⁴ Gen. 1. 26.

⁵ Cant. ii. 13 "the fig-tree (הַתְּאֵנָה) spiceth (חֲנִטָה) (R.V. ripeneth) its figs" (so Gesen. 334 *b*, but R.V. "green figs," and sim. Gesen. 803 *a* פְּנִיָּה "early figs").

⁶ No reference to the passages mentioning the embalming is given in the Index to Jer. Talmud transl. Schwab, nor in Bab. Talmud ed. Goldschmidt (at present, 1916).

⁷ See *Gen. r.* on Gen. 1. 1—2 (Wü. p. 501) "Why did Joseph die before his brethren? Rabbi said 'Because he had embalmed (einbalsamirt hatte) his father.'...According to the Rabbis, Jacob commanded them [*i.e.* his sons] to embalm him."

⁸ *Test. XII Patr. Jud.* § 26. "Let none embalm me with costly

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These facts shew that Jewish tradition distinguished "embalming" from "burying," and that, if Jesus used the former term, he used it distinctively.

If so, with what distinction or allusion did He use it? It might possibly mean, nearly as in the Testaments quoted above, but with a tender allusiveness, not reproachful or ironical: "She is anointing my body as though she were embalming a royal personage previous to burial." But it might also allude to the ancient precedents of the two Patriarchs, whose embalming was a symbol of deliverance from immediate corruption, as well as from a grave in Egypt. If Jesus said anything to this effect, it would be received by Christians of the first century in the spirit of Ignatius, who says "For this cause the Lord received ointment on His head that it might breathe incorruptibility to the Church¹." In the Acts, Peter quotes the words "Neither wilt thou give thy holy one to see *corruption*" as referring to Christ, who, he says, "was not left in Hades, nor did his flesh see *corruption*²." The ointment poured on Christ in Bethany and

raiment or tear open my belly," μηδεὶς με ἐνταφιάσῃ πολυτελεῖ ἐσθῆτι, ἢ τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀναρρήξει...καὶ ἀναγάγετέ με. A second version has μηδεὶς με ἐνταφιάσει ἐν πολυτελεῖ ἐσθῆτι, ἀλλὰ ἀναγάγετέ με, apparently taking ἐνταφιάζω as "carry to the tomb in [burial clothes]." But the first version—in which ἐνταφιάζω seems to be explained by the parallel ἀναρρήξει as meaning "embalm"—is supported by precedent and Jewish feeling, according to which, "embalming" was quite exceptional, reserved for Jacob and Joseph alone, and requiring some kind of explanation.

¹ Ign. *Eph.* § 17.

² Acts ii. 27—31, quoting Ps. xvi. 8—10 and then commenting on it. On Ps. xvi. 9 "my flesh," *Tehillim* (on Ps. cxix. 9, Wü. fi. 173) says "David said, I know that the worm will have no power over my flesh." *Derek Eretz*, ch. i. says that immunity from the worm extends to seven, viz. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Amram, "and, according to others (? some), also David (because of Ps. xvi. 9)." *Baba Bathr.* 17 a, with more probability, has "Miriam" for "Amram" in this list, and adds "Benjamin." It proceeds "Many say also 'David,' because of Ps. xvi. 9, but it was only a prayer uttered by him." These traditions take "worm" as meaning the literal "worm" of the grave. But *Joma* 87 a takes the Psalm as applying to pious

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ascending from His body to fill the house with its odour, might seem to be a symbol, not of burial followed by immediate corruption, but of an embalming or preservation from corruption, preparatory to a rising again.

Now passing to the contexts of Mark and Matthew about embalming we find that Mark's extraordinary language appears to allude to the double meaning of the Hebrew or Aramaic word "to spice," or "to put forth," mentioned above as referring both to "embalming" and also to the "spicing" of the buds of the fig-tree. At all events he ventures to use a word "*murize*"¹—like Aquila's *aromatize*—as to which it has been pointed out that it represents a "*perfuming*" tolerable only in women during life, but applicable to men as well as women when their bodies are being prepared for interment². The word is nowhere else used in the Old or New Greek Testament nor in the earliest Christian writers³, but we have seen that Clement of Alexandria uses it, in connection with the Lord's Anointing, as conveying an allusion to the practice of "perfuming the dead"⁴.

Matthew avoids the Greek verb *murize*—perhaps because of its Greek associations with pleasure and luxury—and substitutes "cast perfume (*muron*).” But both Matthew and Mark say that it was (Mark) "[with a view] to" or (Matthew) "toward," embalming. Mark, however, laying stress on "before," says "she undertook *beforehand*"; Matthew, laying no such stress on "before," says "having *cast* (i.e. *put*) this

teachers in general, in which case the "worm" (comp. Is. lxvi. 24 "their *worm* shall not die") would mean the "worm" of "hell"; and that is the interpretation apparently adopted by Rashi *ad loc.* where see Breithaupt's note. Peter, who implies (Acts ii. 29) that the Psalm *did not* apply to David and *did* apply to Christ, seems to have followed the literalist interpretation.

¹ Mk xiv. 8

Mt. xxvi. 12

Jn xii. 7

προέλαβεν μυρίσαι
τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν
ἐνταφιασμόν.

βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὐτῇ
τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ
σώματός μου πρὸς τὸ
ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν.

"Ἀφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς
τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφι-
ασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό.

² See above, p. 349, n. 2, quoting Artemidorus.

³ It is not in Goodspeed.

⁴ Clem. Alex. 205—6, quoted above, p. 349.

ointment¹." This might mean that the woman knowingly did this "with a view to" embalming. But it might mean that she did it out of pure affection, and with no such view, but that the Lord Himself discerned that the act was providentially directed "with a view to" an embalming.

The parallel in John, though obscure and possibly corrupt, appears to adopt the latter interpretation in a sentence that uses the word "reserve" in a peculiar way². One difficulty consists in the use of "in order that," which (consequently perhaps) many authorities have cancelled. Some take "reserve it" as meaning "reserve the rest of the ointment." The text, as it stands in W. H., is hardly intelligible, but may mean "Let her alone, that she may [find herself to] have kept this stored up proof of her affection for the day of my embalming³."

¹ Προέλαβεν μυρίσαι, in Mk, *lit.* "undertook beforehand to perfume," may have been corrupted to προέβαλεν μυρίσαι, (?) "proposed to perfume," and this again corrupted to Matthew's commonplace ἔβαλεν μύρον. Προλαμβάνω with inf. is rare (though it occurs in Ign. Eph. § 3 προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς). Προβάλλω occurs in Cant. ii. 13 (Aq.) about the fig-tree "spicing" its buds, as a rendering of מְנִיחַ, "embalm," and it is used in Lk. xxi. 30 about "the fig-tree and all the trees" (without an object).

² Τηρεῖν, "keep," in LXX, freq. refers to "keeping" the law, commandments etc., "watching" one's soul, mouth, ways etc., but is not used of "reserving" a gift for anyone exc. in Cant. vii. 13. Heb. יָצַק, "all manner of precious fruits new and old, which I have reserved for thee, O my beloved." There, R.V. marg. refers to Mt. xiii. 52 "every scribe that is made a disciple to the kingdom of the heavens is like unto a man a master of a house who bringeth out (ἐκβάλλει) from his treasury *things new and old*." Also the Targum on Cant. paraphrases the new fruits as "the words of the scribes" and the old as "the words of the Law." But the Midrash, besides understanding the old fruits as the earlier Rabbis, and the new fruits as the later ones, prefixes a parable of a good house-wife, who, in her husband's absence, increases, instead of diminishing, the property he has left with her. Τηρεῖν is used of "reserving" the good wine in Jn ii. 10. Comp. 1 Pet. i. 4 "an inheritance...reserved in the heavens for (εἰς) you."

³ Nonnus has:

θηλυτέρης λίπε δῶρον ἀμεμφέος, ὅφρα φυλάξῃ
σώματος ἡμετέρου κειμήλιον, εἰσόκεν ἔλθῃ
φοίνιος ἡμετέρων κτερέων ἐπιτύμβιος ὄρη,

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John perhaps intends us to contrast this anticipatory embalming with that performed, after death, by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus¹. This mentions "one pound" of ointment; that mentions a hundred pounds². This was too soon; that was in due time. This fulfilled no prophecy; that fulfilled the saying of Isaiah "with the rich in his death"³. Mark and Luke,

where perhaps ὅφρα φυλάξῃ means "that she may reserve the rest of it."

¹ Jn xix. 38—40.

² Jn xix. 40 "bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to embalm (ἐνταφιάζειν)" is not commented on by *Hor. Heb.* or Schöttgen. Wetstein is hardly to the point when he quotes Tacitus *Hist.* v. 3 [error for v. 5] as saying "de Judaeis" that it was their custom "corpora condere quam cremare, more Ægyptio"—that is, the Jews followed the *Egyptian practice of burying* rather than burning. For the question here is about "embalming" or "*preparing for burial*"—not about "*burying*."

Westcott says that the manner of the Jews is "contrasted with that (*e.g.*) of the Egyptians, who removed parts of the body before embalming (Herod. ii. 86 ff.). The phrase may, however, only mark the Jewish custom of embalming as contrasted with burning: comp. Tac. 'Hist.' v. 3." Hastings *Dict. Index* contains no reference to Jn xix. 40. *Enc. Bib.* 1285 says that "embalming" was "specifically Egyptian," that "the Hebrews did not practise it," and that the embalming of the body of Aristobulus in honey (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7. 4) "stands by itself." Edersheim says (ii. 617) "He [*i.e.* Nicodemus] now came bringing a 'roll' of myrrh and aloes, in the fragrant mixture well known to the Jews for purposes of anointing or burying." This is vague, and no authority is given for it. The writer adds "It was in 'the court' of the tomb that the hasty embalmment—if such it may be called—took place."

Perhaps John meant his readers to contrast with the "embalming" given by Mary the "*binding in linen cloths... as the custom of the Jews is to embalm*"—a contemptuous expression for a quasi-embalming, that was neither the real Egyptian embalming, nor the Greek and Roman burning. This quasi-embalming was a kind of fettering in the tomb, and served no purpose except to make the resurrection all the more wonderful by reason of the breaking of the fetters.

³ Is. liii. 9 "they made his grave... and *with the rich in his death*" seems to be alluded to in Mt. xxvii. 57 "*rich*," and *ib.* 60 "*his new tomb*" (as R.V. marg. references indicate in both passages). "*Rich*"

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later on, mention "spices" as being brought by the women to Christ's grave after the entombment; John does not. John, and John alone, says, later on, that there was an actual and material embalming of the dead body, but only at the hands of Joseph and Nicodemus. Here he tells us, in effect, that there was, before this, an anticipatory and spiritual embalming of the living body at the hands of Mary.

According to this view, John's obscure tradition implies a kind of comment on the phrase in Mark "*undertook beforehand*," as if he said "It was indeed '*beforehand*,' but it was ordained by God that it should be '*beforehand*,' as the spicy fruit buds of the fig-tree come beforehand to be the sign of the spring." It is impossible to deny that if this is John's meaning, it is expressed with an almost ostentatious harshness as well as brevity and obscurity. But that makes it all the more probable that in using the rare word "embalming" John believes himself to be using a Synoptic word, rejected by Luke, but conveying a special meaning of great importance and used by Jesus Himself.

To us it may seem fanciful to connect the "embalming" mentioned by Jesus with the prospect of a higher life. We associate it with Egyptian mummies. But we must dissociate ourselves from the thought of Egypt and try to merge ourselves in that of Israel. To a Jew, the law that the old must give place to the new might connect itself with the promise in Leviticus that Israel should "bring forth *the old* [stores] because of (literally, from before, *i.e.* to make way for) *the new*¹." There is only one other Scriptural passage that uses "*new*" of the products of the earth². It is in the Song of Songs, where the Bride speaks of "precious fruits *new* and *old*" reserved for the

and "*his*" are pec. to Mt. The LXX "give the rich *for* (*ἀντὶ*) *his* death" seems to lead Justin (*Apol.* § 51 "rules His enemies") away from the Hebrew (and see an interpretation given by Jerome "scribas . . . qui nimiis opibus affluebant, . . . Romanis tradiderit Deus"). John, describing the lavish gift of "myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight" may have intended to suggest a less vindictive aspect of the true text of Isaiah.

¹ Lev. xxvi. 10.

² Gesen. 294 a.

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Beloved¹. Now Philo applies the Levitical promise to the development of the knowledge of God². Origen connects it with the saying of Christ to His disciples about the duty of "every scribe" in His kingdom to "bring forth from his treasury things *new and old*"; Jerome connects the same saying of Christ with the "precious fruits *new and old*" in the Song of Songs³; and the Sermon on the Mount is pervaded with the thought that the New is to be developed out of the Old as the fruit from a tree.

Modern criticism gives hardly sufficient prominence to the Marcan "parable of the fig-tree" in Christ's Discourse on the Last Days where Luke has completely missed the meaning: "Now from the fig-tree learn its parable. When its branch is now become tender and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that summer is nigh⁴." The parable seems to have referred to the fig-tree alone, and to point to the Hebrew "*spicing*," used about the buds of a fig-tree. It seems to take us back to the description of spring in the Song of Songs, mentioning the "fig-tree" as "*spicing*" (or "*embalming*") its "green figs." Christ's doctrine about "the fig-tree," and about "the new and old," together with the two passages from the Song, shew how "*embalming*" might be connected, in the mind of a Jewish Teacher, with the thought of a spiritual spring, a spontaneous budding into life, breaking through the bonds of the winter of death⁵.

¹ Cant. vii. 13, quoted above, p. 378, n. 2.

² Philo i. 178, 513.

³ See Origen on Mt. xiii. 52 (Lomm. iii. 41) and Jerome.

⁴ Mk xiii. 28, Mt. xxiv. 32 ἐκφύη; Lk. xxi. 29 foll. προβάλλωσιν, applied to "the fig-tree and all the trees"; see p. 325, n. 2, and p. 378, n. 1, quoting Cant. ii. 13.

⁵ See p. 308 foll. on Mk xiii. 18 "pray ye that your flight be not in winter."

§ 9. "Verily...for a memorial of her," in Mark and Matthew¹

The emphatic utterance here attributed to Christ by Mark and Matthew has nothing corresponding to it in Luke's narrative of Anointing. Nor does it seem at first sight to have anything corresponding to it in John. Many will find it difficult to believe that Jesus actually uttered such words², but it is perhaps even more difficult to believe that they were invented. They may have sprung from some metaphorical tradition the record of which contained the word "said" in the sense of "meant." A confusion between "now *this meant*" and "now *he said this*," either in Hebrew or in Greek, would explain Mark's insertion³.

It would also explain John's omission, if we could shew that the Johannine parallel here inserts some detail that might be paraphrased so as to give the Mark-Matthew tradition. John has nothing except "The house was filled with the savour of the ointment." But might not "the house" be a way of expressing "the whole world," to which the Gospel was to be preached so that it might become "the house" of God? We have seen that Ignatius speaks of the ointment as breathing incorruptibility on "*the Church*"⁴. Origen also, in his commentary on John, says that the woman "infused the odour of the ointment *into the whole house, [passing] into the perception of all that were in it, wherefore also it is written 'Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached, in all the nations, there shall be mentioned also that which this woman has done...'*"⁵ Here

¹ Mk xiv. 9

ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,
ὅπου ἂν κηρυχθῇ τὸ
εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν
κόσμον, καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν
αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς
μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

Mt. xxvi. 13

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου
ἂν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγ-
γέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
κόσμῳ, λαληθήσεται καὶ
ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη εἰς
μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

[Jn om., but see
xii. 3]

ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη
ἐκ τῆς ὁσμῆς τοῦ μύρου.

² Comp. McNeile on Mt. xxvi. 13 "It is difficult to believe that the words came from the lips of Jesus," and on the other side, Swete on Mk xiv. 9 "That the saying has not been reported by Lc. and Jo. is an interesting indication of the independence of those Evangelists."

³ See Son 3165, 3204 etc.

⁴ See above, p. 347.

⁵ *Comm. Joann.* i. 12, where Lomm. i. 27 wrongly omits a reference to Jn xii. 3.

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he alludes to the *past fact* in John as corresponding to a future metaphorical fulfilment mentioned in Mark and Matthew. Elsewhere, quoting fully from John, and then alluding to Mark and Matthew so as to explain John by the allusion, he says: "This indicates that the odour of the doctrine that proceeds from Christ and from the fragrance of the Holy Spirit, filled *the whole House of this world and the House of the universal Church*¹."

This view of the sweet smell of the ointment, namely, that it was the type of something spiritual, agrees with the first mention of the word in our English Bible, in connection with Noah's sacrifice, "And the Lord *smelled the sweet savour*²"; and it suggests that the action of the woman might be regarded as of the nature of a sacrifice, or of a preparation for sacrifice, preparing the Lord's body (so to speak) for the Sacrifice on the Cross. In this connection, there are some very early traditions—instructive though apocryphal—about the sweet-smelling sacrifice of the heart: "He speaks to us thus," says Barnabas, "'A sacrifice to God is a broken heart; *a savour of sweet odour to the Lord is a heart that glorifies Him that has shaped it*³.'" Irenaeus also, shortly after repeating fully and correctly what "David says in the fiftieth [LXX] Psalm," adds, apparently from a different source, "As it is said elsewhere, 'Sacrifice to God is a broken heart, *a savour of sweet odour to God, a heart that glorifies Him that has shaped it*⁴.'" The same apocryphal saying is quoted by Clement of Alexandria "'A sacrifice to the Lord is a broken spirit.' How then shall I use crowns, or ointments, or what shall I offer as incense to the Lord? 'A *savour (it is said) of sweet-odour to God is a heart that glorifies Him that has shaped it*⁵.'" "

It should be added that an Aramaic past tense "and there was filled" might be read in Hebrew fashion as "and there shall be filled⁶." There are many instances of the interchange of past and future in the transition from Hebrew to the Greek

¹ Origen on Cant. i. 12 (Lomm. xiv. 429).

² Gen. viii. 21.

³ Barn. § 2.

⁴ Iren. iv. 17. 1—2.

⁵ Clem. Alex. 306 is almost identical with Barnabas Ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ (Barn. τῷ Κυρίῳ) καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακῶτα αὐτήν.

⁶ *Paradosis* 1290, 1411 a—b.

of the LXX¹. Our conclusion is that the omission by John of the Mark-Matthew tradition concerning a solemn prediction of Jesus is to be explained much more probably by the hypothesis that John substituted the true tradition for the misinterpretation of it, than by the hypothesis that John rejected the Mark-Matthew tradition as false, and substituted for it a new one that had no connection with the old.

§ 10. *Mark's narrative as a whole*

The last section has brought before us the very widespread early Christian tradition about the "sweet savour" of "a sacrifice" that consists in "a broken heart." Jewish tradition comments on the anomaly in the Psalms: God will not have as a sacrifice the body of a beast that is rent, or an offering of wine in a broken vessel; but He welcomes the sacrifice of "a broken heart"—a metaphor for repentance, expressed in another metaphor as a passionate "turning away" from one's sinful self to find one's true self in the Father in heaven². According to Isaiah, the Lord sent the Anointed, that is the Christ, to "bind up the broken in heart³." Luke strangely omits this clause when he represents Jesus as reading the Lesson from Isaiah in the Synagogue; but he expresses the fulfilment of it in his description of Jesus as dismissing the weeping woman that had been "a sinner" with the words, "Thy sins are forgiven⁴."

In Mark, there is nothing that on the surface signifies a breaking of the heart. But we ought to look below the surface. We have already found that the "pistic" ointment probably contains an allusion to faith or trust⁵. The "embalming" was also found to allude to a life beyond death⁶. And a similar allusion appeared in the exceptional Marcan verb expressing "perfume." In a context so full of allusive metaphor, there ought not to be ignored the phrase peculiar to Mark describing the woman as "breaking" the cruse of ointment⁷. The word

¹ See *Clue* 19, 84, 87, 240.

² See *Lev. v.* (on *Lev. vi. 9*) (Wü. p. 47), rep. *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 227. Pseudo-Jerome says (on *Mk xiv. 3*) "fractum alabastrum carnale est desiderium." See pp. 387, 721, n. 1.

⁴ *Lk. iv. 18—19, vii. 48.*

⁵ See above, p. 380.

³ *Is. lxi. 1* συντετριμμένους.

⁶ See above, pp. 356—7.

⁷ *Mk xiv. 3* συντρίψασα.

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is a strong one, meaning "break in pieces" so that the contents might issue in a stream and not in drops. Matthew omits it, perhaps because he thought the action so unusual and inconvenient that this word must be corrupt. But it may be expressive of an intense emotion that disregarded convention; and Mark's original may have used the word allusively to describe the woman as "broken in heart" while breaking the cruse¹. In Luke, the woman's sorrow was for her own sake, because of her past estrangement from the Father in heaven. But in Mark it appears to have been sorrow also for the sake of her Saviour on earth—who had often predicted that He would be "delivered over" to smiting or death, and whose prediction seemed now in danger of being speedily fulfilled².

In a somewhat similar manner we ought perhaps to explain the remarkable phrase peculiar to Mark, "That which she had she did³." Matthew avoids this. It seems to mean "That which she had [in her power to do] she did" but why did not Mark say this if he meant it? Delitzsch suggests an answer by his Hebrew rendering: "*That which was in the power of her hand* [to do] she did." Such a phrase is connected in the Law with sacrifices and vows and offerings *from the "hand" of the poor*—which were necessarily of little value as compared with those of the rich⁴. So taken, and applied literally, the phrase might be regarded by Matthew as absurd: "The offering was of great value. Some say, three hundred denars. How then could Jesus say, that which she 'had it in her power,' or, that which she 'could afford,' to do?" But Jesus might be speaking, not of the money value, but of the spiritual value: "All that

¹ See Clem. Rom. § 18, and § 52 quoting Ps. li. 17.

² From a different point of view, Phaedo (117 c) weeps for himself rather than for Socrates who is on the point of departing: ἀπέκλαιον ἑμαυτὸν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖνόν γε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ τύχην, οἷον ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου ἐστερημένους εἶην.

³ Mk xiv. 8 ὃ ἔσχευ ἐποίησεν, Delitzsch את אשר היה לאל ידה עשתה. SS has "This, which she hath done, lo, as if for my burial she hath done it," *h* "quod habuit haec," followed by "praesumpsit et unguentavit...."

⁴ See Gesen. 390 *a* quoting Lev. v. 7, 11 etc.

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she could possibly do, all that she could possibly give, a broken heart—this she gave¹."

In view of all the facts we may regard it as probable that Mark—even if he did not definitely allude in the "breaking" of the cruse to the "broken heart"—assumed that the woman was heart-broken with sorrow. In the Phaedo, when Socrates drinks off the hemlock, even the gravest of his philosophic friends cannot forbear from tears. Crito goes out for a moment to hide them, Phaedo weeps silently with covered head, another weeps openly, another bursts into weeping and wailing unrestrainedly. In Mark, then, why is not the woman represented as weeping? May it not be because Mark assumes the tears? May he not follow some tradition that subordinated tears as interfering with the emphasis laid on "embalming," which signified resurrection?

It is unsatisfactory to conclude with an interrogation. But we cannot ignore the atmosphere of doubt that encompasses these traditions about anointing. Later on, we shall find Mark and Luke implying or mentioning a proposed anointing of the body of Jesus; but the parallel Matthew mentions only a "beholding"; and the Gospel of Peter will be found to add "weeping and lamenting²." This will be discussed in its place. Meantime, we may safely conclude that Mark's difficult expressions are probably earlier than the easy paraphrases that Matthew substituted for them, and that Mark contains, in an obscure and possibly truncated form, the closest approximation to the historical fact.

§ II. *A review of the evidence*

On a matter on which Origen changed his mind, and departed from the view formerly held by himself and "many³" older commentators, it is natural to doubt whether it is possible to arrive at a safe conclusion. But the facilities possessed by

¹ On Lk. ii. 24, describing the offering of Mary, the Lord's mother ("a pair of turtle-doves"), Origen refers to Lev. xii. 8 (A.V. marg.) "if her hand find not sufficiency of a lamb."

² Mk xvi. 1, Mt. xxviii. 1, comp. Lk. xxiv. 1 and xxiii. 56.

³ "Many," see above, p. 353.

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modern students for the purpose of linguistic analysis¹ have enabled us to see that there is more to be said than Origen supposed for the older view, apparently assumed by Ignatius and Clement of Alexandria, that there was only one act of anointing and that the anointing woman had been "a sinner."

If there had been more than one, would there not probably have been many? Would not such an act have provoked imitation—especially among the devoted women described by Luke as following Jesus? But Mark, Matthew, and John all appear to regard it as unique. So apparently do Ignatius and Clement of Alexandria. If indeed it had come early in Christ's life, where Luke places it, it would have probably been imitated. But it appears to have come but a few days before the close of His life. It seems to sum up the action of the Messiah, or Christ, or Anointed, in preaching the Gospel to sinners and "binding up the broken in heart," who, in the person of one woman, make Him a return in the form of an anointing, or *chrism*, that prepares the *Christ* for His grave and resurrection. If the woman was in some special way a "sinner," and was now a repentant sinner, that would make her a fit type of the Gentile Church which was to receive, through repentance, remission of sins. Hence the emphasis on the act in all the Gospels.

As to the place where the Anointing happened, and the house in that place, the Evangelists diverge. Bethany, say all but Luke; Luke is silent². The house of Simon the Pharisee, says Luke; the house of Martha and her family (in effect) says John; the house of Simon the Leper, say Mark and Matthew—all, perhaps, going back to some original Beth Ania, as above indicated.

These convergences and divergences illustrate what we have found Origen calling "a kind of family relationship (cognatio quaedam)" between the Gospel narratives. Some of the

¹ I mean not only the Concordances to Scripture in English, Greek, and Hebrew, but the Indices to early Christian writers, including Goodspeed's Concordance to those of the first century and a half, and the Indices to Greek writers in general.

² Lk. vii. 36. The places mentioned in the previous context are vii. 11 "Nain," vii. 17 "Judaea and the region round about."

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similarities and dissimilarities illustrate the different aspects in which the act might present itself to the narrators. In Mark and Matthew the woman simply anoints the Saviour as an "embalming" for the grave and resurrection; but in Luke and John the woman "wipes off" from Jesus something ("tears," or "ointment," or both) that becomes to her, in Luke, a kind of cleansing for the remission of sins. In John this "wiping" is only an addition to the "embalming." But Luke mentions no "embalming" at all. He is solely concerned with the woman whose sins are forgiven, not with the "embalming" of the Forgiver.

It is not surprising if Luke has missed the meaning of the "embalming." It would perhaps be as perplexing to him as the last words of the dying Socrates would be to some modern readers: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius¹." Not every modern reader of Plato realises that this means "We owe a sacrifice to the God of Healing who is on the point of raising me up from the disease of mortal life to the health of life immortal."

But, on the hypothesis that only one woman anointed Jesus, what are we to say about the omission, by Mark, Matthew, and John, of the fact—if it was a fact—that the woman had been "a sinner"? In behalf of Mark it may perhaps be said that he assumed it in introducing the phrase "alabaster cruse of ointment." But we have seen that John alters this into "*pound* of ointment." Is it possible that John knew the woman to have been a sinner—this woman whom he calls the sister of Lazarus and whom he has expressly described as "loved" by Jesus—knew it, and yet refrained from mentioning it?

It would be venturesome to assert this positively, but it would perhaps be still more venturesome to deny the possibility. Consider John's representation of Mary Magdalene. He gives to her the first place among those privileged to see the risen Saviour. He makes her the Lord's own messenger to the Apostles concerning His resurrection. Yet he nowhere tells us that she had once been possessed by "seven devils."

Consider also John's treatment of the term "sinner." He

¹ Plato *Phaedo* 118 A.

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never uses the word except technically in the story of the healing of the man born blind. There some of the Pharisees declare that Jesus "is not from God," but some venture to ask "How can a man that is a sinner do such signs?" Then they pronounce authoritatively "We know that this man is a sinner." The man born blind replies, in effect, that he knows nothing about these Pharisaean technicalities, "Sinner or not, He was the man that healed me! Is that what you call 'sinner'?¹" Similarly, perhaps, as regards the woman that anointed Jesus, John may have intended his readers to say, "Sinner or not, she was one whom Jesus 'loved.' She was one whose tears moved Jesus to raise Lazarus from the dead. She was one from whose hand He willingly received a preparation for the temporary tomb through which He passed in order that He might ascend to the Father in heaven."

¹ Jn ix. 16, 24, 25, 31.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST SUPPER

[Mark xiv. 12—25]

§ 1. *Judas Iscariot's agreement with the chief priests*¹

THE account of Judas' agreement comes, in Mark-Matthew, as a connecting link between the narrative of the Supper at

¹ Mk xiv. 10—11

(10) Καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριῶθ ὁ εἰς τῶν δώδεκα ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδοῖ αὐτοῖς.

(11) οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἐπηγγείλαντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι. καὶ ἐζήτηι πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαίρως παραδοῖ.

Mt. xxvi. 14—16

(14) Τότε πορευθεὶς εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς,

(15) εἶπεν, Τί θέλετέ μοι δοῦναι καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν παραδώσω αὐτόν; οἱ δὲ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια.

(16) καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἐζήτηι εὐκαιρίαν ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῶ.

Lk. xxii. 3—6

(3) Εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Ἰσκαριώτην, ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα.

(4) καὶ ἀπελθὼν συνελάλησεν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτοῖς παραδῶ αὐτόν.

(5) καὶ ἐχάρησαν καὶ συνέθεντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι.

(6) καὶ ἐξωμολόγησεν, καὶ ἐζήτηι εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἄτερ ὄχλου αὐτοῖς.

In Mk xiv. 11, ἐπηγγείλαντο δοῦναι perhaps represented an original "said to pay," as in Esth. iv. 7 (the only instance of εἰ in canon. LXX with a Heb. original, R.V. "promised to pay," Heb. "said to pay (lit. to weigh)," LXX ἐπηγγείλατο, al. ex. + παραστήσαι). Mt. xxvi. 15 is influenced by Zech. xi. 12 "weighed (ἔστησαν) [for] my hire thirty pieces of silver." Lk., like Mk, paraphrases.

In Lk. xxii. 6, the active ἐξωμολόγησεν is noteworthy. The middle, ἐξομολογῶμαι, abounds, meaning "give acknowledgment," "confess" etc., in a good sense. The active, ἐξομολογέω, does not exist—though ὁμολογέω is existent—in O.T. or N.T., or in the early Christian writers (Goodspeed) or in Gk literature (Steph. *Thes.*). If

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Bethany and that of the Last Supper; and it has been touched on above in the discussion of the former. Here the text is repeated in Greek in order to illustrate some differences between Luke and Mark.

Mark has the difficult expression "Judas Iscariot *the one of the Twelve*." Matthew's cancelling of "the" is condemned by its obviousness. If we accept John's view that in the Supper at Bethany Judas was rebuked as the real offender, then "*the one of the Twelve*" might have meant, in the original, "that one of the Twelve just mentioned who was specially rebuked by Jesus¹." Another explanation would be that Mark has already mentioned a Judas as brother of Jesus, who was *not* one of the Twelve²; and now he mentions that Judas who was "the one of the Twelve" destined to be a traitor. Neither of these explanations is quite satisfactory.

Luke has mentioned no Judas as brother of the Lord, but he has mentioned a "Judas of James" as one of the Twelve³. Here he says "Judas that is called Iscariot"; but he adds "being [still] *of the number of the Twelve*." This suggests a reproach, "still *nominally* an Apostle," and that was probably Luke's meaning.

John, having recently mentioned Judas Iscariot as the murmurer at the Supper in Bethany, adds in the preface to the Last Supper, "Now before the feast of the passover, Jesus... loved them [*i.e.* the disciples] unto the end. And during supper—*the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's [son], to betray him...* [Jesus]... riseth from supper...⁴." Neither here nor later on does he describe Judas

it is genuine here, it is perhaps emphatic, "he *at once agreed*," "he *pledged himself*." It is omitted by many authorities, including SS. D reads ὁμολόγησεν. If ἐξ οὗ were used in N.T., we might suppose the original to have been ἐξ οὗ ὁμολόγησεν "from which time, *or*, in consequence of which, he agreed" (comp. Jn vi. 66, xix. 12 ἐκ τούτου). This would be parall. to Mt. xxvi. 16 ἀπὸ τότε.

¹ In that case, Mark must be regarded as combining two inconsistent traditions. For Mk xiv. 4 has "some."

² Mk vi. 3, Mt. xiii. 55.

³ Lk. vi. 16.

⁴ Jn xiii. 1—4.

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as making an agreement with the chief priests. He assumes that we know this¹, but leaves us free to believe that it was made either on the evening of the Supper at Bethany, or on the evening of the Last Supper, or between the two. John elsewhere recognises the ambiguity of the name "Judas" by calling one of the disciples "Judas not Iscariot²." But, in calling Iscariot "Simon's [son]" here, the object is probably not to distinguish him from others of the name of Judas but—strange though it may appear to us—to indicate that he was no true disciple, but still unregenerate³. Also, whereas Luke places the expression "*Satan entered into Judas*" before his narrative of the Last Supper, John, after the preliminary phrase just quoted ("the devil having already put..."), defers "*Satan entered into Judas*" till the conclusion of the Johannine Supper⁴. This seems an intervention, not in behalf of Mark, but rather against Luke.

§ 2. *The "man bearing a pitcher," in Mark and Luke*⁵

We can explain Matthew's omission of a large part of this narrative as follows. The wealthy Nicodemus—who according to the Fourth Gospel was present at this time in Jerusalem—

¹ Jn xviii. 3 "having received from the chief priests...."

² Jn xiv. 22.

³ See *Proclamation*, pp. 127—8 on Jn xxi. 15—17 "Simon, son of John."

⁴ Lk. xxii. 3, Jn xiii. 2, 27.

⁵ Mk xiv. 12—16
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvi. 17—19
(R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 7—13
(R.V.)

(12) And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the passover, his disciples say unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready that thou mayest eat the passover?

(17) Now on the first [day] of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying, Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee to eat the passover?

(7) And the day of unleavened bread came, on which the passover must be sacrificed.

(8) And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and make ready for us the passover, that we may eat.

(13) And he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go into the city, and there shall

(18) And he said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him,

(9) And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready?

(10) And he said

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would hardly be unwilling to lend Jesus a chamber in the City for Himself and His disciples. But he would probably be unwilling to let his kind act be known¹. Jesus also might be unwilling that the Jews should know the whereabouts of this chamber. Now Nicodemus, according to Jewish tradition, was connected with the supply of water to the Jerusalemites². He

Mk xiv. 12—16
(R.V.) *contd.*

meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: follow him;

(14) And wheresoever he shall enter in, say to the goodman of the house, The Master (*or*, Teacher) saith, Where is my guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?

(15) And he will himself shew you a large upper room furnished [and] ready: and there make ready for us.

(16) And the disciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

Mt. xxvi. 17—19
(R.V.) *contd.*

The
Master (*or*, Teacher)
saith, My time is at hand; I keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.

(19) And the disciples did as Jesus appointed them; and they made ready the passover.

Lk. xxii. 7—13
(R.V.) *contd.*

unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house whereinto he goeth.

(11) And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, The Master (*or*, Teacher) saith unto thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?

(12) And he will shew you a large upper room furnished: there make ready.

(13) And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

¹ Jn xii. 42, xix. 38—9.

² See *Hor. Heb.* on Jn iii. 1, quoting *Taanith* 20 a, and *Aboth R. Nathan* ch. 7, for a fabulous account of the origin of his name *Nicodemus* (as if it were Hebrew), and adding "It should seem *Nicodemus* was a priest, and that kind of officer whose title was *חופר יערין* *a digger of wells*; under whose peculiar care and charge was the provision of water for those that should come up to the feast." See also a story, probably of anti-christian tendency, in *Chetub.* 66 b (quoted in *Hor. Heb.* on Mk xiv. 5) about a daughter of Nicodemus "to whom the wise men appointed four hundred crowns of gold for a chest of *spices* for one day." This daughter, afterwards, was "reduced to that extreme poverty, that she picked up barley-corns for her food out of the cattle's dung." Comp. Wetstein on Jn iii. 1.

might therefore instruct one of his numerous water-carriers to stand with his pitcher at the gate near the "entering of the city¹" from the road to Bethany, and to make himself the guide to two disciples of Jesus who might approach him as if desiring guidance. The disciples were to be guided to a place selected by Nicodemus where Jesus would be safe. The question was there to be addressed as a password to the master of the house, "Rabbi saith, 'Where is my guest-chamber?²'" The chamber would then be shewn to them.

Now all these details would be of great interest for the first generation of Christians in Jerusalem. They certainly must have known the "guest-chamber." Perhaps, too, some identified it with the "upper chamber" where Christians for the first time united in prayer and praise after the Ascension³. Before a generation had passed they might begin, in their songs and discourses, to allegorize "the water," and possibly "the upper chamber" too⁴. But it will be observed that Matthew

¹ Mk xiv. 13 ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπαντήσῃ. . . is not so definite as Lk. xxii. 10 εἰσελθόντων ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συναντήσῃ ὑμῖν, which suggests that as soon as they had passed through the gate the water-carrier would meet them.

² Mk xiv. 14 ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ κατάλυμά μου; Lk. xxii. 11 om. μου.

³ Acts i. 13 ὑπερῶν, also used *ib.* ix. 37—9, xx. 8 and freq. in LXX (always some form of עליה). Here (Mk xiv. 15, Lk. xxii. 12) the word is ἀνάγαιον. This does not occur in LXX. *Hor. Heb.*, on Acts i. 13, quotes *Juchasin* 23 b "When the feast was done, Rabban Johanan and his disciples went up לעליה into an upper room, and read and expounded till the fire shone round about them as when the law was given at Mount Sinai." It adds, "Take notice that עליה an upper room is distinct from a dining room, where they dined and supped." It also quotes *Juchasin* 45 b "the sons of the upper room" and *Jer. Sabb. fol.* 3. 3 "These are the traditions which they delivered in the upper room of Hananiah" and adds "[there are] many instances of that kind" (comparing Acts xx. 8). In *Steph. Thes.* (which does not give ἀνάγαιον except under the head of ἀνώγει(τον) ἀνάγαιον seems to mean "above the ground [floor]." See *Levy* iii. 653 a quoting *Ned.* 56 a—which refers fancifully to Lev. xiv. 34 "a house of the land of your possession," as meaning the "ground floor," distinguished from the attic, or loft—and shewing that the derived word עליות means (1) "attic (Söller)," (2) "height," "heaven."

⁴ Comp. Origen on Mt. xxvi. 17—18 quoting the parall. Mk and

does not mention any "guest-chamber" in any part of his narrative. In Matthew, the password corresponding to "*my guest-chamber*" is "*my time*," which can hardly mean anything except (as Chrysostom takes it) the time of the Passion¹. This is explicable if Matthew confused *cataluma* with *catalusis*. Both of these occur in LXX meaning "*lodging-place*"². But the latter, in literary Greek, mostly means "*dissolution*"³. It would not therefore be difficult for a Greek writer to mistake some such expression as "Is there not *my lodging* [ready]?" for "There is [at hand] *my dissolution*"⁴. This Matthew might paraphrase as "*My time* is at hand"⁵."

saying "Et adscendimus... ad locum superiorem in quo *diversorium* est quod demonstratur ab intellectu, qui est in unoquoque homine paterfamilias [*i.e.* οἰκοδεσπότης] discipulis Christi." He takes (*ib.* Lomm. iv. 408) the man with the pitcher to be Moses, and the water to be "mundatoria," or also ("aut certe") "potabilis." In *Hom. Jerem.* xviii. 13 (Lomm. xv. 341—3) he says that he will "shew by Scripture" the meaning of the Biblical ὑπερφῶν and quotes O.T. as well as Acts i. 13 and Mk xiv. 12 foll.: "If anyone keeps the feast with Jesus, he is above, in a great upper chamber, in a swept upper chamber, in an upper chamber adorned and [made] ready."

¹ Mt. xxvi. 18 ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν. The phrase ὁ καιρὸς μου does not occur elsewhere in the Synoptists. But it resembles Jn vii. 6 ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐπω πάρεστιν (and sim. vii. 8) apparently meaning "the season appointed for my Passion."

² Κατάλυμα, in LXX = Heb. "habitation," "lodging" etc. (about 8) including Exod. xv. 13 "unto thy [*i.e.* God's] holy habitation (נוה)"; κατάλυσις, in LXX, = "habitation" Jer. xlix. 20 נוה, Dan. ii. 22 (Aram.) שֵׁן.

³ Steph. *Thes.* κατάλυσις (1) dissolutio, (2) dimissio, (3) exitus [ex hac vita], (4) deversatio hospitalis, or deversorium.

⁴ Πάρεστι, "there is at hand," or "there is ready," would be appropriate here as in Jn vii. 6, and πονεσται might be corrupted into παρεσται. For instances of interrog. in Gk confused with affirm. see *Joh. Gr.* 2236—44. In Heb., confusion would be more easy. Comp. Levy i. 463 בִּיהִיָּה (1) "diesse," (2) "als Frageprtkl. 'quaenam?'"—on which see Dalman *Aram. Gr.* p. 89.

⁵ There remains Matthew's use of ὁ δεῖνα (unique in N.T. and non-occurrent in LXX) in words ascribed to Jesus xxvi. 18 ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα. On this Jerome says "Morem veteris Testamenti nova Scriptura conservat. Frequenter legimus 'Dixit ille illi (? illi et illi)' et 'in loco illo et illo,' quod Hebraice dicitur

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Passing to the Fourth Gospel we note that, as Luke closely follows Mark, no question arises about Johannine intervention. But in view of the early Christian allegorizing of "the pitcher" as signifying rudimentary purification¹, it is noteworthy that John represents Jesus as Himself "pouring water into the bason" and washing the feet of the disciples, not before the Last Supper but during it². That action is so original that few, if any, will suspect that the narrative sprang from anything but fact. Yet, if so, the omission of it by the Synoptists shews that if they knew it they were not alive to the importance of

אלמוני et פלוני, et tamen personarum locorumque non ponitur nomen. *Et invenietis ibi quendam portantem lagenam aquae. Quorum idcirco vocabula praetermissa sunt ut omnibus qui Pascha facturi sunt, libera festivitatis occasio panderetur.*" The last two sentences, which I have italicised, seem to me obscure; but Jerome is justified in the hypothesis that τὸν δέινα may be a translation of the Heb. original mentioned by him. The Heb. phrase occurs in Ruth iv. 1 of a person, and 1 S. xxi. 2, 2 K. vi. 8 of a place (where see Field).

In Ruth iv. 1 "he [*i.e.* Boaz] said, Sit here, (lit.) *a certain defined person* (פלני) unnamed (אלמני)"—LXX κρύψις, Aq. ὁ δέινα—we are not to suppose that Boaz addressed the man thus, but that the writer substituted "such-and-such a one" for the name, because, as Rashi says, "he would not take on himself the right of redemption" ("non scriptum (hic) est nomen ejus quia ille noluerat redimere"). Similarly here, *Matthew may have substituted ὁ δέινα for some name of a person, or some description of a person, actually uttered by Jesus.* If Nicodemus was that person, the fact that he never openly joined the Church of Christ, and that his daughter was held up by the Jews as an example of divine retribution, may have influenced some earlier Evangelists, though not John, in suppressing all mention of his relations with Jesus.

On the other hand Cramer on Lk. xxii. 7 foll. prints a comment alleged to be from Titus of Bostra, suggesting that τὸν δέινα was not a casual expression—οὐ γὰρ ἔφη πρὸς τὸν δέινα τυχόν—and that Jesus *would not mention the name of the host to Peter and John in the presence of Judas,*" in order that he [*i.e.* Judas] might not learn the [name of the] man and run away and report it to those who had hired him."

¹ See above (p. 394, n. 4) and add. Tertull. *De Bapt.* § 19 quoting Mk xiv. 13, Lk. xxii. 10 about the "man bearing water" (to shew that the Passover is a suitable time for baptism) and saying that the expression may be interpreted figuratively.

² Jn xiii. 2—12.

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it. And yet two of them could find room for so much detail about the man bearing a pitcher!

It is not improbable that a superfluity of Christian discussions about "the pitcher," supposed to be the type of Mosaic purification, led John to relate fully and to emphasize the Christian sacrament of "the bason." This indeed instituted a purification of an entirely new nature—differing from any mentioned in the Pentateuch—one in which a man does not aim in the first instance at purifying himself, but as it were stoops down to the feet of his neighbours in order to wash away that which defiles them, and then finds that in following thus the example of his Master he has cleansed and washed away the defilements of his own soul.

§ 3. *The designation of Judas as the betrayer*¹

All the Synoptists agree that Jesus knew that the betrayer was among the Twelve, partaking, or having partaken, of the

¹ Mk xiv. 17—21
(R.V.)

(17) And when it was evening he cometh with the twelve.

(18) And as they sat (*lit.* reclined) and were eating, Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, One of you shall betray me, [even] he that eateth with me.

(19) They began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, Is it I?

(20) And he said unto them, [It is] one of the twelve, he that dippeth with me in the dish.

(21) For the Son

Mt. xxvi. 20—25
(R.V.)

(20) Now when even was come, he was sitting at meat with the twelve disciples (*many auth., some anc., om. disciples*);

(21) And as they were eating, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

(22) And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began to say unto him every one, Is it I, Lord?

(23) And he answered and said, He that dipped his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.

(24) The Son of

Lk. xxii. 14, 15, 21—23 (R.V.)

(14) And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him.

(15) And he said unto them, With desire...

(21) But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.

(22) For the Son

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bread and wine on the table. But Luke differs from Mark-Matthew as to the position of the words indicating Christ's knowledge¹. And not one of them describes the betrayer as going out before the rest to take steps for the betrayal. As far as Mark and Matthew are concerned, we are led to suppose that all present went out together ("*they* went out") to the Mount of Olives; and Luke hardly appears to differ from them, though he leaves us a loophole for discerning a possible difference².

Mk xiv. 17—21
(R.V.) *contd.*

of man goeth, even as it is written of him: but woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he (*lit.* for him if that man) had not been born.

Mt. xxvi. 20—25
(R.V.) *contd.*

man goeth, even as it is written of him: but woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he (*lit.* for him if that man) had not been born.

(25) And Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Is it I, Rabbi? He saith unto him, Thou hast said.

Lk. xxii. 14, 15, 21—23 (R.V.) *contd.*

of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed! (23) And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

Comp. Jn xiii. 21—8 (R.V.) When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in the spirit, and testified, . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. (22) The disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake. (23) There was at the table reclining in Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved. (24) Simon Peter therefore beckoneth to him, and saith unto him, Tell [us] who it is of whom he speaketh. (25) He leaning back, as he was, on Jesus' breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it? (26) Jesus therefore answereth, He it is, for whom I shall dip the sop, and give it him. So when he had dipped the sop, he taketh and giveth it to Judas, [the son] of Simon Iscariot. (27) And after the sop, then entered Satan into him. Jesus therefore saith unto him, That thou doest, do quickly. (28) Now no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him.

¹ Luke places the words after the institution of the Eucharist. Hence the verses in Luke parallel to Mk xiv. 18—21, taken consecutively, are Lk. xxii. 15*a*, 21, 23, 22.

² Mk xiv. 26, Mt. xxvi. 30 "they went out," Lk. xxii. 39 "And 398 (Mark xiv. 17—21)

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The Apostolical Constitutions says "And when He had delivered to us the representative mysteries of His precious body and blood, *Judas not being present with us*¹." These words indicate that at a very early period the question of the duration of the presence of Judas would be discussed. This being the case, small Lucan deviations from Mark acquire importance. For example, while Matthew agrees with Mark in the first half of the sentence "One of you will betray me—he that is [now] *eating with me*" (placed before the Eucharist), Matthew omits the second half, "*he that is [now] eating with me*"; and Luke's

he came out and went as his custom was..., and the disciples also followed him."

¹ *Const. Apost.* v. 14 represents the Jewish rulers as making plans against Jesus as early as the second and the third day of the week (Monday and Tuesday), and as determining "on the fourth day" (Wednesday) to crucify Him: "And Judas knowing this, ... and being smitten by the devil himself with the love of money... was nevertheless not cast off by the Lord... Nay, and when we were once feasting with Him... He said 'One of you will betray me.' And when every one of us said 'Is it I?' and the Lord was silent, I, [who was] ? the one of the twelve more beloved by Him than the rest... besought Him to tell us... Yet not even then did our good Lord declare his name, but gave two signs of the betrayer: one by saying 'He that dippeth with me in the dish,' a second, 'to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it.' Nay, although he himself said 'Master, is it I?' the Lord did not say 'Yes' but 'Thou hast said' and... 'Woe to that man....'" Hereupon, Judas departs and bargains with the priests for thirty pieces of silver

After this follows: "And on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), when we had eaten the passover with Him, and when Judas had dipped his hand into the dish, and received the sop and was gone out by night, the Lord said to us 'The hour is come that ye shall be scattered and shall leave me alone (Jn xvi. 32)...'" This gives the impression that the prediction about "dipping in the dish" and "giving the sop" was made on Wednesday and fulfilled on Thursday. Or else we must suppose that the action was repeated. Then follows Peter's protestation, and the prediction of Peter's denial, and then the above-quoted brief reference to the Eucharist—as being "the representative mysteries" at which Judas was "not present"—followed by a form of Luke's version of the going forth ("Judas not being present with us He [*i.e.* Jesus] went forth").

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parallel (placed after the Eucharist) is still less definite: "The hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table¹."

Again, Mark, repeating the present tense, says "It is one of the twelve, *he that is* [now] *dipping with me into the dish*"; but the parallel Matthew omits "one of the twelve" and has the past tense, "He that *dipped* his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me². Luke has no parallel to these sayings.

There follows a questioning among the disciples, in which, according to Mark-Matthew, they—"one by one" (as Mark says), or "one [at a time] each one" (as Matthew says)—questioned the Lord, saying "Is it I?" but according to Luke they merely "questioned among themselves"; and they asked, not "Is it I?" but "which of them was it that should do this deed³."

Here, then, are two points as to which—unless the rule of Johannine Intervention is to be broken—John must be found to say something:—1st, the "eating" and "dipping"; 2nd, the "questioning" of the Lord by the disciples. On both, John does apparently intervene.

As to the first, John represents Jesus as quoting from the Psalms "he that *eateth my bread*⁴"; and he adds that Jesus

¹ Mk xiv. 18

Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει
με ὁ ἐσθίων (marg. τῶν
ἐσθιόντων) μετ' ἐμοῦ.

Mt. xxvi. 21

Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει
με.

Lk. xxii. 21

Πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ
παραδιδόντος με μετ'
ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.

On Lk. xxii. 21, see *Son* 3371 (i) *m*.

² Mk xiv. 20

Εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ
ἐμβάπτομενος μετ' ἐμοῦ
εἰς τὸ [ἐν] τρύβλιον.

Mt. xxvi. 23

Ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ
τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ
οὗτός με παραδώσει.

Lk. om.

³ Mk xiv. 19

ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι
καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἰς κατὰ
εἰς Μῆτι ἐγώ;

Mt. xxvi. 22

καὶ λυπούμενοι σφό-
δρα ἤρξαντο λέγειν αὐτῷ
εἰς ἕκαστος Μῆτι ἐγώ
εἰμι, κύριε;

Lk. xxii. 23

καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο
συνζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς
τὸ τίς ἄρα εἶη ἐξ αὐτῶν
ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσ-
σειν.

⁴ Jn xiii. 18 ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ, quoting Ps. xli. 9 "Mine own familiar friend... that did eat [of] my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me," LXX ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου

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"when he had *dipped* the sop, taketh and giveth it to Judas¹." "This was a very unusual thing," says the *Horae Hebraicae*, "to dip a sop and reach it to anyone²"; and Wetstein and Schöttgen offer no explanation of the act. Moreover John represents Jesus as speaking, not about "*a* sop" but about "*the* sop," saying "He it is for whom I shall dip *the* sop and give it him." This leads us to ask "Could it be called '*sop*' before it was '*dipped*'? And are we to infer from '*the*' that it was some customary food, as we speak of '*the* meat,' '*the* vegetables,' '*the* soup'? And what are we to say about the reading of B in the subsequent words 'When he had dipped *a* sop'?"³ It is tempting to explain '*the* sop' as referring to "*the Charoseth*," or Passover sauce, which many connect with the "dipping" in Mark and Matthew⁴. But we cannot legitimately thus explain "*the*" in John, for he regards the Passover as still to come. Explanation must therefore be sought elsewhere.

Turning to the LXX, we find that, although it never uses the diminutive *psōmion*, it has *psōmos* several times, and almost always to mean a "fragment" or "crumb" of bread, especially in courteous and self-depreciatory offers of hospitality as in "Comfort thy heart with *a crumb* (where A has fragment) of bread⁵." It occurs also, along with "dipping," in the promise

ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐπὲ πτερνισμόν, Aq. Theod. κατεμεγαλύνθη μου πτέρνα, Sym. συνεσθίων μοι ἄρτον ἐμόν, κατεμεγαλύνθη μου ἀκολουθῶν. Euseb. (Field) said that Aq. has πτέρναν, for πτερνισμόν, "being a slave to the Hebrew." The Targ. renders "magnificavit (הגדיל) super me (עלי) calcaneum (עקב)," by "has magnified himself above me *by craft*," and Rashi explains עקב as "*ambush*" both here and in Josh. viii. 13 (R.V. "*liers in wait*," Gesen. 784 a "*rear*"). *Tehill.* ad loc. seems to render עקב as "at the end" and gives a quaint explanation of it.

¹ Jn xiii. 26 βάψας οὖν [τὸ] ψωμίον λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσιν Ἰούδα Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου.

² *Hor. Heb.* also asks (on Jn xiii. 26) "What could the rest of the disciples think of it?" and suggests that they would suppose Jesus to mean, in effect, "Take your supper quickly and go."

³ Blass approves of the omission of τὸ, W. H. bracket it.

⁴ As to the *Charoseth* see *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxvi. 26, and also McNeile, on Mt. xxvi. 23.

⁵ Judg. xix. 5 ψωμῶ (A κλάσματι) ἄρτου.

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of Boaz to Ruth "Thou shalt dip *thy crumb* in the vinegar¹." The Hebrew noun (*path* from *pâthath*, "crumble") occurs for the first time in Abraham's offer of hospitality to the three Persons "I will fetch a *crumb* of bread," but there LXX has simply "*bread*" (as also have the Syriac and most of the Latin versions of John here)². Also, LXX uses the verb "feed-on-crumbs" (*psôm-izein*)—where the Hebrew has the vague and general "cause-to-eat"—to describe the Lord as feeding the children of Israel in the wilderness, or as feeding the weak and erring (sometimes medicinally)³. In this use of the verb, the LXX appears to be influenced by literary Greek, which uses forms of *psômos* for the most part to mean food for invalids, or for children⁴.

If that is the meaning here, and if there is also an allusion to the use of the word in LXX, Judas is to be regarded (1) as sick unto death, and Jesus as making a final effort to keep him alive; (2) as wandering away from the home-circle, and Jesus as making a final effort to recall him. Boaz invites Ruth to dip her "crumb" in the wine of his household⁵, but Jesus Himself dips the "crumb" of hospitality and offers it to Judas as if to say, "Come back, come back even now, to the brotherhood from which thou art going forth⁶."

¹ Ruth ii. 14, comp. 1 S. xxviii. 22.

² Gen. xviii. 5.

³ *Ψωμίζω* occurs, as causative of אכל "eat," in Numb. xi. 4, 18 of Israel crying to the Lord to be fed with "morsels of flesh," and in Deut. viii. 3, 16 of the Lord as feeding Israel with "manna." Comp. Ps. lxxx. 5 "with the bread of tears," lxxxi. 16 "with the finest of the wheat," Is. lviii. 14 etc.

⁴ Comp. Epictet. i. 26. 16, about invalids, who "cannot swallow down their spoon-food (τὸν ψωμὸν καταπίνειν)." Lightfoot says, on Clem. Rom. § 55 ἐψώμισαν, that the word is "especially appropriate of feeding the poor and helpless, the sick man or the child." *Ψωμός* and *ψωμίων* sometimes mean the bread used as a spoon to take up soup or porridge. See Diog. Laert. *Vit. Diog.* vi. 37 and Xen. *Mem.* iii. 14. 5.

⁵ See the Midrash *ad loc.* on Ruth ii. 14, and also *Lev. r.*, Wü. p. 239, and *Pesikt.*, Wü. p. 170.

⁶ A word of comment is due to the emphatic "I" in Jn xiii. 26 *ὃς ἐγὼ βάψω τὸ ψωμίων....* Nonnus does not try to express it. It

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As to the second point, the questioning of the Lord by the disciples, John says that "one of the disciples" was lying in Christ's bosom, and that Peter "made signs" to him; upon which that disciple said to Jesus "Lord, who is it¹?" The

suggests perhaps (1) "I, the host, doing for the guest what the guest usually does for himself," (2) "I, the betrayed, making a last effort to convert the betrayer." The Physician seems represented by John as failing. But perhaps we should say "Not 'failing,' but learning the Father's will by filial action." Comp. Jn xii. 40 "He hath hardened their heart...lest...I should heal them," and *ib.* v. 19 (R.V.) "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing," on which (and on Mk vi. 5 "was not able") see *Law* pp. 137—42.

¹ Jn xiii. 25 ἀναπεσὼν ἐκείνος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγει αὐτῷ Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν;

(1) The difficult ἀναπεσὼν "falling back" or "throwing himself back" (like a rower, Steph. *Thes.* 499) has been altered by D into ἐπιπεσὼν (*d* "incumbens"). It is rendered "falling" in Syr., but "recumbens" in Lat. versions. Nonnus has ὁξεῖ παλμῷ στήθεσιν... πεσὼν which expresses the impulsiveness of the action, but not the backward direction. *Const. Apost.* has v. 14 "And, as the Lord was silent, I *having stood up*, [*? the*] one of the Twelve beloved by Him more than the others, *having enclosed Him in my embrace* (ἀναστὰς ἐγώ, εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, φιλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλείον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐνστερνισάμενος αὐτόν) began to beseech Him to say..." This appears to be an attempt to express the motion implied by the ἀνα- in ἀναπεσὼν as if it were "*up*"—not "*back*." Origen, who even in his loftiest mysticism seldom despises the laws of the Greek language and literature, writes (*ad loc.* Lomm. ii. 450) as if the "*lying [up]* in the bosom" implied a lower stage of revelation than that implied by "*falling [up]* on the breast"—"John, who before was lying [*up*] (ἀνακείμενος) in the bosom (ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ) of Jesus, *has [now] gone further up* (ἐπαναβέβηκε) and *fell [up]* (ἀνέπεσε) on the breast (ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος). And perhaps if he [*i.e.* John] had not *fallen [up]* on the breast, but had remained in the state of *lying [up]* in the bosom, He would not have delivered (παρέδωκεν) that utterance (λόγον) which John, or [rather] Peter, was longing to learn (μανθάνειν)."

In *Const. Apost.* v. 14 Clark translates ἐνστερνισάμενος αὐτόν "from lying in His bosom." But see Clem. Alex. 123, commenting on "Eat ye my flesh" and saying "It commands us...*partaking of a new and different diet*, that of Christ, receiving Him if possible in ourselves, to store Him up and to *enclose the Saviour in our breasts* (καινῆς δὲ ἄλλης τῆς Χριστοῦ διαίτης μεταλαμβάνοντας, ἐκείνον, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀναλαμβάνοντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα ἐνστερνίσασθαι)..."

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Johannine words that come between these two statements are uncertain. The Revised Version inserts a saying of Peter thus—*"and saith unto him, Tell [us] who it is of whom he speaketh."* This is probably wrong. It should be *"and saith unto him, Say [to the Lord] 'Who is it?'—[that is to say,] of whom he speaketh¹."*

Here Clem. Alex. has in view the sacramental food. And that leads us to reflect that ἀναπίπτω elsewhere in all the Gospels means "lie down to eat" and that it is so used by Luke and John in describing the Last Supper (Lk. xxii. 14, Jn xiii. 12). It is therefore possible that John is using the word in a double sense, meaning primarily and literally "falling back," but, secondarily and allusively, reclining so as to partake of the Saviour's body and blood.

(2) Origen's mystical suggestion about a higher stage of revelation—though it cannot be accepted as indicating that ἀναπεσών means "ascending"—is favoured by the Johannine mention of *"breast,"* στήθος, immediately after *"bosom,"* κόλπος. The former is rendered by Delitzsch לב, *"heart."* Στήθος is very rare in LXX but occurs thrice (Exod. xxviii. 29—30) about Aaron as bearing "the names," or "the judgment," of the children of Israel *"upon his heart (לב)"* when he "goeth in before the Lord." It is here typical of the intercessory love of the High Priest, the Son of God, upon which the believer casts himself. Στήθος, in literary Greek, has no such sense. It would require καρδιά. But καρδιά would be impossible here in describing an external action. Στήθος (in the light of the LXX but not without it) describes an external act but also suggests a spiritual one.

¹ On Jn xiii. 24 εἰπὲ τίς ἐστίν—περὶ οὗ λέγει see *Joh. Gr.* 2249 and add Origen *ad loc.* "νεύειν δέ...Πέτρου ἔργον ἦν, καὶ ἀκολούθως τῷ τοιούτῳ νεύματι λέγειν τῷ συμφοιτητῇ, ὡς παρρησίαν πλείονα ἔχοντι πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, Εἰπὲ 'Τίς ἐστίν—περὶ οὗ λέγει;'" That is to say, since "the fellow-disciple" had *"more freedom of speech [than the rest had] with the Master,"* Peter said, in effect, "Say to him, in our behalf, since you can venture to say what we cannot, 'Who is it?'" The words "about whom he speaketh" may be Peter's, but they are more probably an evangelistic addition. If the writer had meant "Tell us about whom he speaketh" he would probably have inserted "us," ἡμῖν, in accordance with general usage. Without "us," εἰπὲ naturally means "say" imperat. and introduces the exact words that are said. At the same time it must be admitted that εἶπε might mean "said," and εἶπε τίς ἐστίν... might have been part of a tradition that *"a man said to his neighbour Who is it about whom he speaks?"* (comp. Lk. xxii. 23). There are few Johannine passages

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But the uncertainty of the text makes further inferences doubtful.

The study of these variations is laborious. But a glance at them may be of value as shewing how naturally they may have arisen and how consistently with honesty in the narrators. Mark, for example, finding the betrayer described in the LXX of the Psalms as "*he that is eating my bread*," inserts the same present participle of the same verb here, although (as usual) he does not quote the prophecy¹. Matthew omits this. Luke paraphrases it. "My bread" might imply that Jesus spoke in the character of a host or patron, but Mark adds another phrase, "dipping in the [same] bowl or dish," more suggestive of guest-fellowship such as is indicated by the Psalmist's "mine own familiar friend." A similar phrase mentioning "bowl" is found in Ben Sira². We have seen how Matthew retains but

of which the text is more doubtful than this. Blass limits the verse to νεύει τούτῳ Σίμων Πέτρος, but the variations indicate that the original contained more than this, and that it is to be found in the most difficult and irregular of the ancient readings.

¹ Ps. xli. 9, see above, p. 400, n. 4. On Mark's allusions to prophecy see *Son 3518 d*, *Beginning* p. 207 etc.

² Sir. xxxiv. (xxxv.) 14 μὴ συνθλίβου αὐτῷ ἐν τρυβλίῳ. Steph. *Thes.* vii. 2530 gives no instance of this phrase as meaning close companionship. The context in Ben Sira speaks of greediness and self-assertion, and Origen quotes Ben Sira's rule as being violated by Judas who wished to thrust himself into close companionship and equality with his Master, while the others refrained: (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 14, Lomm. ii. 454) Διόπερ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐνέβαπτε τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὸ τρυβλίον μετ' αὐτοῦ· οὗτος δὲ, οὐκ ἀξιῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐμβάπτειν, μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαπτε, τὴν ἰσότητα θέλων ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν, δέον αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς. Τάχα οὖν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔχεται καὶ τό, "πλὴν ἰδοὺ, ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης." Καὶ χαριεντιζόμενος δέ ποτε εἰς προτροπὴν νέοις περὶ τῆς ἐν ἐστιάσει τιμῆς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, συγχρόσῃ τῷ ῥητῷ, ἵνα μὴ συνθλίβωσι τὴν χεῖρα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Γέγραπται γάρ καὶ τοῦτο· "μὴ συνθλίβου μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ."

Jerome (on Mt. xxvi. 23) takes the same view: "Judas, caeteris contristatis, et retrahentibus manum, et interdicentibus cibos ori suo, temeritate et impudentia, qua proditurus erat, etiam manum cum Magistro mittit in paropsidem, ut audacia bonam conscientiam mentiretur."

If that was the meaning commonly attached to Ben Sira's phrase

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modifies¹ this, and how Luke includes it in his paraphrase ("the hand...with me at the table").

John—by making the present participle not part of a statement of his own but part of a prophecy of the Psalmist ("he that is eating¹ my bread...") whose words have to be considered as a whole—throws a doubt over the exact moment of the action. For it might mean the present as contemplated by the Psalmist, or the present as contemplated by Jesus. John's version seems to mediate between the present in Mark ("dippeth") and the past in Matthew ("dipped") by saying, in effect, "It was, in a sense, present, meaning 'my habitual table-companion up to this time'; it was, in a sense, past, meaning 'my faithful table-companion in old days'; but it was also, in a sense, future, as I shall shew you in what I shall now describe—namely, the last act of table-companionship."

As regards the questioning, ambiguity might arise from two causes, partly from the Hebrew and Aramaic difficulty of expressing "they said, each²," or "they said, one to another³"; partly from the fact that, in Greek (and still more in Latin) "this man" sometimes means "I⁴"; and partly from the Hebrew use of "speak to anyone" in the sense of "speak concerning anyone⁵." Thus "They said—this man to this

—namely that it implied, not close companionship, but an obtrusive and greedy self-assertion—we can understand (1) why Luke omitted it, (2) why John intervened as if to say: "The circumstances of the 'dipping' were peculiar. In this case, there was no 'pushing' on the part of Judas. The Lord Himself dipped the bread and offered it to Judas."

¹ See *Law* pp. 345—7 on Jn's substitution of τρώγειν for ἐσθίειν.

² See *Oxf. Conc.* on the use of ἑκαστος = (a) "man (אִישׁ)," (b) "one," (c) "one man (אֶחָד)" etc. Sometimes אִישׁ "man" is rendered εἰς ἑκαστος, or ἀνὴρ ἑκαστος.

³ See Gesen. 260 b on the use of הוּא "this [man]" to mean "another," and comp. 1 K. xxii. 20, 2 Chr. xviii. 19, Job i. 16, 17, 18, xxi. 25, Ps. lxxv. 7 etc.

⁴ Liddell and Scott under οὗτος quotes *Od.* ii. 40 οὗτος ἀνὴρ, but ὅδε is much more freq. thus used. In vernacular Latin (such as might influence Mark) "hic homo" freq. = "I" (Lewis and Short "hic" I. G.).

⁵ On Heb. "speak to" = "speak about," see *Paradosis* 1162 b, *Son* 3371 e, *Proclam.* p. 458.

man—Is it this man?” might mean “Is it so-and-so?” but might be wrongly interpreted as meaning “Is it I¹?” Again, “they said to each other”—in Hebrew, “they said, a man to his companion”—might be taken, but erroneously, to mean “one man said to his [special] friend,” *e.g.* Peter to John². Also what appears to be probably the correct rendering of the Johannine text, namely “Say [to the Lord] Who is it?” might easily be confused with “*They said* [to the Lord] Who is it³?”

The result⁴ is unsatisfactory, since it leaves us uncertain as to the exact historical details. But it is of use in revealing to us the antiquity of this uncertainty, and the pains taken by the Evangelists to work out their several interpretations of an obscure tradition. It may be urged that Matthew goes beyond the limits of honest interpretation when he makes Judas say separately “Is it I?” and Jesus reply “Thou hast said.” But this may be regarded as Matthew’s inference from his own previous statement that they *all*, “*each one singly*,” said “Is it I?” Matthew adds, in effect, “If this was so, Judas also must have asked the question. And the Lord must have assented—perhaps in a whisper or by a gesture. This ought to have been stated by Mark. I will add it in my narrative.” Such an addition—though it would not represent fact—would not be dishonest.

§ 4. *Christ’s last words about, or to, Judas*⁴

According to Matthew, as just quoted, Christ’s final words at the conclusion of the Supper are addressed to Judas, and

¹ Mk xiv. 19, Mt. xxvi. 22, 25.

² Jn xiii. 24.

³ See *Joh. Gr.* on Jn i. 15 *ειπων* v.r. *ειπον*. No alteration would be needed to make *ειπε* ambiguous in an unaccented MS.

⁴ Mk xiv. 21

Mt. xxvi. 24—5

Lk. xxii. 22

ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς
γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ,
οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
ἐκείνῳ δι’ οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀν-
θρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς
γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ,
οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
ἐκείνῳ δι’ οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὀρι-
σμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν
οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ
δι’ οὗ παραδίδοται.

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they are of the nature of an assent—"thou art, as thou sayest, a betrayer." According to John also, they are addressed to Judas, and they are, though in a very different way, of the nature of an assent, "That which thou art doing, [since thou wilt needs do it], do more quickly¹." But according to Mark and Luke, Christ's final words are uttered not to Judas, but about him, and they are an utterance of "woe" to the betrayer, to which Mark and Matthew add that "it were better if he had not been born."

The word "woe," very frequent in Matthew and Luke, and twice used by Mark, is never used at all by John². Conse-

Mk xiv. 21 *contd.*

ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται·
καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεν-
νήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος.

Mt. xxvi. 24—5 *contd.*

ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται·
καλὸν ᾧ αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ
ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος
ἐκείνος. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ
Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς
αὐτὸν εἶπεν Μήτι ἐγὼ
εἰμι, ῥαββεὶ; λέγει αὐτῷ
Σὺ εἶπας.

Luke apparently takes "*even as it is written concerning him*" to refer to such scriptural prophecies as that of Isaiah (liii. 6) "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all"; so that Jesus was (Acts ii. 23, comp. xvii. 31) "delivered up by the *determinate* (ὁρι-σμένη) counsel and foreknowledge of God." God was not thwarted by the treachery of Judas. It mysteriously fulfilled a divine decree. Hence Luke substitutes "*determined*" for "*written*."

But "*even as it is written*" may have been used by Mark as referring to the peculiar nature of the "delivering up," namely, by the hand of one called by the Psalmist a "familiar friend." John perhaps assumes that Mark did mean this. At all events John implies "*written*" in the term "scripture (γραφῆ)" thus (xiii. 18) "that the scripture may be fulfilled." John avoids emphasizing the "*determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God*" with regard to the treachery of Judas.

¹ Jn xiii. 27 ὁ ποιεῖς ποιήσον τάχειον, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 1918, 2554 b—e.

² Οὐαί, Mk (2), Mt. (13), Lk. (14), Jn (ο). Origen supplies us with a reason that might induce John to avoid the word, *Cels.* ii. 76 "He [*i.e.* Celsus in the character of a 'Jew'] censures Jesus in such words as the following 'He makes use of threats, and reviles men on light grounds, when he says, *Woe unto you*, and *I warn you before-hand*.'" To this Origen replies that no "Jew" could raise such an

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quently we must expect John to differ verbally here from all the Synoptists. Yet of course there must be some Johannine equivalent of the Synoptic word; for every one would admit that in the Fourth Gospel, as in the Three Gospels, Jesus is constantly warning His hearers that retribution (in other words, "woe") awaits them if they persist in evil ways¹.

Take the following passage from Epictetus. It contains a warning addressed to a worldly-minded sensualist, who sees "no good" in reverence, faithfulness, and temperance: "If thou art seeking some other prizes better than these, *go-on-doing what thou art doing*. Not even a god can any longer save thee²." This somewhat resembles the Johannine expression. And both of them really imply "Woe!" In the context, Epictetus says that our "*destruction*" (as well as our "help") lies within us³; and the Fourth Gospel elsewhere, using the same word, calls Judas "the son of *destruction*⁴."

Yet we are not to suppose that John here deviates entirely from Hebrew thought and merges himself in the thought of the Stoical lecture-rooms. There is in Proverbs a warning about the man "laden with blood" (like Judas), the destroyer of others who destroys himself: "A man that *is laden with the*

objection, since O.T. abounds in these expressions, but he also adds that the Prophets and Jesus (ib. *ad fin.*) use them to turn men from evil "as a healing drug."

¹ The word *οὐαί* in Steph. *Thes.* is not alleged to occur before the first century except in LXX. The earliest non-christian writer at present alleged is Epictetus, who uses it in two passages. (1) He (iii. 22. 32) holds up Agamemnon to ridicule for saying "woe unto me, for the Greeks are in peril"; (2) he says (iii. 19. 1) "[Here is] the first difference between a non-philosopher (*ιδιώτου*) and a philosopher. The former says 'Woe unto me because of (*διὰ*) [the death of] my boy, or my brother, or my father!' But the latter, if ever constrained to say 'Woe unto me!' checks [himself] and says 'because of (*διὰ*) myself.'"

² Epict. iv. 9. 18, *εἴ τινα ἄλλα τούτων μείζονα ζητεῖς, ποίει ἂν ποιεῖς· οὐδὲ θεῶν σέ τις ἔτι σῶσαι δύναται*. Jn xiii. 27 *ποίησον* is "do," not "go-on-doing (*ποιέει*)."

³ Epict. iv. 9. 16 *ἔσθωθεν γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀπώλεια καὶ βοήθεια*.

⁴ Jn xvii. 12 *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπώλειας*; R.V. "the son of perdition."

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blood of any person shall flee unto the pit: let no man stay him¹." The Talmud applies this to those who lead others into error and cause their souls to perish²; and Jesus, in His doctrine of stumbling-blocks, has previously pronounced a condemnation on those who cause others to stumble³. But there Mark omitted the words "Woe to him, through whom it cometh⁴." Here, in view of "the stumbling-block of the cross," of which Judas was the causer, Mark sets down this utterance of Christ, defined by the approaching event, "Woe to him through whom the Son of man is [to be] delivered up."

Besides the "woe" pronounced on the betrayer, Mark and Matthew add "It were better for him if he had never been born." Luke omits this. The expression was frequent in Talmud and Midrash⁵. But the Talmud testifies to a contest on this use of "better" between Hillel and Shammai⁶. And Jerome (on Matthew) thinks it necessary to say that the words do not necessitate antenatal existence. If Luke omits the words because they seemed to encourage the doctrine of an antenatal predestination to evil, we may say that John elsewhere intervenes on this point: "Neither did this man sin nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him⁷."

Yet undoubtedly predestination to evil appears at first sight to be implied later on in the Fourth Gospel where Jesus says concerning the disciples "Not one of them was destroyed except the son of destruction—[and this] in order that the scripture might be fulfilled⁸." It does not matter greatly whether "except" is here used in its ordinary sense so that the meaning is "Not one of the Twelve *except* Judas," or "not one of the Eleven now present with me, *but only* Judas." In either case, such a phrase as "the son of destruction" might

¹ Prov. xxviii. 17, Gesen. 92 b.

² *Joma* 87 a.

³ Mk ix. 42, where the parall. Mt. xviii. 6 foll. inserts *oûai* twice, and the parall. Lk. xvii. 1—2 inserts *oûai* once.

⁴ Mt. xviii. 7 (parall. Lk. xvii. 1) is ins. between Mt. xviii. 6 and 8, parall. to Mk ix. 42—3.

⁵ See Wetstein on Mt. xxvi. 24.

⁶ See *Erubin* 13 b.

⁷ Jn ix. 3.

⁸ Jn xvii. 12.

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seem to mean that a personified Destruction or Destroyer both generated, and claimed as its offspring, the soul of Judas.

But this is not the meaning in Hebrew of such phrases as "son of death," or "son of Gehenna," or "people of destruction." "Son of death" in the Bible—far from meaning that a man was from the beginning linked to death as a child to its parent—means that a man, by his own crime, has (in the judgment of the speaker) brought himself under a just condemnation to die¹. The same thing applies to the phrase "the people of [my] destruction" in Isaiah and Ben Sira². In the single instance where "son of Gehenna" occurs in the Bible it is used in the phrase "ye make him a son of Gehenna," i.e. ye bring him under the condemnation to the penalty of Gehenna, by associating him with your sins³. This certainly does not imply predestination. Also, in the only instance of "sons of Gehenna" alleged from the Talmud, the term is applied to the inhabitants of a city where the citizens, mostly proselytes, are noted for the drunkenness of the men and the extravagance of the women⁴.

¹ 1 S. xx. 31, xxvi. 16, 2 S. xii. 5; also 2 S. xix. 28 "men of death" in sim. sense.

² Is. xxxiv. 5 (חרמי), LXX τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας (om. μου), Aq. etc. τοῦ ἀναθέματος μου, Sir. xvi. 9 "he spared not the people of (גוי) destruction (חרם)," ἔθνος ἀπωλείας, comp. ib. xlv. 6 c כל גוי חרם, LXX ἔθνη πανοπλίαν (? corr. for ἔθνη πανταπωλείας) where the editors have "every banned nation," and add "For the idea, see Deut. vii. 2, Josh. x. 40 etc. . . ; for the expression, cf. Is. xxxiv. 5." The "nations" are "banned" because they have corrupted their ways before the Lord.

³ Mt. xxiii. 15 "a son of hell (γέεννης)," where R.V. marg. refers only to Mt. v. 29, but it might well have added, or substituted, v. 22 "liable to [the punishment of] the Gehenna of fire," so as to shew the legal meaning of "son of." For the original Heb. of γέεννα, namely, "valley-of-the-son-of-Hinnom," shortened to "valley-of-Hinnom," see Gesen. 244—5.

⁴ See Levy i. 238—40. He gives no instance of "sons of Abaddon," or "sons of Sheol," but refers to *R. Hasch.* 17 a for "sons of Gehinnom" as destined to eternal punishment. The context says the name was given to "the sons of *Machouza*" a city on the Tigris, on which, and on their faults, see Neubauer (*La Géogr. du Talmud*

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The Fourth Gospel, in which the doctrine of spiritual generation and regeneration is far more prominent than in the Three, tells us, in one startling passage, that Jesus said to certain Jews "that had believed him" that if they abode in His word they would be truly His disciples, and the truth would make them free; and yet, when they protest that they are free and are Abraham's seed, He turns upon them with the words "Ye seek to kill me" and "Ye are of your father, the devil¹." It is to be supposed that "believed him" is here used of a very rudimentary belief. But even then the passage is noteworthy as shewing that such an appellation as "sons of the devil" and "son of destruction" might not imply, in this Gospel, an unalterable doom.

Predestination, or choosing in the sense of absolute election, seems to be expressly disclaimed by John in the passage where Jesus, after finding that some of His disciples are in danger of "being made to stumble," says to the chosen Twelve: "Was it not I that chose you the Twelve, and one of you is a devil²?" Does not this imply—of course illogically and inconsistently, but still as the deliberate view of the Fourth Evangelist—that the Son of God Himself (as Epictetus says) was "*not able to save*" Judas from the "destruction" that he brought upon himself? This is consistent with John's view, expressed elsewhere, that the Son "is not able to do" anything that He does not "see the Father do³." The Father Himself appears to be regarded as not able to save a soul that deliberately "destroys" itself; but the self-destruction of the sinner, in the case of Judas, is regarded as being overruled to a creative or regenerative end—"in order that the scripture might be fulfilled" by the Sacrifice of Jesus⁴. This is not a doctrine of predestination to evil, but rather a doctrine of the subordination of evil to good.

pp. 356—7) "La plupart des familles juives de Mahouza descendait de prosélytes (*Kiddouschin* 73 a)."

¹ Jn viii. 30—44, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2506.

² Jn vi. 70.

³ Jn v. 19.

⁴ Luke's use of *ἀρισμένον*, instead of *καθὼς γέγραπται* (see above, p. 407, n. 4), has the advantage of meeting by anticipation the objection that the Crucifixion implied a failure. It says, in effect, "The Crucifixion was decreed." The disadvantage is that in LXX

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§ 5. *The Institution of the Eucharist*¹

No Institution of the Eucharist is recorded in the Fourth Gospel. Our study of the subject must therefore be confined to a few points in the Synoptic narratives that appear to be

the word, when meaning "decreed," is used (Dan. vi. 12) of Nebuchadnezzar's decree. Thus it is associated with the thought of a despotic and non-moral, or immoral, *fiat*. The Pauline use of the word in Rom. i. 4 (and comp. Acts x. 42, xvii. 26, 31) "set apart" is altogether different.

¹ Mk xiv. 22—5
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvi. 26—9
(R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 15—20
(R.V.)

(22) And as they were eating, he took bread (*or*, a loaf), and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body.

(23) And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it.

(24) And he said unto them, This is my blood of the [*some anc. auth. insert new*] covenant (*or*, testament), which is shed for many.

(25) Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

(26) And as they were eating, Jesus took bread (*or*, a loaf), and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.

(27) And he took a (*some anc. auth. the*) cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it;

(28) For this is my blood of the [*many anc. auth. insert new*] covenant (*or*, testament), which is shed for many unto remission of sins.

(29) But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

(15) And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer:

(16) For I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

(17) And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:

(18) For I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.

(19) And he took bread (*or*, a loaf), and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.

(20) And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant (*or*, testament) in my blood, [*even*] that which is poured out for you. [*Some*

illustrated by Johannine correspondences. These may be looked for either in that earlier part of the Fourth Gospel which teaches Christ's disciples that they must feed on His flesh and blood, or else in incidental utterances of Jesus on the night of the Last Supper.

But the subject is complicated by the following facts. The MSS of Luke so vary that they give us, in effect, two accounts of the Institution, a short and a long one. The long one introduces matter closely resembling the account of the Institution given by Paul to the Corinthians. In all the accounts, the texts in the MSS vary considerably; and early writers, with the exception of Justin Martyr, do not quote freely those passages that present most difficulty. It will be convenient to dwell mainly on three questions: (1) What did Jesus do? (2) What did He bid His disciples do? (3) What, in addition, did He say?

(1) As to the bread, what Jesus did, is stated below, whence it is seen that He "took," "brake," "blest" (or, according to Luke, "eucharistized," *i.e.* "gave thanks") and "gave" to the disciples¹. What He bade the disciples do was,

Lk. xxii. 15—20
(R.V.) *contd.*

anc. auth. omit verses 19 b and 20, which is given for you... which is poured out for you.]

Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 23—5 (R.V.) For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; (24) and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is (*many anc. auth. is broken*) for you: this do in remembrance of me. (25) In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant (*or, testament*) in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink [it], in remembrance of me.

¹ Mk xiv. 22

καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν
λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας
ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετε,
τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

Mt. xxvi. 26

ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον
καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν
καὶ δόυσ τοῖς μαθηταῖς
εἶπεν Λάβετε· φάγετε,
τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

Lk. xxii. 19 a [19 b]

καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον
εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων
Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου
[τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον·
τοῦτα ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν
ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν].

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according to Mark, "take"; according to Matthew, "take, eat"; but according to Luke's shorter version, nothing. That is to say, this version contains no expressed bidding, only one that is implied—so far as "he gave," followed by "saying, This is so-and-so," may be said to imply an imperative "Take so-and-so."

All accounts agree that Jesus added—after the bidding (expressed or implied)—"This is my body." It will be seen, then, that concerning the "body" of the Lord, the only precept in Mark is "*take*"—which might well have been expressed by a gesture or "for you" accompanying the gift of the bread ("[see], *for you*, this is my body¹"). Luke, who in his short version has nothing to correspond to "*take*," adds in his longer version a different "*for you*" coming immediately after "my body" thus: "that is being given *for* (lit. *in behalf of*) *you*," and adds, as an imperative, not "*take*," but "Do this with a view to my memorial²." This closely resembles the Pauline form of Institution³. Neither Luke nor Paul contains the imperative "*take*⁴."

¹ See *Paradosis* 1321 quoting Gen. xlvii. 23 "*Behold*, [here is] seed for you," LXX "*Take* (λάβετε) for yourselves seed," and 1321 *a* quoting Gen. xx. 16 (Heb.) "*Behold*, [let] this [be] to thee a veil," Targ. Jer. II "*behold*, that silver *is given* to thee for a present."

² Lk. xxii. 19 *b* τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

■ 1 Cor. xi. 24 Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

⁴ On ἀνάμνησις, see *Paradosis* 1398—1419. The only instance of the word in N.T. (besides Lk. xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 24—5) is Heb. x. 3 ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐναντίον, as to which comp. Numb. v. 15 "a meal-offering of memorial, bringing to remembrance iniquity." Here the Midrash explains the first clause thus, "This is for good, if the woman is pure," and the second, "This is for evil, if the woman is impure." The thought appears to be that the woman's conduct is, as it were, brought up before God to be remembered by Him for good or for evil. Τὴν ἐμὴν is (*Joh. Gr.* 1989, 2559) more emphatic than μου and may mean "that which is mine" as distinct from that which belongs to other occasions.

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Yet we may see in this imperative "take" a spiritual meaning if we may interpret it as including "receive," and as implying "welcome." This is a frequent meaning of the Greek word when applied to "receiving" the Word, or to "receiving" the Holy Spirit, or a messenger or gift of God, or "receiving" Jesus, not indeed in Mark¹, but frequently in John, as for example "But as many as *received* him [the Word] to them gave he authority to become children of God²." It has been shewn, in a previous volume of this series, that Jesus, bequeathing Himself to His disciples in the form of bread, may have said, "*Receive*," meaning grammatically both "*receive [this]*" and "*receive [me]*," and meaning spiritually "*receive me* into your hearts, my true self, to be with you after I have departed³."

¹ Λαμβάνω does not occur in this sense in Mk except Mk iv. 16 (and sim. Mt. xiii. 20) "they *receive* it (αὐτὸν) with joy"—where "it" is "the word" regarded as the seed—parall. Lk. viii. 13 δέχονται.

² Jn i. 12 ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτὸν... (comp. i. 16 ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ... ἐλάβομεν), v. 43 οὐ λαμβάνετε με... ἐκείνον λήμψεσθε, vi. 21 ἤθελον οὖν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον..., vii. 39 οὗ [i.e. the Spirit] ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν, xiii. 20 ὁ λαμβάνων ἄν τινα πέμψω ἐμὲ λαμβάνει, xiv. 17 ὁ [the Spirit] ὁ κόσμος οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν, xix. 27 ἔλαβεν αὐτήν (the mother of Jesus), xx. 22 λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. This last is the only Johannine instance of the imperative "receive" in Christ's sayings.

The Johannine λαμβάνω corresponds to the Synoptic δέχομαι. This is used by John only in iv. 45 ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, which implies a superficial though friendly reception.

One result of John's preference of this ambiguous word λαμβάνω (instead of the Synoptic δέχομαι "I welcome") is that if we translate it mechanically we find ourselves using phrases that would sound profane or shocking from the Eucharistic point of view. Thus Pilate would say to the Jews (xix. 6) "*Receive him* [i.e. Jesus] and crucify him," and Joseph and Nicodemus would be found to have (xix. 40) "*received the body of Jesus*." Such language forces us to think about the context and about the difference between "receiving" Jesus materially and "receiving" Him spiritually.

³ In *Paradosis* 1319—31, and 1398 a—b, it has been shewn that the Semitic *nephesh*, "soul," might have been used by Jesus to denote "*self*," the real "*self*," and that this word very frequently indeed means "memorial" in the Talmud. It has also been said (*ib.* 1332) "If our Lord had really used any Aramaic word that literally signified

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But this "receive," without the accompanying presence of the Giver and without His gift and gesture, might well be

'body' in the Institution of the Eucharist, it would not have been possible to bring the formula 'This is my body' into any direct verbal connexion with His life and work as described by the Synop-
tists." This is true, and it is also true that the Johannine doctrine about Christ's "flesh and blood" (instead of "body and blood") might seem to accord with the view that Jesus did not use the word "body" in the Eucharistic Institution.

But it is possible that John's avoidance of "body" in this sense was caused by his desire to reserve it for another sense—namely (ii. 21) "the temple of his body," the Church. And uncertainty is produced by the doubt whether the Last Supper was Paschal or Antepaschal. For example, the Talmudic treatise on the Passover mentions (*Pesach*. 114 a) "*the body of the Passover* (גופו של פסח)" (Goldschmidt "*Pesahlam*"). And it adds (114 b) "There must be two flesh dishes, one *a memorial for the Passover* (זכר לפסח) and the other *a memorial for the Feast* (זכר לחגיגה)."

Even if we had on record the exact words used by Jesus in giving the bread, we should still miss the tone and action and gesture of the Giver. Yet an increasing uncertainty as to Christ's exact words is compatible with an increasing confidence that John has rightly interpreted the motive of the words. We may also feel safe in attributing to the words a passionate tenderness similar to that of Paul (1 Thess. ii. 7—8) "*we were [as] babes* (νήπιοι, s. W. H. notes) *in the midst of you as when a nurse cherisheth her own children...* even so in our yearning for you we were well pleased to impart unto you not only the Gospel of God but also *our own souls*." Clement of Alexandria (318—9) quotes "we were [as] babes (leg. νήπιοι, not ηπιοι)...children" after quoting Paul on "the body and blood of the Lord," and elsewhere he says (123) "The Word is all things to the babe, both Father and Mother and Tutor and Nurse, 'Eat ye my flesh,' He says, and 'drink ye my blood'"; and he represents the Word as saying to mankind (93) "Come unto me... I bestow on you my complete self."

There is mixed metaphor in describing Christ, who is Himself the Little One or Babe, as the Nurse of the little ones; but it is characteristic of the poetry of the Gospels and of early Christian thought. In Revelation, the Son is represented as (i. 13) "girt about at the breasts (μαστοίς) with a golden girdle." The usage of LXX, and Jewish tradition, oblige us to suppose that this means "breasts" in the usual sense, and not a man's "breast." Arethas interprets it as meaning either "the two *Diathēkai*," or "the breasts of our Lord and

obscure when set down in a written Gospel. It would need to be explained. In explaining it, some might say that the gift was not to be like a pearl or other inanimate precious thing, given once for all and remaining always the same; it was to be a living presence in the heart, continually renewing the thought and influence of the Saviour, so that, even when He had passed away, He still spoke and counselled and guided His disciples, being part of themselves, the food of their spiritual being¹. Others might add that this continual renewal was intended to be expressed not only invisibly in the continuous feeding on the spiritual bread, but also in the visible, weekly, and commemorative meal wherein the earliest Christians commemorated the resurrection of their crucified Saviour.

We perceive then that the words "Do this with a view to my memorial" explain the Marcan "Receive" as meaning something more than passive reception: "'Receive,' yes, but 'receive' with welcome. 'Receive' me into your hearts and affections—so as to make your whole lives one continuous service of loving loyalty to my will—not merely into your external selves so as to do this or that act of formal obedience to my commands. And, further, 'receive' me not into your

Master (τοὺς δεσποτικούς μαζοὺς)...*through which also the faithful are nourished.*" Commentators, writing in prose, naturally pass over this anthropomorphism, or gunaikomorphism, applied to the Son in glory. But the *Odes of Solomon* abounds in it (see *Light* 3645 d, 3814 i, m foll.). It is also worth noting that on Numb. xi. 8 לֶשֶׁךְ, describing the "manna," where LXX has "cake," Aquila has "breast (μαστός)." Rashi declares this to be impossible, but says "our Rabbis explain it thus." Such an explanation led to poetic inferences that manna came to the children of Israel as milk from the breasts of the Lord. Comp. *Odes of Sol.* xix. 4 "the milk of the two breasts of the Father" (*Light* 3645 d).

¹ See *Law* pp. 384—402, on "Testament" or "Covenant," and especially p. 393: "Using the language habitual in Palestine, Jesus said to His disciples, 'This is the blood that signifies my death and yet not my severance from you. This is the blood of my last will and testament, in which, though dying, I bequeath to you my life and presence in perpetuity.'" This, though expressly applied to the cup alone, implies also an application to the bread. Both are bequeathed in the one Testament or *Diathēkē*.

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contemplative selves for purposes of solitary contemplation, but into your active and social selves for brotherly action. 'Receive' me, as I, the Son, continually 'receive' the Father that I may help His children. '*Receive,*' but also *do*. *Do as I do.*'

If we turn to the Fourth Gospel, we shall find an illustration of the appropriateness (at this point) of a precept about "*doing*." For there Jesus says, after the Washing of Feet: "Know ye *what I have done to you*? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am. If I then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye also owe it as a debt [to me] to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example that ye also *should do as I have done to you*¹." Many will feel that, if they had not been told, they would not have guessed that Christ's act was meant as "an example" of altruism. They might have thought that the act meant simply "Keep yourselves pure," not "Help others to be pure." It might have seemed to them ascetic, in a good sense, yet not altruistic.

But having once been told the explanation of this sacramental Washing, we can perceive that in early days precisely the same need of explanation might exist about the "example" contained in the Giving of Bread as existed about the "example" contained in the Washing of Feet. It might mean "Give yourselves to, and for, your brethren as I give myself to, and for, you." Paul, it is true, does not describe Jesus as "*giving*" the bread. But in Hebrew and Jewish thought, "*distributing* (or, *giving*) bread" would often be implied in passages that described merely the "breaking" of it. The context would sometimes make this obvious, as in the precept of Isaiah "to *break thy bread to the hungry*²." But elsewhere we might miss the meaning of the "breaking," if we did not constantly bear in mind that Jesus regarded all His disciples as "hungering," saying to them "Blessed are ye *that hunger* now, for ye shall be filled³." To "break bread" for these "hungerers" might well

¹ Jn xiii. 12—15.

² Is. lviii. 7, on which see *Law* pp. 323—4.

³ Lk. vi. 21. The parall. Mt. v. 6 uses the third person.

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be—as the Fourth Gospel insists, and the Three imply—a prominent object throughout Christ's life, and might well emerge into a special prominence on the day before His death. Isaiah's context suggests the sympathetic and uncondescending brotherliness that must accompany the act ("to break thy bread to the hungry...and that thou *hide not thyself from thine own flesh*"); and previously the prophet represents Jehovah as saying to Israel, in effect, "This is the fast that I have chosen—not that you should afflict your own soul on your own account, but that you should draw out your soul to others and satisfy the afflicted soul¹." Similarly the apostle Paul regards Jesus as saying, in effect, "This is the memorial that I have chosen; if ye desire to commemorate me, after my departure, do to one another that which I have done to you."

This implies that every Christian is to imitate Christ in offering a sacrifice. Christ says "This is my *body*," and Paul says elsewhere "I beseech you therefore, brethren, through the tender-mercies of God, that ye present your *bodies* [as] a sacrifice, living, holy, well-pleasing unto God²." "Present your bodies as a sacrifice" does not imply a command to become, in the ordinary sense of the word, "ascetics." Nor does it mean simply—though it does include the meaning—that Christians are to "mortify corrupt affections" such as lust, pride, and wrath. It is an appeal to "brethren" to be brother-like; and it invites those who have experienced the "tender-mercies" of God to be themselves tender and merciful to others. In effect, it says "Give, as Jesus gave."

The evidence, as a whole, leads to the conclusion that Jesus did not utter to the disciples at the Last Supper the words "Do this with a view to my memorial," and the other words included in the longer Lucan tradition, but that they were received by Paul from Jesus long afterwards as expressing His meaning. If Paul had simply handed down to us the

¹ Is. lviii. 3—10 on which see *Law* pp. 323—4.

² Rom. xii. 1. Few, if any, of the following precepts (*ib.* 4—21) can be described as ascetic. They assume that "we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another," and they are based on this assumption.

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historical acts and words, he would naturally have quoted those disciples who were present at the Supper: "I received from Peter and the Lord's disciples." In that case he would probably have given us no more than Mark's tradition. But he expressly says, "*I received from the Lord*¹," apparently implying, as he says expressly to the Galatians, "*I did not receive from man*²." The meaning appears to be that after meditating on the significance of the Eucharist, he did not (like Luke) ascertain the details by comparing the evidence of those who were "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word³." He had (we may feel sure) received traditions about the Sacrament from Ananias, or from others, in the earliest days of his conversion. But there was something in the Sacrament, beyond the words that he had thus heard, something that required a revelation; and he received one from Jesus: "What I meant—what in effect I said—was this."

If this was the case, we could not be surprised that even Paul's explanation, thought out in solitude, and in the light of his peculiar experiences, did not fully explain the Sacrament. While illuminating one aspect of the old tradition, the Pauline word "memorial," or *anamnēsis*, introduced a new ambiguity according as it was used in an ordinary Greek sense or with Hebraic allusion⁴. Also the word "do," or "make," introduced by Paul, happens to mean, in certain contexts of LXX, "prepare

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 23.

² Gal. i. 11—12 "For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel that was preached by me, that it is not after (κατὰ) man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but [it came to me] through revelation of Jesus Christ." The context indicates that Paul, after his conversion, took no pains to ascertain from the disciples in Jerusalem the acts and words of Christ; but the words "this is my body"—which he may be supposed to have heard after he was baptized by Ananias and when he received the sacrament—would naturally recur, and be included, in that revelation which he afterwards received in Arabia concerning the whole meaning of the Gospel, and concerning the relation of the Old Covenant to the New Testament.

³ Lk. i. 2.

⁴ See above, p. 415, n. 4, and below, p. 426.

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[as food, *or* as sacrifice]¹.” Justin Martyr appears to take it thus². The rendering of “*Do this*” as “*Prepare this [as a sacrifice]*” would probably commend itself to many minds. If we are to “do” any “thing,” we all naturally desire that the “thing” should be defined for us. To celebrate the Eucharist duly on every first day in the week is definite. But it is probable that Jesus meant more than this. In the breaking of the bread He appears to have desired us to discern the sign of His laying down His life for us, and when He bequeathed Himself

¹ See Gesen. 794 *b* עשה “make” = “*prepare*, esp. of dressing and cooking food; Gen. xviii. 7, 8 etc....a bullock for sacrifice, 1 K. xviii. 23 etc....*make* offering e.g. עולה Judg. xiii. 16...also c. accus. of thing sacrificed Ezek. xliii. 25 etc., Lev. xiv. 30,” where LXX has ποιήσει μίαν τῶν τρυγόνων, R.V. “he shall *offer* one of the turtledoves.” This word is never rendered θύειν (or θυσιάζειν) which is practically reserved for זבח (“slay [for sacrifice]”).

² Justin M. *Tryph.* § 41 “And further, the offering of fine flour that was *prescribed* (lit. *delivered*, παραδοθεῖσα) *to be offered* (προσφέρεσθαι) in behalf of those who were being purified from their leprosy was a type of the bread of the eucharist (τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας) which (δν)—[with a view] to a memorial of the suffering (εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους) which He suffered in behalf of those who were being purified in their souls from all human wickedness (οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθρώπων)—Jesus Christ our Lord *delivered* [to us] *to make* (παρέδωκε ποιεῖν).”

Similarly—and obviously choosing his words with care—Justin says with reference to a prophecy of Isaiah (Is. xxxiii. 16 LXX “bread shall be given to him”) (*Tryph.* § 70) “Now that in this prophecy [mention is made] (supply *ἔρηται*) about the bread—which our Christ delivered to us *to make* (τοῦ ἄρτου δν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιεῖν) [with a view] to a memorial (εἰς ἀνάμνησιν) both of His having made unto Himself a body (τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι αὐτὸν) for the sake of those believing in Him, for whose sake also He became liable to suffering (δὲ οὗς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε)—and also about the cup—which, [with a view] to a memorial of His blood He delivered [to us] *to make* [while] giving thanks (δὲ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν εὐχαριστοῦντας ποιεῖν)—is manifest (φαίνεται).”

Justin nowhere indicates a recognition that “*Do this* with a view to a memorial” might include the meaning “Do for one another that which I have done for you.” Irenaeus (iv. 17. 5—6, iv. 33. 2) when mentioning the Institution of the Eucharist does not explain, or quote, the clause about ἀνάμνησις.

to us in that broken bread, He meant us to say "Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren¹."

(2) As to the cup, Mark and Matthew say that Jesus "took" a cup and "gave thanks (*lit.* eucharistized)," and "gave" it to them, and said "This is *the blood of my diathēkē*² [the blood] that is [to be] poured out for many³." The shorter Luke says that Jesus "received" a cup and "gave thanks" and said "Take this and distribute it to yourselves⁴." But the

¹ 1 Jn iii. 16.

² On this rendering, as preferable to "my blood of the covenant (*or*, the testament)," see *Law* pp. 392—3. On the position of μου, "the vernacular genitive," see *Joh. Gr.* 2776—8.

³ Mk xiv. 23—4

Mt. xxvi. 27—8

Lk. xxii. 17

καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον
εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐ-
τοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ
πάντες. καὶ εἶπεν αὐ-
τοῖς Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά
μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ
ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ
πολλῶν.

καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον
[καὶ] εὐχαριστήσας ἔδω-
κεν αὐτοῖς λέγων Πίετε
ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτο
γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου
τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ
πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον
εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

καὶ δεξιόμενος ποτή-
ριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν
Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ δια-
μερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς.

On the parallelism between Mk "and they drank," and Mt. "drink ye," see *Clue* 28, 243. In the alteration of Mk ὑπὲρ πολλῶν into Mt. περὶ πολλῶν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, the ἄφεσις clause appears to be intended to indicate more clearly an intercessory object, but the substitution of περὶ for ὑπὲρ remains unexplained (see *Joh. Gr.* 2721 *a* and 2718 foll.).

⁴ Lk. xxii. 17 διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς is not quoted or paraphrased by Justin M. in either of the above-quoted passages, and it is not clear how the disciples are to receive the cup by "self-distribution" in a manner different from that in which they receive the bread by the Lord's giving.

Justin says in *Apol.* § 66 οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτέστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν Τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμά μου, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.

This last clause "imparted to them *alone*," apparently applies to the bread as well as to the cup. This view is favoured by a scholium in Cramer (on Lk. xxii. 15) "Now He does not eat it [*i.e.* the Passover] with the Jews but *with His disciples alone* (ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ μόνων) since the former were unworthy by reason of their persistent unbelief." Possibly it may be a Lucan vestige

longer Luke adds (without any mention of "taking" or "receiving" except what may be implied from a previous use of the words as to the bread) "and the cup likewise, after having supped, saying "This cup is the new *diathēkē* in my blood, the [cup] that is being poured out for you¹." The Pauline tradition resembles the first part of this, but omits "that is being poured out for you," and emphasizes the commemorative force of the precept by adding "Do this, as often as ye drink [it], with a view to my memorial²." The result of a comparison of all these versions is somewhat bewildering. Especially is this the case as to the longer version of Luke. This differs from all the others. (1) It mentions two cups. (2) It tells us that the first cup was to be distributed by the disciples among themselves. (3) It mentions also "the cup after supping," but tells us nothing as to its destination—except what may be implied in the phrase (R.V.) "and...in like manner" (A.V. "likewise also"). (4) It uses, about the Passover, language that is compatible with the Johannine view that

of an altruistic precept (like that in John, "do as I have done to you") "Distribute *among yourselves* (originally, *to one another*)."

Compare Clem. Alex. 603 (qu. Valentinus), "From the beginning are ye immortal, and children of eternal life, and ye desired to *receive your share of* (μερίσασθαι) death [taken] *into yourselves*, that ye might expend it, and consume [it], and that death might die in you and through you" (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀθάνατοί ἐστε καὶ τέκνα ζωῆς ἐστὲ αἰωνίας, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἠθέλετε μερίσασθαι εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἵνα δαπανήσητε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναλώσητε καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ δι' ὑμῶν). The translation of T. and T. Clark, "ye would have death distributed to you," does not give what appears to be the meaning.

Goodspeed's Concordance to Justin Martyr shews that he does not mention the word *diathēkē* in the context of any passage where he describes the Eucharist. It is possible that he read διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς as διεμερισῇ εἰς αὐτοὺς. For variations between διαμερίζω and μερίζω, in act. and mid., see Ps. xxii. 18 διεμέρισαντο v.r. διεμέρισαν, Aq. μερίσουσιν.

¹ Lk. xxii. 20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

² 1 Cor. xi. 25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡς ἂν πίνετε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

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Jesus did not actually partake of the regular Passover meal but only of a preparatory one¹.

The inference deducible from all these facts—that in the Three Gospels there was something wanting to explain the meaning of the Eucharist—is confirmed by Paul's reproach to the Corinthians for their misbehaviour when they met to celebrate the Lord's Supper². Moreover Justin Martyr, who more than once makes mention of the "memorial" clause in the Eucharist, does not clearly mention, or perhaps recognise, its moral significance. He lays stress on the "bread" as being "not common³," and he charges the worshippers of Mithras (falsely) with having stolen the use of the chalice of water in their mysteries from the Christians⁴; but he nowhere emphasizes the fact that the Eucharist shewed forth the "tender mercies" of the Father through the Son and bade mankind "give" themselves to and for one another, as the Father "gave" the Son, and the Son gave Himself, to and for mankind⁵.

¹ Origen says (*Cels.* i. 70) "Let him [*i.e.* the non-believer] assert that He ate the passover with His disciples, having not only used the words 'With desire did I desire to eat this passover with you,' but actually eaten of the same. And let him say also that He...drank, when He was athirst by Jacob's well (*Jn* iv. 5—6)." This seems to imply that Christ's words probably meant—though the non-believer would not be denied the right of interpreting them otherwise—"I desired...but it was not God's will. *For I shall not eat of it till the coming of the Kingdom.*" This would agree with the Johannine view.

² *1 Cor.* xi. 20 foll. "When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's supper, for in your eating each one taketh before [other] his own supper; and one is hungry and another drunken," *ib.* 33 "Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another."

³ *Apol.* § 66 οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.

⁴ *Apol.* § 66 (after quoting the Eucharistic words and mentioning the imparting (μεταδοῦναι)) ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μνουμένου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἥ ἐπίστασθε ἥ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.

⁵ There is, however, a trace of it in *Apol.* § 67 Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ

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Perhaps the Fourth Evangelist felt that the Pauline word "memorial," which conveyed to Greeks the notion of "reviving the memory," did not quite express the truth for readers ignorant of Hebrew scriptures. In the only Old Testament instance of "my memorial," the word does not mean a tomb, or anything like a tomb, or dead commemorative monument¹. It is the Lord's own phrase; and He uses it with "my Name" to denote an eternal reminding presence, stimulating a memory that lives, not revivifying a memory that has died². We should not go far wrong if we substituted "with a view to my memorial" (in this sense) for "into my name," in the passage of Matthew where

ταῦτα λοιπὸν αἰεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους ἀναμνησκόμεν· καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομένοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν καὶ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις αἰεὶ. This sentence appears to begin with a mere allusion to the meaning of "my memorial, or, reminding," in the words "we remind one another of these things." But in what follows, about "helping all that are in want and making ourselves friends with one another," it indicates a sense that "these things" were a type of the Saviour's love and sacrifice, and of His pity for the needs of mankind.

The *Didachè* does not mention ἀνάμνησις anywhere, but has (§ 10) in the εὐχαριστία that comes after the eating of the Eucharistic food (μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε) a prayer that the Lord will "remember" His Church, Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτήν. . . . Comp. Exod. xxxii. 13 "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants. . ." a formula freq. in O.T.

¹ The only instance of "my memorial" in O.T. (see Mandelkern p. 355) is Exod. iii. 15 "this is my name for ever and this is my memorial (זכר) unto all generations" (the word זכר, used by Delitzsch in Lk. xxii. 19, is non-occurent with possess. suff. 1st pers. sing.). LXX has μνημόσυνον (om. μου), Sym. ἀνάμνησις μου. Rashi says "God taught Moses how He is to be called. So also David said, 'Jehovah, nomen tuum in seculum, Jehovah, memoria tui in generationem et generationem (Ps. cxxxv. 13),' " and see Gesen. 271 a "זכר, nearly = שם" i.e. "name." Exod. i. ad loc. says "memorial implies that He is only to be named by His attributes." If God is called "the Giver," or "Love," those who give, and those who love, in His Spirit, would be said to be making a memorial of Him. But the word is capable of other meanings, since God Himself (Gesen. 269—71) is described as "remembering," or as "being reminded of," Israel, His covenant with Israel etc.

² Comp. Jn xiv. 26 ὑπομνήσει (quietly remind) ὑμᾶς, concerning the action of the Holy Spirit.

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Jesus promises His presence to the disciples saying "Where two or three are gathered together (lit.) *into my name*, there am I in the midst of them¹." It may be paraphrased as meaning "gathered together in spirit *into the spiritual presence and power of the Giver of all good*, filling us with the desire to signify our memory of Him by giving as He gives."

There remains for brief consideration the saying of Jesus, in the three Synoptists, about His not drinking of the fruit of the vine hereafter till He drinks it—as Mark and Matthew say, "new"—in the Kingdom². It will be seen that this is the only passage in the narrative where Mark and Matthew *certainly* use the word "*new*"³. The parallel Luke omits "*new*"⁴. In Mark and Matthew, these words close a section, and precede the going forth to the Mount of Olives. In Luke, they follow the distribution of the first cup explanatorily ("Distribute it among yourselves, *for* I say unto you I will assuredly not drink..."), and they precede the institution of the Eucharist ("...until the kingdom of God come.' And having taken bread..."). Mark introduces the saying without any connecting particle at all; Matthew with a "*but*," possibly (though not necessarily) antithetical; Luke with a "*for*," as giving a reason. These differences may represent important differences of thought.

Before passing to what John may have to say bearing on these perplexing variations, we may answer one natural question about the shorter Version of Luke: "Is it conceivable that such a Version ever existed since it altogether omits the word *diathēkē*, whether with the epithet '*new*' or without it?"

¹ Mt. xviii. 20.

² Mk xiv. 25

Mt. xxvi. 29

Lk. xxii. 18

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ
γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου
ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καὶνὸν
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ
πῖω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου
τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμ-
πέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω
μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶνὸν ἐν τῇ
βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ
μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ
τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμ-
πέλου ἕως οὗ ἡ βασιλεία
τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.

³ "New" is doubtful in Mk xiv. 24, Mt. xxvi. 28, being omitted by W. H. and by txt of R. V.

⁴ Lk. xxii. 18 "until the kingdom of God shall come."

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The answer is that the noun *diathēkē*, "covenant, or testament," corresponds to the verb *diatithēmai* "I make a covenant, or testament," and that Luke (and Luke alone) represents Jesus as saying to the apostles, a little later, "*I make a testament, or covenant, with you—a kingdom—even as my Father made a testament, or covenant, with me, that ye may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom...¹*." This "kingdom" was the kingdom of service or self-sacrifice, which Christ, the Suffering Servant, personified, and which could be inherited by Christ's disciples by receiving into themselves, as a legacy from Him, His spiritual Self. Consequently, this Lucan tradition is equivalent to "I bequeath myself unto you as my heirs even as the Father gives Himself unto me as His Son." Practically, therefore, Luke does use the word *diathēkē*.

The Fourth Evangelist uses neither the noun *diathēkē* nor the verb by which Luke expresses the noun. But he expresses both in language of his own free from technicality. The Epistle to the Hebrews, writing technically about the *diathēkē* as a "testament," says "Where a testament is, there must of necessity be the death of the testator²." John, writing non-technically, represents Jesus as speaking not about "dying" but about "departing," and as bequeathing to the disciples a second Self or Presence of His own, a Friend or "Paraclete": "Unless I depart the Paraclete will assuredly not come unto you, but if I depart I will send him unto you³." Previously He says "the Father will send the Paraclete in my name" and describes Himself as leaving to the disciples the gift of His own peace: "Peace I leave unto you." But lest we should lay too much stress on "leaving" He adds at once "The peace

¹ Lk. xxii. 29—30. Justin freq. uses the middle *διατίθεμαι* "I covenant" in his *Dialogue* (though never in his *Apology*). Beginning from Jeremiah xxxi. 31—2, *διαθήσομαι... διαθήκην καινήν* he enlarges (*Tryph.* § 11) on the "covenanting" of "a new covenant"; but, as far as I know, he does not connect it with the thought of a "testament"—although (*ib.*) he connects it with "inheritance (*ὅσοι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίας ἀντιποιοῦνται*)"—nor does he connect it with *ἀνάμνησις*.

² Heb. ix. 16.

³ Jn xvi. 7. See *Joh. Voc.* 1720.

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that is my own I *give* unto you," and He implies that this coming of the Paraclete is really a coming of Himself: "Ye have heard that I said unto you, I go [away] and I come unto you¹." We have seen that Justin dilates on the new *Diathēkē* as a new Covenant, but hardly seems to recognise it as a new Testament. Precisely opposite is the Johannine doctrine which regards Christ Himself as our Personal Testator, bequeathing to us, not a Code that may occasionally fail to meet a special need, but a Spirit that meets all needs.

This insistence of the Fourth Gospel on Personal Presence as distinct from distant testatorship is far from constituting it a Gospel of mere thinking. On the contrary, it is a Gospel of doing². And the doing is not mere self-saving, it involves serving others. "As many as *received* him," John says in his Prologue, received "authority to become children of God³." The preceding context, which suddenly uses "*him*" to denote "the true light," does not indeed teach us—but it prepares us for being taught—what is meant by "receiving *him*." The body of the Gospel devotes itself to teaching us this. In particular, it shews us, at the close, how the penitent Peter received Jesus. Not that the word "received" is mentioned. The spiritual process is dramatized instead of being described. Peter first receives the "bread" and the "fish." Then he receives the thrice repeated command to feed the Master's sheep. Lastly he receives the command to follow his Master on the way of the Cross. Thus the Evangelist, without adding a fifth version, in addition to the Synoptic and the Pauline versions, of the Institution of the Eucharist, teaches us what the Eucharist means⁴.

¹ Jn xiv. 26—8.

² Jn vii. 17, xiii. 15, 17 etc.

³ Jn i. 12.

⁴ Jn xxi. 15 foll. The following remarks of Justin Martyr are instructive as shewing the manner in which controversies about mere material details might tend to subordinate or exclude the moral and spiritual meaning of the Eucharist.

In his *Apology* § 66 Justin says that the gift of the body and the blood in the Eucharist have been imitated in the mysteries of Mithras: "For that bread and a *cup of water* find a place (*τίθεται*) in the rites of every initiation (*ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μνουμένου τελεταῖς*) together with

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certain incantations (ἐπιλόγων τινῶν) you either understand [already] or can ascertain." In his *Dialogue* § 70 he repeats this charge, but says that they have attempted to imitate Isaiah, who said (Is. xxxiii. 16) "bread shall be given to him and *his water* [shall be] *sure*," whereas (he says) Isaiah's prophecy manifestly refers to the "bread" and the "cup" of the Eucharist. We naturally ask how Justin could regard a prophecy about "*water*" as referring to "*wine*," or at all events to wine mingled with water (the custom being thus to mingle the two (*Hor. Heb.* ii. 351 on Mt. xxvi. 27)). In the *Apology* he says that there is brought to the person presiding at the Eucharist (§ 65) "a cup of *water and of mixed wine* (ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος)" and (*ib.*) "bread and *wine and water*," and, later on (§ 67) "bread, and *wine, and water*, are brought." It will be noted that he does not mention "*wine*" in these passages without also mentioning "*water*," and he only once calls the mixture κρᾶμα, a word never used by him elsewhere in the *Apology* or the *Dialogue*.

One reason for Justin's insistence on the mingling of water with the wine may have been the desire to prevent the scandal of drunkenness mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. xi. 21). But in connecting the Eucharistic "cup" with Isaiah's prophecy about "water" he favoured the heresy of the Ebionites, who (as we know from Irenaeus v. i. 3 and Epiphanius *Haer.* xxx. 16) rejected wine in their Eucharists and communicated with water alone. The Fourth Gospel in the words (xix. 34—5) "there came out blood and water, and he that hath seen hath borne witness," mystically sanctions the mixture of water. In the miracle of Cana, it indicates typically that the "water" of the Law must give way to the "wine" of the Gospel. And the Johannine Epistle says (v. 6) "This is he that came by water and blood, [even] Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood."

CHAPTER X

THE INTERVAL BEFORE THE ARREST

[Mark xiv. 26—42]

§ 1. *The going forth to the Mount of Olives*¹

THE Diatessaron omits at this point all the Synoptic parallels describing the going forth to the Mount of Olives,

¹ Mk xiv. 26—31
(R.V.)

(26) And when they had sung a hymn, they went out unto the mount of Olives.

(27) And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended (*lit.* caused to stumble): for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad.

(28) Howbeit, after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.

(29) But Peter said unto him, Although all shall be offended (*lit.* caused to stumble), yet will not I.

(30) And Jesus saith unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that thou to-day, [even]

Mt. xxvi. 30—35
(R.V.)

(30) And when they had sung a hymn, they went out unto the mount of Olives.

(31) Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended (*lit.* caused to stumble) in me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

(32) But after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.

(33) But Peter answered and said unto him, If all shall be offended (*lit.* caused to stumble) in thee, I will never be offended (*lit.* caused to stumble).

(34) Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the

Lk. xxii. 39, 31—34
(R.V.)

(39) And he came out, and went, as his custom was, unto the mount of Olives; and the disciples also followed him.

(31) Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you (*or*, obtained you by asking), that he might sift you as wheat:

(32) But I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren.

(33) And he said unto him, Lord, with thee I am ready to go both to prison and to death.

(34) And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, until thou

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but places a mixture of them later on¹. Mark and Matthew place the going forth immediately after the Eucharistic prophecy about not drinking of the fruit of the vine till the coming of the Kingdom. But Luke places it several verses later, after inserting other sayings of Jesus². Mark and Matthew say "they went out *having hymned*," which is rendered by Delitzsch "*having accomplished the hallel*" (i.e. the *usual Passover Psalms*)³. The Apostolic Constitutions represents

<p>Mk xiv. 26—31 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i></p> <p>this night, before the cock crow twice, shalt deny me thrice.</p> <p>(31) But he spakē exceeding vehemently, If I must die with thee, I will not deny thee. And in like manner also said they all.</p>	<p>Mt. xxvi. 30—35 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i></p> <p>cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.</p> <p>(35) Peter saith unto him, Even if I must die with thee, [yet] will I not deny thee. Likewise also said all the disciples.</p>	<p>Lk. xxii. 39, 31—34 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i></p> <p>shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.</p>
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John places Peter's protestation immediately after the words (xiii. 33—5) "Whither I go, ye cannot come...if ye have love one to another." Peter exclaims "Whither goest thou?," and protests, and hears the reply concluding (*ib.* 36—8) "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice." Then follows what may be called the Discourse of Comfort, uttered perhaps while Jesus and His disciples are preparing to go forth from the chamber, beginning (xiv. 1) "Let not your heart be troubled," and ending (*ib.* 31) "Arise, let us go hence." After this, John probably places the actual *going forth*.

¹ The *Diatessaron* xlv. 16 places Jn xiv. 31 b "Arise, let us go hence" immediately before a blending of the Synoptic "*going forth*" to the mount of Olives:—"And they arose and praised (? ὑμνήσαντες in Mk-Mt.) and went forth, and went, according to their custom (Lk.), to the mount of Olives, he and his disciples (paraphr., but mostly Lk., or Jn xviii. 1)."

<p>² Mk xiv. 25—6</p> <p>...ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.</p>	<p>Mt. xxvi. 29—30</p> <p>ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.</p>	<p>Lk. xxii. 38—9</p> <p>...ἱκανόν ἐστιν. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν ἡκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ [καὶ] οἱ μαθηταί.</p>
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³ Delitzsch אלהים (but ed. 1901 קראם גמרם. On the *Hallel* "a customary title for Psalms cxiii.—cxviii.," see Levy i. 472 b.

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the apostle John as saying "He went out to the Mount of Olives near the brook Kedron where there was a garden; but we too were with Him and *hymned according to the custom*¹." But Luke says "Having gone out *he went according to the custom* to the mount of Olives, but the disciples also followed him²"—apparently taking "*according to the [established] custom*" as meaning, in effect, "*according to his custom*," a rendering not justifiable except in very special contexts³. The Acts of John represents Jesus as saying to His disciples "Before I am delivered over, let us *hymn* the Father, and thus let us *go out* to [meet] that which lies before [us]," after which there follows a Eucharistic hymn during which the disciples dance round the Lord; and then it is added "Thus having danced with us, my beloved brethren, the Lord *went out*⁴."

These apocryphal passages appear to explain Luke's avoidance of the Mark-Matthew tradition "*having [all of them] hymned*." It would naturally mean that Jesus with all the disciples "sang the hymn of the Old Passover." But this would come as an anticlimax after the introduction of the New Passover. What seemed to be needed as a climax was some such Eucharistic hymn as the Didachè places in the mouth of the president, or of a prophet, at the Eucharist

¹ *Const. Apost.* v. 14 συνῆμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμνήσαμεν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. If the "hymning" is to be regarded as preceding the "going forth," we must regard the words as retrospective "now we *had been* with Him and *had hymned*"—the aorist being (*Joh. Gr.* 2460—2) frequently used for the pluperfect.

² This gives to Jesus an initiative not mentioned in the parall. Mk-Mt. Jn emphasizes the fact that Jesus initiated a going forth in xiv. 31 b, and he implies an initiative also in xviii. 1, 4.

³ In Thuc. iv. 32, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος prob. means according to the general custom of ships at night, and not "according to the particular custom of the persons mentioned in the context"; and Plato *Polit.* v. 3 (452 A) παρὰ τὸ ἔθος, *Crat.* 434 E διὰ γε τὸ ἔθος have a general meaning. If the original had meant "according to his (or, their) custom," it would have been natural to insert αὐτοῦ or αὐτῶν (as in Daniel (Theod.) *Bel* 15), and as *Diatess.* does and several Latin versions of Luke.

⁴ *Acts of John* §§ 11—12 using ἐξέρχομαι and ὑμνέω.

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"after the eating¹." Luke perhaps, as in other passages, interpreted some expression signifying the "lifting up of the soul" in praise and thanks as though it referred to local "ascending" connected in the context with the Mount of Olives². At all events he omits the "hymning." That Luke is honestly and carefully following old tradition appears from his retention of the phrase—unfavourable to his views—"according to the custom."

John also—from a different point of view—indicates that the utterance of prayer and praise that preceded the going forth of Jesus was not the singing of the Hallel. It was a long prayer uttered by Jesus alone "lifting up his eyes to heaven" and saying "Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son³." After the conclusion of the prayer it is said that Jesus "went forth with his disciples" to a place known to Judas "for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with his disciples⁴." The phrase "*oft-times resorted*" implies that Jesus resorted thither "*according to his custom*," which is what Luke apparently means by "*according to the custom*."

This seems to be a case where John intervenes between Mark and Luke, but not to explain Mark as being misunderstood by Luke. On the contrary, John seems to say "Luke has partially supplied what was missing in Mark—namely, some account of what Jesus said in the interval between the Eucharist and the 'going forth.' For example, he has recorded the Lord's warning to the disciples that they should learn to 'serve⁵,' and also the Lord's anxiety for the disciples

¹ *Didachè* x. 1 foll. It was sometimes of considerable length, as appears from the ancient Liturgies, and as might be anticipated from *ib.* x. 6 "But to the prophets give permission to eucharistize at such length as they please (ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν)."

² See *Beginning* pp. 110—1. The *Diatess.* has xlv. 16 "And they arose and praised and went forth," but this is perhaps an insertion consequent on xlv. 15 which ends with the words "*Arise, let us go hence.*" In view of the ambiguities of "lifting up" (*Son* 3380 a), it is worth noting that "lifting up" occurs in the Johannine preface to Christ's prayer xvii. 1 "lifting up his eyes."

³ *Jn* xvii. 1.

⁴ *Jn* xviii. 1—2.

⁵ *Lk.* xxii. 25—30.

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lest their faith should fail¹; but he has not supplied the Eucharistic 'hymn.' Mark has mentioned the word 'hymn,' but has not perceived that it was uttered by Jesus alone. Luke has not mentioned it at all. This, therefore, should be added."

§ 2. "Stumbling," and "being scattered," in Mark and Matthew²

The reasons why Luke here, as elsewhere, avoids the word *scandalizein* "cause to stumble," and the Johannine use of it, have been fully discussed³. It is an instance of Johannine Intervention. Luke thinks the word too strong, as if it implied a permanent fall. John, tacitly admitting that it is a strong word, uses it in such a way as to shew that Mark and Matthew may mean temporary stumbling here: "Ye shall be made to stumble for a short time; *but* I will guide you right in the end." This he indirectly and paradoxically expresses thus "These things have I spoken unto you that ye may not be [*permanently*] caused to stumble⁴."

Concerning the Mark-Matthew tradition about "being scattered" Luke might well feel several difficulties. Mark and Matthew quote Zechariah in a form not justified by the Hebrew or the LXX⁵. Early interpretations of it vary. The

¹ Lk. xxii. 31 "Simon,... Satan (hath) requested that he might have *you*" (not "thee") shews that the anxiety was for all the disciples. Comp. Jn xvii. 9—15.

² Mk xiv. 27 πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε, Mt. xxvi. 31 πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. The latter particularises, for emphasis: "all, yes, all of *you*, my disciples, and it will be on account of *me* that you will stumble, and it will be on this very night."

³ Law pp. 124—32.

⁴ Jn xvi. 1.

⁵ Mk xiv. 27 πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται, Mt. xxvi. 31 πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμένης, lay emphasis on the disaster to the shepherd's flock—they, too, being included in their Master's suffering. The Heb. of Zech. xiii. 7 has—after "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts"—"Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." The LXX has Ῥομφαία, ἐξεγέρθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας μου καὶ ἐπ' ἄνδρα πολίτην μου, λέγει

Targum appears to interpret it as referring to the chastisement of Israel¹. Rashi mysteriously speaks of the wicked Moabite king². Barnabas, alluding to the reiterated prophecy of Isaiah that the Messiah was to be "in smiting³," says, in effect, that the Jews were to be the smiters, and then quotes Zechariah thus: "When they shall smite their own Shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be destroyed⁴." Tertullian assumes that Zechariah is speaking of wicked "shepherds" (in the plural) the rulers of Israel, who persecuted Jesus: "Thus Zechariah threatens: Arise, O sword, against *the shepherds*, and pluck ye out the sheep [from their hands]; and I will turn my hand against *the shepherds*⁵."

Luke contains no prediction of this "smiting," or of the "awaking of the sword" or of the "scattering" of the disciples. The most that can be said about any Lucan approximation to Mark and Matthew or to Zechariah's prophecy about a "sword" and "smiting" is, that he places in his parallel context a mysterious warning to the disciples to "buy a sword⁶." He

Κύριος Παντοκράτωρ· πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας (V.G. πάταξον τὸν ποιμένα) καὶ ἐκσπάσατε (V.G. διασκορπισθήσονται) τὰ πρόβατα.

¹ Targ. "Merito percussi sumus propter peccata quae dileximus. Gladio denudare super regem et super principem socium ejus qui est similis ei, dicit Dominus exercituum: Interfice regem et dispergentur principes."

² See Breithaupt's notes of variations in Rashi's text indicating an allusion to the king of Edom, *i.e.* Rome.

³ Is. liii. 3 ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ (כחג), *ib.* 4 ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι...ἐν πληγῇ (חג), *ib.* 10 καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν (A + ἀπὸ) τῆς πληγῆς, Heb. (Field) "contundere eum, aegrum fecit eum," Sym. ἐλεῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τραυματισμῷ. This reiterated phrase ἐν πληγῇ, or πληγῆς, has been adopted in quotation by Clem. Rom. § 16. Barnabas § 5 and § 7 uses πληγῇ twice of the sufferings of the Messiah. Justin Martyr uses πληγῇ seven times in his *Apology* and *Dialogue*, and, with one exception (*Tryph.* § 132), always in quotation from Isaiah's Suffering Servant.

⁴ Barn. § 5, comp. § 7 ἔπαθεν ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς, which resembles Is. liii. 5 "with his stripes we are healed."

⁵ Tertull. *De Fuga* § 11. One naturally asks how Tertullian reconciles this with Mt. xxvi. 31. The Indices to Tertullian give no instance of the quotation of the latter.

⁶ Lk. xxii. 36.

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also quotes from Isaiah's prophecy about the Suffering Servant "He was reckoned with the transgressors," *i.e.* was reckoned by the rulers of the Jews as a transgressor¹. This might imply "and was smitten accordingly by them"—which would favour the view taken above (with differences of detail) both by Barnabas and by Tertullian that the smiters are the Jews.

John, it must be admitted, does not appear to intervene as to the "smiting" of the Shepherd—unless, as Jerome suggests, the Psalmist's words "They *persecute* him whom *thou hast smitten*" may be taken as an illustration of the prophecy of Zechariah quoted by Matthew². A kind of law of "persecution" may be said to be hinted at in the Johannine saying "If they have *persecuted* me they will also *persecute* you³."

This, however, is doubtful. But there is no doubt that John intervenes as to the "scattering." He indicates that "scattering" will teach the Apostles humility, and that their desertion of their Master will not leave Him alone: "Do ye now believe? Behold, the hour cometh, and now is come, that *ye shall be scattered*, every one to his own, and leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me⁴." John seems to suggest to his readers that this prediction of "scattering" ought to cause them no difficulty, since the next words are: "These things have I spoken unto you that in me ye may have peace; in the world ye [must] have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world⁵."

¹ Lk. xxii. 37. Comp. *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* p. xl, where text B quotes Zech. xiii. 7 "O sword, awake. . .," but text A quotes Is. vii. 17.

² Jerome on Mt. xxvi. 31 "Hoc aliis verbis in Zacharia Propheta scriptum est, et (ni fallor) ex persona Prophetæ ad Deum dicitur: 'Percute pastorem et dispergentur oves gregis,' sexagesimo quoque et octavo Psalmo qui totus a Domino canitur, huic sensui congruente: 'Quoniam quem tu percussisti, ipsi persequuti sunt.' Percutitur autem Pastor bonus, ut ponat animam suam pro ovibus suis, et de multis gregibus errorum (? erronum) fiat unus grex, et unus Pastor." Rashi takes Ps. lxix. 26 as referring to the suffering people of Israel "Populum istum quem tu (O Deus) percussisti, persequuntur inimici."

³ Jn xv. 20.

⁴ Jn xvi. 32.

⁵ Jn xvi. 33.

§ 3. "*I will go-before you to Galilee,*" in Mark and Matthew¹

Luke omits this but has, later on, the phrase "*in Galilee*" attached to a prediction of resurrection, thus: "Remember how he spake unto you, while he was yet *in Galilee*, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up...and rise again²." This suggests the inference that some such words as "He said '*To Galilee* will I go-before you'" may have been mistaken by Luke for "He said *in Galilee* 'I will go-before you.'" The Lucan "*in Galilee*" appears superfluous. But it is explicable as an attempt of Luke's to explain a tradition of Mark's that seemed to him to contradict the facts, since (according to Luke) the earliest manifestations of Jesus after His resurrection took place, not in Galilee, but in or near Jerusalem.

Many will find difficulty in believing that Jesus did actually make this definite prediction about going-before the disciples³, but it is also difficult to believe that such a prediction was invented. It may be explained if Jesus was referring to a "home," not on earth but in heaven, which He called His Father's House, and which was mistaken by Mark for the house and home in Nazareth. Elsewhere when Jesus speaks of a prophet as being thought lightly of in his own home, Mark and Matthew have the word "*country*" (*patris*), but the parallel Luke has "*Nazareth*," and the parallel John has "*Galilee*⁴." An illustration also suggests itself in the Lucan tradition that the boy Jesus said to Mary and Joseph "Wist ye not that I must be in *my Father's [house]*⁵?" where there can be little

¹ Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32 ἀλλὰ μετὰ (Mt. μετὰ δὲ) τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με προᾶξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

² Lk. xxiv. 6—7 μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὃν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι...καὶ...ἀναστῆναι.

³ See McNeile on Mt. xxvi. 32 who says "the genuineness of this verse is very doubtful," and "it is omitted in the Fay. fragm. of Mk." It is surprising that more MSS have not omitted it.

⁴ See Law p. 109 referring to Mk vi. 1, Mt. xiii. 54 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, Lk. iv. 16 εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος, Jn iv. 45 εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

⁵ Lk. ii. 49 οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ εἶναι με; On this, Wetstein quotes abundant instances of the ellipsis of "house"

doubt that the original inserted "house," but that the words meant more than house, a spiritual region inhabited by children of God doing their Father's will¹.

A clue to Mark's meaning is supplied by the comparatively rare Greek word used here for "go-before²." It is almost non-existent in the canonical LXX. But it is given by Symmachus in Exodus, thus, "Behold, I send an angel *before thee*," where LXX has "*before thy face*," but Symmachus has "*going-before thee*³." "*Go-before*" here implies preparation for Israel in the wilderness, as in Numbers, "The ark of the covenant of the Lord *went before them* three days' journey, to *seek out a resting-place for them*⁴." This use may be illustrated from Ignatius, who says about himself, when he was journeying as a prisoner to Rome, "Even those churches that did not lie on my route in the flesh *went-before me* from city to city," which Lightfoot explains as meaning, "*so as to make preparations and welcome him on his arrival*⁵."

All these passages contemplate a journey by stages with some one "going-before" the travellers so as to ensure their welcome. Now a similar journeying by stages is probably contemplated in a Johannine passage placed immediately after Christ's prediction of Peter's denial. The notion of stages latent in it is liable to be overlooked, partly because it is concealed in the

in Greek and Latin, but none from Hebrew. The Syriac inserts "house."

¹ Comp. Heb. xi. 10 "looking for the city that hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

² Προάγω, with Heb. original, occurs only once in *Oxf. Conc.* I S. xvii. 16 (A).

³ Exod. xxiii. 20 "Before thee (לפניך)," Onk. לך, LXX πρό προσώπου σου, Sym. προάγοντά σε.

⁴ Numb. x. 33, LXX ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου προεπορεύετο προτέρα αὐτῶν ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν, κατασκεύασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀνάπανσιν.

⁵ Ign. Rom. § 9 καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι (ἐκκλησίαι) τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον.

Two or three lines afterwards, the writer continues περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην..., "concerning those who *have gone before me* from Syria to Rome"—where there is no notion of "preparing the way." This is instructive as shewing the great difference between προάγω and προέρχομαι as used here by Ignatius.

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R.V. "*mansions*" or "*abiding-places*," and partly because John boldly adheres to the Hebrew expression "my Father's house" (instead of the Greek equivalent adopted by Luke, "my Father's [region]"). Hence there is a confusion of metaphor. But ancient evidence indicates that "*stations*" is the meaning of the word rendered by R.V. "*mansions*" in the saying "Let not your heart be troubled....In my Father's house are many *mansions* (marg. *abiding-places*)."¹ The context also, like the context in Numbers above-quoted, speaks of preparation, and represents Jesus as saying "If I go and *prepare a place* for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself¹."

We conclude that John intervenes in behalf of Mark against Luke so as to shew that the latter has not correctly emended Mark by his ingenious substitution of "*in Galilee*" for "*to Galilee*." He explains to us that "go-before" means a "going-before" like that of the Lord "going-before" Israel in the wilderness, and that "Galilee" had—or perhaps we should say included—the meaning of "home," the home of the children of God in the House of their Father in heaven.

§ 4. "*Before the cock crow twice*," in Mark²

This is a case where Mark appears to have been misled by a Hebrew original. Mark alone mentions "twice" in Christ's

¹ Jn xiv. 1—3, on which see *Paradosis* 1393—7, and *Son* 3347 (x) b.

² Mk xiv. 30 Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρ- νήσῃ.	Mt. xxvi. 34 Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς ἀπαρνήσῃ με.	Lk. xxii. 34 Λέγω σοι, Πέτρε, οὐ φωνήσῃ σήμερον ἀλέκ- τωρ ἕως τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ εἰδέναι.
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Jn xiii. 38 Τὴν ψυχὴν σου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ θήσεις; ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἀλέκτωρ φωνήσῃ ἕως οὗ ἀρνήσῃ με τρίς.

Later on, it is said that Peter remembered the words of Jesus, which are repeated:—

Mk xiv. 72 καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα δις φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ.	Mt. xxvi. 75 καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ Πέ- τρος τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰησοῦ εἰρηκότος ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκ- τορα φωνῆσαι τρίς ἀπαρ- νήσῃ με.	Lk. xxii. 61 καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆ- σαι σήμερον ἀπαρνήσῃ με τρίς.
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prediction, and he is probably right in mentioning it. But he is wrong in connecting it with the "crowing" of the cock; and the error has affected the whole of his narrative. It should have been connected with Peter's "denying," as follows: "Before the cock crow, *twice* [*nay*] *thrice* shalt thou deny me."

This can be illustrated from the saying in Job that a man may go wrong "*twice* [*or even*] *thrice*," and God may chasten him but not utterly condemn him¹. The Hebrew omits "even" before "thrice," and (as often) expresses "twice" by "times-two," the dual of "time." This, when the Hebrew is unpointed, is not distinguishable from the plural, "times." The result is literally this: "All these things doth God work (*times*-[*two*]), [*yea*,] *thrice* with a man to bring back his soul from the pit." The LXX and Jerome have both gone wrong, taking "*times* (dual) *thrice*" as "*times* (*or, ways*) *three*"². The Targum by inserting "*and*," to express "*yea*," has indicated the correct meaning³. Symmachus has rendered the Hebrew "*twice thrice*."

If the Greek tradition came to Mark in a rendering like that of Symmachus "Before the cock crow *twice thrice* shalt thou deny me," he would naturally readjust the words so as to make it clear (wrongly) that "twice" went with the crowing of the cock and "thrice" with the denial. It will be noted that here Mark inserts the Greek "or" (with "before"⁴) but omits it when

John, later on, makes no mention of Peter's "remembering" the words of Jesus (xviii. 27 καὶ εὐθέως ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν).

¹ Job xxxiii. 29, on which see Rashi referring to *Joma* 86 b. The saying is variously interpreted in Jer. Talm. *Kiddush*. i. 9 and *Peah* i. 1 *ad fin.*, but *Exod.* v. (on *Exod.* vi. 12, Wü. p. 71) gives the sense that the context seems to demand: "Three times does God wait for the man [to see] whether he repents. If he does, it is well; if not, He visits on him also his earlier transgressions."

² Job xxxiii. 29 LXX ὁδοὺς τρεῖς, Jerome "tribus vicibus," Sym. δις τρεῖς. On פַּעַמַּיִם, dual, see Gesen. 822 a, which interprets Job xxxiii. 29 as "twice [or] thrice." A.V. txt has "*oftentimes*," and, in margin, "twice [and] thrice," R.V. "twice, [*yea*] thrice."

³ The Targum also expresses the Hebrew dual by adding the Aramaic "two" ("duabus et tribus vicibus").

⁴ Mk xiv. 30 πρὶν ἢ, *ib.* 72 πρὶν (where parall. Lk. xxii. 61 also has πρὶν ἀλέκτορα...).

he repeats the words of Jesus later on. This suggests that a marginal "or"—inserted in the margin with the intention of explaining "twice thrice" as "twice *or* thrice"—may have been transferred to the text in a different place from that which was intended. Also Luke, who deviates considerably from Mark here, returns more closely to Mark later on. These facts point to the conclusion that Mark's "*twice*" was not an invention, but a retention of a very ancient poetic Hebraism, converted by misinterpretation into a prosaic detail of prediction unworthy of a Hebrew Prophet.

John has not intervened as to the Marcan "*twice*" to shew that the meaning of Christ's phrase was "*twice, yea, thrice.*" Perhaps he may have been influenced in part by the consideration that such a self-correction was hardly suitable for the language of a prediction of Christ, especially when uttered with a "*Verily, verily.*"

But John seems also to have felt that Luke was right in prefixing to Christ's prediction about Peter some positive protest of the Apostle about himself—not merely a negative one ("*I will not stumble*"), but one that implied "*I will do this or that.*"

There were however in Luke some small details—very minute to us but not unimportant for a writer given to symbolism—which John could not accept. For surely it is strange that Luke, differing from Mark and Matthew, represents Jesus as addressing the Apostle as "*Peter.*" "*Peter,*" "*stone,*" was significative of strength and firmness. Yet here, in a Lucan prediction that the Apostle would be weak enough to deny his Master¹, the Apostle is addressed as "*thou Stone,*" "*thou strong one,*" a vocative unique in the Gospels! This vocative is never used again in the New Testament except in the twice-repeated voice from heaven "*Arise, Peter, kill and eat*²." There, addressing the Apostle as God's minister for the admission of the Gentiles into the Church, it is appropriate. But it seems inappropriate here. The apparent inappropriateness seems all

¹ Lk. xxii. 34.

² Acts x. 13, xi. 7.

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the more strange because the Master had just addressed him as "Simon, Simon¹." Some may explain "Peter!" as a kind of ironical warning²; but to many this will seem far-fetched.

Again, there is a difference between Peter's protestation in Luke and in the two earlier Gospels. In Luke, "*I am ready...* to go to death" refers to the present and is in no sense true. Peter was not "ready." But the parallel in Mark-Matthew, "If it should be needed, or destined, for me to die with thee, I will not deny thee," might be regarded as referring—mystically, and in a sense not understood by the speaker—to the future. For the time *did* come when it was "needed" that Peter should "die," if not "with" the Lord, at all events for the Lord, and as a participator of the Cross³.

This, at all events, is the view suggested by John, not only in Christ's words "Thou shalt follow me afterwards," but also in those of the Apostle "I will lay down my life for thee," and even in the reply of Jesus. It is really interrogative, "Thy life wilt thou lay down for me?" But it is capable of being read affirmatively ("Thy life thou wilt lay down")⁴ so as to prepare for the prediction of the Apostle's martyrdom at the close of the Gospel⁵.

Another minor point of Johannine dissent from Luke relates to emphasis. Luke omits the "verily" with which Mark and Matthew emphasize the warning to Peter. John reduplicates "verily," as he always does when he uses the word at all⁶. This is worth noting as one of the only two

¹ Lk. xxii. 31. Contrast the Lucan "Peter" with the Johannine distinction in Jn i. 42 "Thou art Simon the son of John, thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter)." And note that Jn alone thrice calls the traitor Judas (vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26) "[the son] of Simon." In Jn xxi. 15—17 "Simon [son] of John" occurs thrice as a gentle reproach to Peter.

² So Plummer, on Lk. xxii. 34.

³ The Heb. equivalent to LXX δέ is sometimes represented by the Heb. future "I shall [have to]" or "it will be for me to," do this or that (see *Oxf. Conc.*).

⁴ Jn xiii. 38. See *Joh. Gr.* 2236 on "The Interrogative Tone."

⁵ Jn xxi. 18—19.

⁶ See *Joh. Gr.* 2611 a—b.

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instances where "verily" is inserted by the parallel Mark, Matthew, and John¹.

Our conclusion is that in this instance, although John does intervene, it is not for Mark but against him. In some respects he inclines toward Luke but he deviates in others. He does not write independently without reference to the earlier Evangelists².

§ 5. *The beginning of the Passion*³

Mark and Matthew, having previously told us that Jesus and the disciples "went out to the mount of Olives," and

¹ The other instance is Mk xiv. 18, Mt. xxvi. 21, Jn xiii. 21. It must be admitted, however, that Luke comparatively seldom uses ἀμὴν, so that the omission may be in accordance with Lucan general custom (as in Mt. v. 26, viii. 10, Lk. xii. 59, vii. 9 etc.). Ἀμὴν is very seldom used with λέγω σοι in the Synoptists (Mt. v. 26 and Lk. xxiii. 43 being quite exceptional) but very frequently with λέγω ὑμῖν.

Another trifling variation may be noted as to the exact limit of the interval before the denial—Mk "*to-day, this night*," Mt. "*this night*," Lk. "*to-day*"—where Jn leaves a blank. John perhaps felt that too much had been made by Mark of the exact accuracy, in minute details, of Christ's prediction.

² Luke (xxii. 33 foll.) omits to say that "all" the disciples joined in Peter's protestations, as also he omitted above (parall. Mk xiv. 27) to say that they would "all" stumble. Jn xvi. 31 foll. ("Do ye now believe? The hour cometh...") implies that the other disciples protested in a manner somewhat similar to Peter's protest, though not the same (xvi. 30 "By this we believe"), and that Jesus tried to shake their confidence in their own "belief."

³ Mk xiv. 32—42
(R.V.)

(32) And they come unto a place (*lit.* an enclosed piece of ground) which was named Gethsemane: and he saith unto his disciples, Sit ye here, while I pray.

(33) And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and began to be greatly

Mt. xxvi. 36—46
(R.V.)

(36) Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place (*lit.* an enclosed piece of ground) called Gethsemane, and saith unto his disciples, Sit ye here, while I go yonder and pray.

(37) And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be

Lk. xxii. 40—46
(R.V.)

(40) And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation.

(41) And he was parted from them about a stone's cast; and he kneeled down and prayed, saying,

(42) Father, if

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having related to us the conversation on the way, now describe the arrival: "And they come to *an enclosed-place called Geth-*

Mk xiv. 32—42

(R.V.) *contd.*

amazed, and sore troubled.

(34) And he saith unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: abide ye here, and watch.

(35) And he went forward a little, and fell on the ground, and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass away from him.

(36) And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt.

(37) And he cometh, and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? couldst thou not watch one hour?

(38) Watch and pray, that (*or*, Watch ye, and pray that) ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

(39) And again he went away, and prayed, saying the same words.

(40) And again he came, and found them sleeping, for

Mt. xxvi. 36—46

(R.V.) *contd.*

sorrowful and sore troubled.

(38) Then saith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: abide ye here, and watch with me.

(39) And he went forward a little, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.

(40) And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?

(41) Watch and pray, that (*or*, Watch ye, and pray that) ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

(42) Again a second time he went away, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cannot pass away, except I drink it, thy will be done.

(43) And he came again and found them sleeping, for

Lk. xxii. 40—46

(R.V.) *contd.*

thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done.

(43) And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, strengthening him.

(44) And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground (*many anc. auth. omit ver. 43, 44*).

(45) And when he rose up from his prayer, he came unto the disciples, and found them sleeping for sorrow,

(46) And said unto them, Why sleep ye? Rise and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.

semane"; Luke, who regards Christ's conversation as having taken place, not on the way, but in the chamber of the Supper, now says consecutively "And having gone forth he went according to custom *to the mount of Olives*, and his disciples followed him, and having arrived *at the place* he said...¹." This seems at first sight to define "the place" as "*the mount of Olives*," and that would accord verbally with Luke's previous statement that Jesus "habitually spent the night" in "the mount of Olives"; but, in this context, "the place" would be a very strange name to give to so large a space as the whole of the mountain. Possibly Luke may mean here "*the place* to which he went *according to custom*, situate on the mountain." We have seen above that in the parallel to Luke's previous mention of "*the mount of Olives*," Matthew said that Jesus "went out

Mk xiv. 32—42
(R.V.) *contd.*

their eyes were very heavy; and they wist not what to answer him.

(41) And he cometh the third time, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: it is enough; the hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.

(42) Arise, let us be going: behold, he that betrayeth me is at hand.

¹ Mk xiv. 32

καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς
χωρίον οὗ τὸ ὄνομα
Γεθσημανεῖ....

Mt. xxvi. 36—46
(R.V.) *contd.*

their eyes were heavy.

(44) And he left them again, and went away, and prayed a third time, saying again the same words.

(45) Then cometh he to the disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed unto the hands of sinners.

(46) Arise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that betrayeth me.

Mt. xxvi. 36

τότε ἔρχεται μετ'
αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς
χωρίον λεγόμενον Γεθ-
σημανεῖ....

Lk. xxii. 40

γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
τόπου....

Jn xviii. 1—2 ταῦτα εἰπὼν Ἰησοῦς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ πέραν τοῦ Χειμάρρου τῶν Κέδρων ὅπου ἦν κήπος, εἰς ὃν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. ἦδαι δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, ὅτι πολλάκις συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.

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to Bethany and spent the night there¹." In the Synoptic narrative under consideration, Mark (and similarly Matthew), who has previously twice mentioned the Mount of Olives², instead of now saying that Jesus came to it, says "They come to an enclosed-place of which the name was Gethsemane."

This appears to be a case that calls for Johannine Intervention. No doubt John avoids Synoptic names in general if they are merely of local and temporary interest. But the scene of Christ's agony would be to all Christians at the end of the first century a place of profound interest, if only they were able after the destruction of Jerusalem to identify it. It would perhaps be too direct and obvious an intervention—not quite in John's manner—to insert the name "Gethsemane" which Luke has omitted. But we might expect him to guide us to some knowledge of where the spot was, and to explain the nature of the "enclosed-place." Or, on the other hand, if he favoured Luke, John might have said "a place on the mount of Olives."

This last suggestion may be at once dismissed. Perhaps John thought "the mount of Olives" too vague a term, or one that had been used erroneously. At all events, John never uses it. He is represented as using it once, in our Authorised

¹ Mk xi. 19

καὶ ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο,
ἐξεπορεύοντο (marg.
ἐξεπορεύετο) ἔξω τῆς
πόλεως.

² Mk xi. 1

καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθ-
φαγή καὶ (but marg.
εἰς Ἱερ. καὶ εἰς) Βηθανίαν
πρὸς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν (marg.
τὸ) Ἐλαιῶν, ἀποστέλλει
δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐ-
τοῦ...

Mk xiii. 3

καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ
εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν
κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ...

Mt. xxi. 17

καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐ-
τοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς
πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν καὶ
ἠυλίσθη ἐκεῖ.

Mt. xxi. 1

καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἦλθον
εἰς Βηθφαγή εἰς τὸ Ὄρος
τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, τότε Ἰησοῦς
ἀπέστειλεν δύο μαθη-
τάς...

Mt. xxiv. 3

καθημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὄρους τῶν
Ἐλαιῶν...

Lk. xxi. 37

ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, τὰς
δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος
ἠυλίσσετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ
καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν.

Lk. xix. 29

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤγ-
γισεν εἰς Βηθφαγή καὶ
Βηθανιὰ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος
τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν,
ἀπέστειλεν δύο τῶν μα-
θητῶν...

Lk. om.

Version. But it is only in an interpolated passage written in a Lucan style¹.

Considering other ways of intervention by which John might indicate the locality of Gethsemane without actually mentioning the name, we have to ask what the name meant in Hebrew or Aramaic. Eusebius gives three answers, of which the first is "Ravine (*geth*) of fat things (*semane*)²." This is the only explanation given by Jerome, "*vallis pinguedinum*³." But Eusebius also tells us that *geth*- means "*mountain*, or *chasm*, or *ravine*, or *wine-press*⁴." This uncertainty is reflected in various readings of the name in Greek and in translations from the Greek, in Mark and Matthew⁵. Jerome illustrates the name from words of Isaiah mentioning "a valley of fat things," that is, "a fertile valley⁶." Here the word for "valley" resembles "*geth*," but without the *th*; and in Mark and Matthew many authorities drop the *th*. Professor Dalman favours the derivation from *gath*, "wine-press," but admits the possible derivation from the form of *ge* meaning "ravine⁷."

Turning to John, we find that in his description of the place to which Jesus "went out" (1) he uses a word, "torrent," not elsewhere used in the New Testament and sometimes inter-

¹ Jn viii. 1. It is worth noting that Goodspeed gives Justin Martyr as the only early writer that mentions the Mount of Olives, and he connects it (*Tryph.* § 99) with the Agony, and (*Tryph.* § 103, thrice) with Christ's arrest, possibly with some allusion and certainly with a strange emphasis. *Evang. Nic.* 14 (A) "Jesus and His disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch (2 K. xxiii. 13)," is parall. to *ib.* (B) "in Galilee upon the mount of Olives." And see Rashi on Zech. xiv. 4—5.

² See *Onomast.* p. 189.

³ *Onomast.* p. 61.

⁴ *Onomast.* p. 189.

⁵ In Latin and Syr., *Geth*- is very variously rendered. Comp. 1 S. xvii. 52 *a* on which Gesen. 387 *b* indicates that LXX has preserved גת *Gath* (or *Geth*), correctly, against Heb. txt, which has גיא, R.V. "Gai," a word meaning "valley."

⁶ Is. xxviii. 1 "valley of (גיא) fat things (שמן)."

⁷ Gesen. 387 *b* gives no instance of גת as meaning anything but "wine-press." The word used in Isaiah שמן (Gesen. 1032 *a*) means oil, as well as fat, but not necessarily "olive oil."

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changed with "ravine¹"; (2) he calls it a "garden," corresponding to the Mark-Matthew word "enclosed-place"; (3) he mentions "the place," as Luke does, but in a context different from Luke's, so as to explain why he calls it thus: "Now Judas also, who was betraying him, knew *the place*, for Jesus oft-times (R.V.) resorted thither with his disciples²."

The ordinary explanation of "Gethsemane" as "press of oils," meaning "press of *olive oil*," ignores the fact that the Talmud expressly distinguishes "*olive oil*" from "*all oils*"³. Luke may perhaps have supposed that it meant "*olive oil*" and that it pointed to some place on "the mount of Olives"; but John may have thought (and with better reason) that it meant "*fat things*," or "*fertilities*," as in Isaiah's phrase "*valley of fertilities*." In that case it might be a Hebrew euphemistic name for manured market-gardens in the neighbourhood of the "ravine" or "gully" of Kidron, which served as a drain to the Temple⁴. Such a detailed explanation would be entirely inappropriate to any Gospel, especially to the Fourth. But the description of Jesus as crossing "the brook Kidron," familiar to readers of the Scriptures as the "brook" crossed by king David in old days when he went forth in flight from Jerusalem⁵,

¹ Jn xviii. 1 χειμάρρον. Only here in N.T. In LXX χειμάρρον mostly = נחל, which is the name given to Kidron in *Joma* 58 b. There the Mishna describes it as the watercourse that receives from the Temple the remnant of the blood of the sacrifices, sold to the gardeners for the purpose of manuring their gardens. In Ezek. xxxvi. 4 (A) τοῖς χειμάρροις (אפיקים) καὶ ταῖς φάραγξι (גאיות), the normal text (B) interchanges the two Gk nouns.

² Jn xviii. 2 συνήχθη, on which see p. 370, n. 1.

³ See Levy iv. 576a quoting *Sabb.* 23a "All oils are good for lighting, but the oil of the olive is the best." The pl. of שמן "fat" or "oil," occurs only in Is. xxv. 6 "*fat things* [for food]" (*bis*), xxviii. 1, 4 "valley of *fat things* [i.e. of fertility]," Amos vi. 6 and Cant. i. 3, iv. 10 "ointments."

⁴ See *Hov. Heb.* on Jn xviii. 1 (referring to *Joma* quoted above) and on Mt. xxvi. 36, quoting *Baba Kama* "They do not make gardens . . . in Jerusalem because of the stink," one explanation of which is "It is the custom to *dung* gardens."

⁵ 2 S. xv. 23.

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would be symbolically appropriate besides being in accord with fact¹.

We conclude that John has intervened in behalf of Mark to explain an obscure but definite name for which Luke substituted a term that was not obscure but was too indefinite.

§ 6. "He began...to be sore troubled," in Mark and Matthew²

In Mark, A.V. has "He began to be *sore-amazed* and *to be very-heavy*," R.V. "He began to be *greatly-amazed* and *sore-troubled*." The first of these two verbs, as used by Aquila, signifies amazed awe or terror, and Matthew substitutes for it "*to be grieved*³." But the second is even more difficult, for it signifies a passion bordering on frenzy or despair⁴. Luke omits both. The question arises whether Mark found in Scripture some precedent that seemed to justify this venturesome statement about the Messiah, and whether John, finding it thus stated by Mark, and not stated by Luke, intervened to give it suitable expression⁵.

¹ See *Joh. Gr.* 2671—4.

² Mk xiv. 33 (Mt. xxvi. 37) ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι (Mt. λυπεῖσθαι) καὶ ἀδημονεῖν.

³ Ἐκθαμβέω is not in canon. LXX, but Aquila has it in Job iii. 5, R.V. "terrify," and sim. xv. 24, xxxiii. 7. In N.T. it occurs only here and in Mk ix. 15 ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, and xvi. 5, 6 of terror at a vision of angels. Goodspeed does not give forms of it except ἐκθαμβος in Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 5 of awe at a vision.

⁴ See Steph. *Thes.* ἀδημονέω, or Wetstein on Mt. xxvi. 37, noting especially the Plutarchian applications to Antony (*Vit.* 939 E) mad and melancholy because of Cleopatra's delay.

⁵ The remarks in this section do not include Luke's rejection of the Marcan view that three apostles were specially selected (παρалаμβάνει) by Jesus to be with Him in Gethsemane (as at the Transfiguration, Mk ix. 2, Mt. xvii. 1, Lk. ix. 28, all παρалаμβάνει). John nowhere inserts an instance of such selection. It has been shewn in *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *h* that the term "*pillars*," עמודים or עמודים, might be used (1) technically, for Peter, James, and John as "[*apostolic*] *pillars*," but might also be used (2) for "*standing-fast*," as in Lk. xxii. 28 "ye are they *that stood-fast* (העמודים) with me (עמדי)." This might have meant, in a Hebrew tradition, "ye are my stedfast followers," or, in an

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Such a precedent is found in Isaiah where it is said of the Lord Himself "He (R.V.) *wondered* that there was no intercessor: therefore his own arm brought salvation unto him," words afterwards repeated in Isaiah by Jehovah in the first person¹. In both these passages the Hebrew word rendered "wondered" is one that is rendered by the best authorities "desolated," "appalled," or "dazed²." Our English Versions have not rendered it "wondered" except in these two places, and in these inadequately. The Hebrew is rendered in the LXX by a great number of words signifying "astonishment," "desolation," and "terror³"; and Aquila renders it once by the word here used by Mark (and Matthew), which is non-occurrent in the LXX⁴. In both passages of Isaiah, the LXX completely misrepresents the meaning⁵. So does the Targum⁶. But Mark's text is intelligible if regarded as an attempt to express in two Marcan words the Hebrew feeling of "desolate

early Christian application of it, "ye [three] are my [faithful] pillars." The fact that Ephrem commenting on Mk ix. 1, Mt. xvi. 28 "those standing here" refers to Gal. ii. 9 "pillars," and the similarity of "pillar," עמוד, and "with me," עמדי, indicate the possibility of confusion of traditions about the "pillars," in sayings of Jesus, so that either Mark, or Luke, might be misled.

¹ Is. lix. 16, comp. lxiii. 5, שמים hithpo.

■ Gesen. 1031 a.

³ Tromm. gives שמים as = ἐξίσταμαι (8), ἀφανίζω, -ομαι (21) but θαυμάζω only (2), θαῦμα ἔχει (1). It also = ἀτιμάζω, βασανίζω, σθω-θρωπάζω etc.

⁴ Job xviii. 20 "shall be astonished (שמים)," LXX ἐστέναξαν, Aq. ἀδημονήσουσιν.

⁵ Is. lix. 16 LXX κατενόησεν, lxiii. 5 LXX προσενόησα, Aq. ἐξηγορήθην.

■ Is. lix. 16 Targ. "et notum est coram eo," lxiii. 5 Targ. "et notum est coram me." This resembles the LXX. Rashi says "et conticuit ut videret an esset qui intercederet," and "it signifies one who stands, and wonders, and is silent (conticescit) in his wonder." But this is too deliberate. It really means "struck dumb, or desolated, with astonishment." Ibn Ezra rejects the suggestion of Menahem that שתם "open-eyed," should be read for שמים (as in Numb. xxiv. 3, 15 "see open-eyed") and he rightly compares Is. i. 7, "desolate." The LXX prob. took שמים as a form of שום = νοέω, ἐπινοέω.

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astonishment" attributed to Jehovah when finding that Israel was destitute of any intercessor except Himself.

What course does John take as regards the expression of this Messianic thought in Isaiah and in Mark omitted by Luke? John omits the whole of the narrative of Gethsemane except the mention of the "place" as a "garden" on the other side of "Kidron¹." But it does not follow that he would altogether omit all suggestion of the Messianic pain and conflict included in Christ's intercessory acts. Moreover, as has been shewn in previous treatises, John knew well that the Christian view of the Saviour's spiritual suffering and trouble differed altogether from the Epictetian doctrine, which taught that no human being ought ever to feel "trouble" either for himself or for others². It is probably no accidental coincidence that John uses that particular word "trouble"—which Epictetus used to condemn an infirmity that was always wrong—in order to shew that in the Saviour it represented a deep and mysterious sympathy that was profoundly right³.

This he does systematically, describing three stages of Messianic "trouble." The first is at the grave of Lazarus, where Jesus, for the sake of raising Lazarus from the dead, "*troubled himself*"⁴. The second is after the coming of the Greeks, and just before the Voice from heaven that announces the glorification of the divine Name through death preparing the way for life—the law of the spiritual harvest. There Jesus says "*Now is my soul troubled*"⁵. The third instance is where Jesus "*was troubled in spirit*" and said, "One of you shall deliver me over"⁶. This is the Johannine climax, and it helps us to understand that John, though he does not relate the narrative of Gethsemane, intends us to understand that the Marcan phrases about "amazement" and "astonishment" signify Christ's feelings, not for Himself and for His own approaching death, but for the sake of Judas and all human

¹ Jn xviii. 1—2.

² See *From Letter* 920 (and Epict. ii., 2 *title* *περὶ ἀρπαγίας*), *Joh. Voc.* 1727 b—c, *Joh. Gr.* 2614 c, *Proclam.* p. 174.

³ Jn xi. 33.

⁴ Jn xii. 27.

⁵ Jn xiii. 21.

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beings of whom Judas was the type¹. In His thought and trouble for others Jesus may have received—so Mark's tradition suggests, or leaves us free to suppose—a new and final revelation, that the "smiting" which He was to endure was to be even "unto death," and that, unless He died, there was "no intercessor."

We must not however entirely ignore a very different and simple explanation, which would indicate that, in Luke's view, and perhaps in John's, it was not Jesus but the disciples, who "began to be amazed and astonished." It was pointed out in a previous treatise that a verse in Mark, "[they] began to beseech him to depart," may have been read originally as "[he] began²." Now "they began" would suit Mark's text here: "He took the three disciples and they began to be amazed," just as Mark says previously "Jesus said... they began to be sorrowful³."

If Luke believed that to be the meaning we can understand why he (and he alone) says a little later that Jesus found the disciples "slumbering because of their sorrow⁴." This is the only passage where Luke mentions "sorrow." Nor does John mention "sorrow" in his Gospel till he introduces it at this stage in the words of Jesus to the disciples "Because I have

¹ So Jerome on Mt. xxvi. 38, "Contristabatur autem non timore patiendi..." quoted fully below (p. 455, n. 7).

The *Acts of John* (§ 6) says that "when the disciples were sleeping in one house at Gennesaret (*sic*)" John saw "Another, like unto Him, come down," who said, "Jesus, those whom thou didst choose do still not believe in thee (Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐξέλεξω ἔτι σοι ἀπιστοῦσιν)." Jesus replies, "Thou sayest well, for they are men." This rather exaggerates the calmness that John attributes to Jesus when He anticipates being left alone. It is almost cynical. The writer ignores the fact that "men," for a Jew, meant "beings made in the image of God," and, for Jesus, "beings born to receive God's Spirit and to become God's children."

² Law p. 82, ΗΡΞΑΤΟ (*i.e.* ἤρξαντο) might be confused with ΗΡΞΑΤΟ (*i.e.* ἤρξατο), comp. 1 Macc. ix. 66 ἐξήρξατο *v.r.* ἤρξαντο and see *Joh. Gr.* 2687 *d* ἐκεῖνη perhaps read as ἐκεῖνη *i.e.* ἐκεῖνη.

³ Mk xiv. 19; Mt. xxvi. 22 "they began to say," Lk. xxii. 23 "they began to question."

⁴ Lk. xxii. 45 κοιμωμένους ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, parall. to Mk xiv. 37, Mt. xxvi. 40 καθεύδοντας.

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said these things unto you, *sorrow* hath filled your heart," after which He thrice repeats the word in the attempt to comfort them¹. According to this view, the "sorrow" of the amazed and distracted disciples in Mark was wrongly attributed to Jesus by reason of Christ's own following words. The error was effected by a very slight change, a mere stroke in the MS. Matthew departed still further from the correct text. Luke omitted the error. John intervened—rather in favour of Luke than to correct Mark—to explain the nature of the "sorrow" of the disciples, and the darkness of its stupefaction, and the attempts of Jesus to enlighten it.

§ 7. "My soul is exceeding-sorrowful even unto death,"
in Mark and Matthew²

Luke omits this. A literary Greek might naturally object to it, for to be "*exceeding-sorrowful*," or—as it might mean to him—"fretful," or "depressed," was a fault against which philosophers protested from Aristotle to Plutarch³. Moreover, in one of the very few LXX instances of it, it is applied to Cain by God, "Why art thou *exceeding-sorrowful*?"—probably meaning "fretful" or "furious⁴." What therefore requires

¹ Jn xvi. 6, comp. *ib.* 20, 21, 22.

² Mk xiv. 34, Mt. xxvi. 38 *περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου*. In Mark, codex *a* has "O, *quam tristis est*," *h* "*tristis es*." Iren. iii. 22. 2 οὐδ' ἂν εἰρήκει ὅτι Περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, "*nec dixisset Tristis est anima mea*," should be compared with *ib.* i. 8. 2 ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν Περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου, "*in eo quod dixisset, Quam tristis est anima mea*." Comp. Ps. xlii. 5 "*why* art thou cast down, O my soul" ἵνα τί περίλυπος εἶ, ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ...; If "*why*" were expressed by τί, it might be confused with ὅτι "*recitativum*." These variations in the texts of N.T. perhaps point back to O.T. influence.

³ Steph. *Thes.* quotes Aristotle *Eth.* iv. 3. 7 as imitating Isocr. in the saying οὐτ' εὐτυχῶν περιχαρὴς ἔσται, οὔτε ἀτυχῶν περίλυπος, also imitated by Plutarch *Mor.* 7 E.

⁴ Gen. iv. 6 ἵνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου; Aq. εἰς τί [τὸ] ὀργίλον σοι; Heb. כָּרָה, R.V. "*wroth*." This is quoted in Clem. Rom. § 4. Good-speed's only other instance is Herm. *Vis.* iii. 10. 6, where it seems to imply a childish vexation or fretfulness at some one's delay in answering a childish question.

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explanation is, not Luke's omission of the word, but Mark's employment of it.

Of the five instances of it in canonical LXX three occur in refrains of the Psalms "Why art thou *cast-down*, O my soul¹?" The Hebrew here (which differs from that of the two other instances) means "*bow oneself down*²." Rashi explains the form (which is a middle voice) as meaning the same as a similar word in "Our soul is *bowed down* to the dust³." The Greek word used by Mark does not represent the Hebrew "*bowed down*." But if Jesus was, in effect, quoting Scripture, Mark might naturally retain the LXX word, though it would be quite inadequate to express the meaning. If we realise that the original word implied a "*bowing down*" to "*the dust*," we can better understand Christ's action in "*falling on the earth*" in prayer, as reported by Mark⁴. Of this Luke misses the force, substituting a different tradition, which mentions "*kneeling*⁵." Matthew—from a common-sense point of view, since one *must* fall on "the earth" so that this phrase might be said logically to tell nothing—substitutes "*fell on his face*⁶." But in fact the Marcan "*fell on the earth*" was typical of a soul "*bowed down to the dust*." It signified (what the Greek word "*exceeding-sorrowful*" did not signify) that Jesus "*humbled himself, becoming obedient [even] unto death, yea, the death of the cross*⁷."

¹ The Heb. "bow down," שָׁח, occurs four times in Ps. xlii. 5, 6, 11, xliii. 5. But in xlii. 6 (affirmative) "my soul is *cast down*," LXX has ἐταράχθη, so that περιλυπος occurs only thrice here. The fifth instance of LXX περιλυπος is Dan. ii. 12 "furious (הָצַד)."

² Gesen. 1006 a gives this form of שָׁח as occurring only in these four instances.

³ Ps. xliv. 25, שָׁח closely akin to שָׁח in meaning, LXX ἐταπεινώθη.

⁴ Mk xiv. 35 ἐπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσήχετο....

⁵ Lk. xxii. 41 θείς τὰ γόνατα προσήχετο, on the context of which see Son 3613 a—b.

⁶ Mt. xxvi. 39 ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ προσευχόμενος.

⁷ Philipp. ii. 8. Comp. Heb. v. 7—9 "Who in the days of his flesh, having offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and having been heard for his godly fear, though he was a Son, yet

There is a great difference between becoming "*very sorrowful, or depressed, or fretful, unto death*" and "*humbling oneself unto death*."

Another point to be noted is that this Marcan tradition, if it is a quotation from a refrain in a Psalm, must be interpreted as a quotation, with some regard to the context; and the refrain of dejection in each case is followed by a refrain of confident hope "Why art thou cast down...? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him for the health of his countenance¹."

In Luke, there is no mention of Christ's "exceeding sorrow," or of anything corresponding to it—unless we include the doubtful passage mentioning an "agony" and an "angel" strengthening Jesus, and "sweat as it were drops of blood²."

learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation."

Cramer, on Mark, prints an ancient scholium, part of which is after the manner of Origen, in which Jesus is asked why He is "exceeding sorrowful" (since He will be ultimately triumphant); and He replies "Yea, I know the good that will come to pass for the world from my Passion; but I am grieved by the firstborn, namely, Israel, because he is not even in the [rank of the] servants [of God] (comp. Jerem. ii. 14)." Jerome says (on Mt. xxvi. 38) "*Contristabatur autem non timore patiendi—qui ad hoc venerat ut pateretur, et Petrum timiditatis arguerat—sed propter infelicissimum Judam, et scandalum omnium Apostolorum, et rejectionem populi Judaeorum, et eversionem miserae Hierusalem*." These last two extracts indicate that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews might have done well to substitute "*save from death*" for "*save him from death*," since he himself would probably admit that Jesus was thinking not solely, and perhaps not primarily, of Himself except as "saving" others. But the author is instructive in his suggestion that up to the last moment Jesus may have been "*learning*"—"learning from the things that he suffered" the nature of the "obedience" by which He was to do His work as Saviour.

¹ Ps. xlii. 5, R.V. txt, comp. *ib.* 11, xliii. 5. Somewhat similarly it should be noted that the Psalm quoted on the Cross (Ps. xxii. 1) beginning with the deepest sadness, ends in a note of joy.

² Lk. xxii. 43, 44, placed in double brackets by W. H., and omitted by many ancient authorities.

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As to John, it has been repeatedly pointed out that he recognises an "exceeding sorrow" that amounts to "trouble," as being one of Christ's burdens, and a burden that increases toward the close. But he prefers to call it "trouble." The LXX itself uses the word "*troubled*" to represent the Hebrew "*bowed down*" in one of the refrains we have been considering¹. We may therefore say that the LXX supplies a link connecting Mark and John in their views of the Messianic pain of intercession. John also mentions an "angel" in a passage where Jesus asks a question from heaven and receives an answer. But it is not a real angel. "Thundering" and "angel" are both mentioned². But it is no more an angel than thunder. It is the Voice of the Father from heaven.

A reasonable conclusion is that John intervenes for Mark against Luke to say that it was not incorrect to suppose that Christ might speak about His "soul" as being "exceeding sorrowful³," although the thought would be better expressed by describing it as "troubled⁴."

¹ Ps. xlii. 6.

² Jn xii. 29 "The multitude...said that it had *thundered*: others said, *An angel* hath spoken to him"—the only instance of "angel" (*sing.*) in Jn.

³ On the "soul" of Christ (not mentioned in Lk.) see *Son* 3434—7, 3546.

⁴ A word should be added on the verbal and circumstantial similarity between Mk xiv. 34 (Mt. xxvi. 38) *περίλυτός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου* and Sir. xxxvii. 2 *λύπη...ἕως θανάτου*. Ben Sira expressly says that the *λύπη* is concerning "a friend and companion turning to become an enemy." This would apply to Judas. Jn xiii. 21 "troubled in spirit" implies, though in different words, a *λύπη* about such a "friend," and there the friend is Judas. The combination of *λύπη*, or *λυπεῖν*, or *περίλυπος*, with *ἕως θανάτου* does not appear to occur elsewhere in LXX (see *Oxf. Conc.*) except Jon. iv. 9 "I do well to be angry even unto death (*σφόδρα λελύπημαι ἐγὼ ἕως θανάτου*)"—which does not express the feeling implied here. We may reasonably find in Mark an allusion to the language of Ben Sira, as well as to that of the Psalms.

§ 8. "All things are possible unto thee," in Mark¹

There is a verbal incompatibility between the two Marcan phrases "if it is possible," and "all things are possible unto thee" (both being addressed by the Son to the Father); and it is not surprising that Matthew and Luke omit the latter.

John's attitude toward barren discussions about "possibility" has been discussed elsewhere². His view is that being "able to do as one likes" may characterize an evil and ignorant and weak doer, since there is an infinite number of ways of doing a thing badly, foolishly, and imperfectly, and only a few ways, or it may be only one way, of doing it rightly. He teaches us directly and definitely as to the Son, that He is "not able to do" anything except that which He sees the Father doing³. But as to the Father's "being able" he teaches us nothing definite or direct. He merely implies. He leads us into a region where we feel that it would be out of place and almost profanely superfluous to assure us that God is "able" to do His will. We need not infer from this that John denied the historical truth of the Marcan traditions of Christ's sayings about being "able⁴." But we may reasonably infer that he

¹ Mk xiv. 35—6

καὶ προσελθὼν (marg. προσελθὼν) μικρὸν ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσήχετο ἵνα εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ, πάντα δυνατὰ σοι· παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σύ.

Mt. xxvi. 39

καὶ προσελθὼν (marg. προσελθὼν) μικρὸν ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων Πάτερ μου, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, παρέλθω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλ' ὡς σύ.

Lk. xxii. 41—2

καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὥσεὶ λίθου βολήν, καὶ θεὸς τὰ γόνατα προσήχετο λέγων Πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω.

² See Law p. 137 foll. on the saying peculiar to Mark (vi. 5) "And he was not able to do there any mighty work."

³ Jn v. 19.

⁴ Note especially Mk ix. 23 (not in Mt.-Lk.) τὸ εἰ δύνῃ; πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι, as though Jesus indicated an incompatibility:—"Your 'if' is incompatible with fulfilment, since only for 'him that believeth' are all things possible." A similar incompatibility may perhaps seem to apply to the words of Jesus Himself in Mk xiv. 35 "if it is able [to be done]." But there is a difference, for this

thought them liable to be misunderstood and perverted by unspiritual minds, which cannot take in the truth that in many cases where the "prince of this world" would boast "I am able to do this, or that," the Supreme Goodness would say "I am not able."

§ 9. "*The hour*" in Mark and John, and "*the cup*"
in all the Gospels¹

Mark alone mentions "*the hour*" as well as "*the cup*" in this passage, and the two apparently in similar meanings. The prayer in Mark "that...*the hour* might pass away from him," together with the prayer "remove this cup," is parallel to the prayer in Matthew "let *this cup* pass away from me."

John mentions "*the hour*" and "*the cup*" on two distinct occasions. The former is mentioned in a prayer or quasi-prayer that Jesus as it were puts before His own mind and rejects: "Now is my soul troubled, and what am I to say? 'Father, save me from *this hour*'? Nay, but on this account I came, to [endure] *this hour*," after which Jesus substitutes His real prayer; "Father, glorify thy name²."

"The cup" is mentioned in the Fourth Gospel only once, and then not till the moment preceding Christ's arrest, when Peter has wounded the High Priest's servant, where R.V. has: "Jesus therefore said unto Peter, Put up the sword into the sheath: the cup which the Father hath given me, *shall I not drink it*?" But "shall I not drink it?" does not quite express the natural meaning of the Greek original, which would be

is followed and as it were superseded by (ib. 36) "*all things are able [to be done] for thee.*" The meaning of the latter might be amplified as "Not really '*all things*,' but '*all things that are good and right*' are able to be done for thee if it be thy will." This, however, would be a mere truism,—amplification, but not explanation. We may feel confident that Mark has kept most closely to Christ's actual words in both passages and that Matthew and Luke have omitted or altered them. But we cannot pretend to reconcile them logically, since the subject is extra-logical.

¹ For the texts see above, pp. 445, 458.

² Jn xii. 27—8. See Joh. Gr. 2512 b—c.

³ Jn xviii. 11 τὸ ποτήριον ὃ δέδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ οὐ μὴ πῖω αὐτό;

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"I shall assuredly not drink it." In Hebrew, however, the interrogative "*shall I not?*," meaning "*I will,*" is very much more frequent than in Greek¹; and in one instance the LXX uses the same idiom as here—where Naomi says to Ruth "*Shall I not seek rest for thee?*" but the LXX has what would, in ordinary Greek, mean "*I shall assuredly not seek rest for thee.*" Obviously this must be punctuated interrogatively. And the same punctuation is necessary in John. But John must have had some reason for writing such strange Greek—unprecedented (as far as is known at present) except in the LXX of Ruth above quoted. The reason suggested by the parallelism is that there is a similarity of emotion in both passages. Ruth wishes to spare Naomi anxiety; Peter wishes to prevent Jesus from drinking the cup. In both cases the "*assuredly not*" expresses a tender determination to overrule a well-meant kindness³,

Proceeding to the Synoptic traditions of the prayers about "the cup," we see that Matthew applies to it the intransitive verb "*pass aside, or away,*" which Mark has previously applied to "the hour"; whereas Mark, followed by Luke, applies to "the cup" a transitive verb rendered by R.V. "*remove.*" Etymologically this verb combines the notions of "*carrying (or, bringing)*" and "*side,*" but it is used in many different senses. In canonical LXX, where it is almost non-occurrent, it is never used to mean "*remove,*" but is used of being "*beside oneself*" or of "*passing on*" a proclamation⁴; Aquila uses it in a rendering of "Jubilee," as being the year that "*passes by,*"

¹ See Gesen. 520 *a* on לֹא־אֶשְׁתִּי = *nonne*, with verb in 1st pers., and pointing out that LXX often renders it by ἰδοὺ.

² Ruth iii. ἰ οὐ μὴ ζητήσω σοι ἀνάπαυσιν...

³ On οὐ μὴ with first person interrog.—perhaps better called exclamatory—see *From Letter* 933—6, *Joh. Gr.* 2232. Steph. *Thes.* gives only Heliodor. *Æth.* 5, init. Εἶτα οὐ μὴ μανῶ ἀκηκοώς; "And then [you would have it that] I am not to go mad on hearing it!"

⁴ Παραφέρω represents הלל hithpo. in 1 S. xxi. 13 "made himself [as it were] mad (παρεφέρετο)," and עבר hi. in Ezr. x. 7 παρήνεγκαν φωνήν "they passed on a proclamation."

"remits," or "lets drop," debts¹. Early Christian writers use it of "bringing to the side [of a judge]" allegations or proofs, but not of "passing away"².

In literary Greek, when combined with the word "cup," it is used (of a waiter at dinner "offering" wine) in such quasi-technical terms that Athenaeus records a little philological discussion about the phrase³. In the Prophets there is a mention of the cup of the Lord as being handed to nation after nation either by the Lord or by His prophet⁴. Moreover it is said to the daughter of Edom in Lamentations "The cup shall *pass* also (lit.) *upon* thee"—meaning (as the context seems to shew) that it shall be passed onward by the Lord from Zion to Edom⁵.

¹ See Exod. xix. 13 במשך היכל "cum protraxerit [tubicen] classicum," LXX ὅταν αἱ φωναὶ, καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες, καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἀπέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους (an instructive instance of expansion) [Aq. ἐν τῷ ἐλκυσμῷ τοῦ παραφέροντος], compared with Lev. xxv. 10 "jubilum," יובל, LXX ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία, Aq. παραφέρων, Theod. ἰωβήλ. It is also used by Ἄλλος in Numb. xxxi. 23 of passing things—and by Sym. and Theod. in 2 K. xxiii. 10 of passing children—through the fire. There is no instance in LXX, or Translators, where παραφέρω means "remove" in the sense of "take away."

² Goodspeed shews that παραφέρω is used by no early Christian writers except Hermas (very freq. about producing, or bringing forward, building materials), and by Justin Martyr about alleging, or producing, but not to mean "take away" or "remove." To the same effect is the evidence derivable from the Indices to the Papyri (*Oxyr.* and *Berl. Urkund.*). In Plutarch *Vit.* 151 F it means "wrest on one side" an enemy's javelin.

³ See Steph. *Thes.* quoting Xen. *Cyn.* II. ii. 4 καὶ ὁ μάγειρος οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔτι δεῖσθαι ὅψον οἰόμενος, ᾧ ἔχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἕτερον, I. iii. 6 πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων, Athen. IX. p. 380 D ἔδοξεν ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τῶν παραφερομένων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν. Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη... οὐδεὶς τινος γεύσεται πρὶν λεχθῆναι ποῦ κείται τὸ παραφέρειν... Καὶ ὁ Μάγνος ἔφη, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Προαγῶνι "Τί οὐκ ἐκέλευσας παραφέρειν τὰ ποτήρια;" Σώφρων δὲ... κατὰ κοινότερον κέχρηται λέγων "Παράφερε, Κοικία, τὸν σκύφον μεστόν." Πλάτων δ' ἐν Λάκωνιν ἔφη "Πάσας (κύλικας) παραφερέτω." Ἀλέξιος Παμφίλῳ "Παρέθηκε τὴν τράπεζαν, εἶτα παραφέρων ἀγαθῶν ἀμάξας."

⁴ Jerem. xxv. 15 foll., comp. Ezek. xxiii. 31 "I will give her cup into thine hand," *i.e.* I will give the cup of wrath to Judah, after giving it to the ten tribes of Israel.

⁵ Lam. iv. 21 ἐπὶ (ὑ) σὲ διελεύσεται.

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This last passage suggests that there may be some confusion in the Synoptists, arising from a confusion of a Semitic "cause the cup to pass *upon*, or *toward*, me" with "cause the cup to pass *from* me," a difference, in Greek, amounting to a single letter¹. And here it must be noted that the Greek in Mark, rendered by the somewhat abrupt imperative "remove," would be more legitimately rendered by the infinitive². The infinitive appears at first to make no sense. But it would make sense if the construction were elliptical, being, in effect, "If it be thy will *to cause the cup to pass toward me*—[so be it]. Not my will but thine be done³." With a somewhat similar ellipse in Exodus,

¹ The Heb. or Aram. "on me"—comp. Lam. iv. 21 "on thee," txt. and Targ.—might be expressed in a Greek Gospel by ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. This might be regarded as an error for ἀπ' ἐμοῦ by an interpreter who had made up his mind that the verb meant "pass away."

² In Mk xiv. 36, παρένεγκε appears in many MSS as ΠΑΡΕΝΕΓΚΑΙ. The imperat. active would usually be παρένεγκον, see L. S. and Steph. *Thes.* on φέρω, and comp. Gen. xxvii. 4, 7 (Swete) ἐνεγκόν μοι. Yet Gen. xxvii. 13 (Swete) has ἐνεγκαί μοι. In all three passages of LXX there are variations in MSS, or in quotations of the texts (see *Cambr. Octateuch*, ad loc.). In Lk. xxii. 42, many MSS (followed by Alford) read παρενεγκεῖν. Even if ΠΑΡΕΝΕΓΚΕ, the reading of B, D etc. be followed, -ε may be an "itacism" for -αι. See *Joh. Gr. Index*, -ε. The conclusion is, that no safe inference can be drawn from the spelling. We must rely on other considerations, among which the particular meaning of "pass" with "cup" (in Lamentations) must have some weight, and the regular meaning of παραφέρειν ποτήριον (in Greek idiom) must have still more.

³ When this was misunderstood as meaning "remove the cup *from* me," it would be natural to substitute "*but*," in some form, for "[so be it]". Mark has ἀλλά, Mt. and Lk. have πλήν.

The introduction in Mk-Mt. of δυνατόν, δυνατά, and οὐ δύναται, and the omission of any form of δυνατόν in Lk., may be explained by the fact that δύναται may be expressed by ἔστιν, as in 2 Chr. xxv. 9 ἔστιν τῷ κυρίῳ; i.e. "there is [power] to the Lord" (R.V. "the Lord is able") followed by "to give thee."

An original εἰ θέλημά ἐστί σοι might mean either (1) "If it is thy will," or (2) "If [it is] the WILL, it is [possible] for thee" (see *Son* 3492 j quoting Lightf. on Ign. Eph. § 20, and on 1 Cor. xvi. 12 "the WILL," as being "almost universally misunderstood"). The acceptance of the second interpretation might involve supplementary explanations about things "possible."

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Moses says to the Lord in effect "If thou wilt forgive—[it shall be well]. But if not, blot me out of thy book"¹—where LXX and the Jerusalem Targum, in the lacuna, insert an imperative "forgive," while the Vulgate drops the first "if," and has "Either forgive...or...blot." Such variations, there, we feel to be very natural. And they confirm the hypothesis that, here also, the very great variations between the three Synoptists, and between the MSS and Versions of each Synoptist, are natural and explicable as interpretative additions to an elliptic and obscure original.

One of these additions, in Matthew, contains the words "if I do not *drink*." Epiphanius quotes, as from Luke, a heretical tradition "If it is possible let this cup pass from me that I *may not drink it*," and refers loosely, in the context, to words uttered "earlier" in Luke "I have a cup to drink, and what do I hasten [to do] *until such [time] as I drink it*?"² Here

¹ Exod. xxxii. 32 "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written," LXX καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἀφεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ μή, . . . Onk., like Heb., omits the apodosis, but Jer. Targ., like LXX, inserts an imperat. "forgive." Vulg. has "Aut dimitte eis hanc noxam, aut, si non facis, dele me. . . ." Rashi supplies, as apodosis, "*bene est*." Clem. Rom. quotes this nearly as the Vulgate, § 53 "Ἀφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ ἢ καὶ με ἐξάλειψον.

² Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxix. p. 784 B—D (Lib. II. Tom. ii. ch. 58) Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν, παρελθάτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸ πίνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὁ ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλ' ὁ σύ. . . . Ἀνωτέρω γὰρ λέγει ὅτι ποτήριον ἔχω πίνειν καὶ τί σπεύδω (*quid festino*) ἕως οὗ πίνω αὐτό; (comp. Lk. xii. 50).

Origen, quoting Jn xiii. 27 "do more quickly (*Joh. Gr.* 1918, 2554 e)," says that Jesus (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 15) was not afraid, "as some suppose who have not understood in what sense He said, *Father, if [it is] possible, let this cup pass*," but that He wished to hasten, as far as possible, the dispensation of salvation, "stripping for the contest [like an athlete]"—apparently thinking (see below) that "let it pass" might mean "let me drink it quickly and have done with it." Elsewhere Origen refers (*Cels.* vii. 55) to "*some who suppose*" Christ's prayer concerning the cup to have been uttered from want of courage. This indicates that Christ's prayer would be the subject of early controversy, and accordingly Celsus, or the Jew in Celsus, is introduced as quoting it in one brief passage thus (*ib.* ii. 24) (1) ὁ πάτερ, εἰ δύναται τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο παρελθεῖν (omitting ἀπ' ἐμοῦ), (2) παρα-

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neither "hour" nor "time" is definitely mentioned. But the thought is implied; and indeed the context twice quotes "Save me from this hour¹." The attitude is that of one expecting the bitter cup, and the hour of trial, and looking forward to the time when both experiences shall have been endured.

There is a parallelism between the cup and the hour. As to "the hour" we have seen above that John describes Christ as putting aside the thought of praying that He might be saved from it. It seems antecedently probable that John would take the same view of the prayer about the cup—namely, that Jesus put such a prayer before Himself, as it were tentatively and interrogatively, and then rejected it. As to "the hour," he has recorded both phases, the interrogation and the answer; as to "the cup," where Synoptic variations might obscure for some the distinctness of Christ's determination, he has not recorded a phase of interrogation but only the answer emphatically

φράζει μὲν τὸ Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο (omitting ἀπ' ἐμοῦ), (3) ὁ πάτερ, εἴθε δύναιτο τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο παρελθεῖν (omitting ἀπ' ἐμοῦ).

Among many other comments made by Origen on the "passing" of "the cup" the following is specially noteworthy (on Mt. xxvi. 42 *ad loc.*) "Petit autem nunc ut transeat calix ab eo, et si non sic quomodo voluit ipse, transeat quomodo vult Pater." That is, the cup was to "pass away" from Jesus, in any case, but *with a difference*:—"Existimo enim quoniam calix ille passionis omnino quidem ab Jesu fuerat transiturus, *sed cum differentia*: ut (1) si quidem biberet eum, et ab ipso transiret postmodum et ab universo genere hominum; (2) si autem non biberet eum, ab ipso quidem forsitan transiret, ab hominibus autem non transiret, sed maneret apud eos donec perficeret eos." The Latin text is perhaps uncertain in details, but it appears clearly to indicate that "the cup" may "pass" in two ways (1) by being emptied at once so that the drinking becomes a thing of the past, both for Jesus and for the world; (2) by not being emptied but only removed—perhaps from Jesus, but not from the world for whom "the drinking of the cup" was still to await its accomplishment. The noteworthy point in this comment is that Origen strains the meaning of the Greek παρελθεῖν, "pass away" as if it could mean here "pass away by being quickly completed." This might be true of "night," "darkness," "trouble" etc. but hardly of the drinking of a potion.

¹ Jn xii. 27.

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welcoming the cup and refusing to pray that it may be averted.

Something of the nature of tentative prayer is implied in Paul's experience when he "besought the Lord thrice" that the "thorn in the flesh" or "messenger of Satan" might depart from him. After the third prayer the Apostle received the answer "My grace is sufficient for thee," and apparently prayed no longer¹. Perhaps the three Pauline prayers were in precisely the same terms, but we are not obliged to suppose that they were. They may have been modified as the Apostle was gradually brought to see that the "thorn" was not to "depart."

So here. Mark and Matthew say, or imply, that Jesus prayed thrice². They also say that Jesus prayed "*saying the same thing*." But Matthew inserts "*saying the same thing*" after he has given the second prayer in a form slightly differing from the first:—"O my Father, if this is not able to pass away except I drink it, thy will be done³." Hence whereas Mark leaves us under the impression that Jesus thrice uttered the same prayer, Matthew records one prayer of a certain kind, and two more of what may be called an amended nature. Luke mentions only one⁴. John seems to incline to a form blending the Synoptic traditions, as if saying: "Luke was not quite right in recording one deliberate prayer; nor was Mark right in saying that there were three identical prayers; nor Matthew quite right in his wording of the amended prayer. The Son received from the Father a revelation of the perfect prayer 'Father, glorify thy name' even while He set before

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

² Mk xiv. 39 "prayed, saying the same word" and xiv. 41 "cometh the third time," appear to imply that before coming "the third time" Jesus has prayed a third time "saying the same word." [In Mk xiv. 39 "saying the same word" is bracketed by W. H. but inserted by SS.]

³ Mt. xxvi. 42 Πάτερ μου, εἰ οὐ δύναται τοῦτο παρελθεῖν ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸ πῶ, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου.

⁴ Lk. xxii. 42 Πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρένεγκε τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω.

Codex D has πατερ μη το θελημα μου αλλα το σου γενεσθω ει βουλε παρενεγκε τουτο το ποτηριον απ εμου.

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His own mind, and rejected, the imperfect prayer 'Save me from this hour¹.'

As recorded by the Synoptists, these prayers of Jesus seem difficult to reconcile with some of the predictions of Jesus in the Synoptists definitely predicting that He would be killed or crucified. But we must repeat here what has been reiterated in previous treatises, that those predictions appear to have been based on Hosea's prophecy of the "*smiting*" and revivifying of Israel. They *might* mean, but they did not necessarily mean, "*smiting unto death*²." The historic fact appears to have been that almost up to the moment of His arrest, Jesus was not absolutely certain that "the cup" was to be drained to the dregs, and that it implied not only "smiting" but death. It was during the week before the Crucifixion that He received this intimation and "learned the [lesson of] obedience from the things that he suffered³." But was the "learning" deferred quite so long as Mark suggests? And has Mark rightly interpreted the traditions about "the cup" and about "the hour"? There is much to be said—much more than at first sight appears—for the hypothesis that John gave a negative answer to both these questions, and that the negative was justified⁴.

¹ Jn xii. 27—8.

² See *Son* 3198—201, 3203 foll. etc., *Law* p. 499.

³ Heb. v. 8.

⁴ In explaining the metaphor of the "cup," many commentators, ancient as well as modern, have contented themselves with saying little more than that it implies martyrdom, without inquiring how it is related to the "cup" of the Lord in Hebrew Scripture. The Midrash on Ps. lxxv. 8 "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup," recognises that the "cup" may be pleasurable or painful. But here, in the Gospels, the "cup" is obviously not pleasurable. Then the question arises whether it is medicinal, or merely painful. The answer is that it is, in some sense, the cup of the wrath of God. This is almost always the Hebrew meaning, when the word is metaphorical (Gesen. 468 *a*). It is described as being passed by God to this nation or to that in vengeance on sin, oppression, and pride. So far as the "cup" is the necessary penalty of sin, it must necessarily be drunk by all mankind. But Jesus is regarded as being able to drink it in their name (Heb. ii. 9), "tasting death for every man,"

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§ 10. "*The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak,*"
in *Mark and Matthew*¹

These words of Jesus are omitted by Luke here and find no place elsewhere in his Gospel. They are not of a particular character—like "Sleep on now and take your rest" inseparable from the narrative—but the expression of a general truth. We have therefore to ask whether John intervenes by placing elsewhere anything corresponding to them.

To answer this, we must first ascertain the precise meaning of "spirit" and "flesh" here. "Spirit"—for several reasons—cannot mean the Holy Spirit, but must mean what Paul calls "the spirit of the man, the [spirit that is] in him²"; and "the flesh" does not here seem to mean "the flesh" in its frequent sense—the selfish instinct in a man that rebels against the social promptings of good will. It appears to mean little more than "the body," by which term the Syriac here renders the Greek³.

as it is written of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah (liii. 8) "for the transgression of my people was he stricken." This "cup," then, is not the cup of a Spartan sufferer—suffering with the fortitude that is bred from self-respect; nor the cup of a martyr bent on ensuring the safety of his own soul; it is the cup of a martyr smitten to the heart by a sympathetic and intercessory sorrow for the sins of the whole world.

¹ Mk xiv. 38, Mt. xxvi. 41 τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.

At this point a brief comment is due to Mk xiv. 40 καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τί ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ, since it is omitted by the parall. Mt. and Lk. It expresses bewilderment. Bewilderment on the part of the disciples at Christ's final words to them is implied all through the Johannine Last Discourse. But instead of being expressed in narrative it is implied in drama, so that we cannot point to any one Johannine passage and say "This is John's intervention." See the remarks (p. 5) on Mk ix. 6 οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ parall. to Lk. ix. 33 μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει. John, in the Last Discourse, represents the disciples in both these aspects: they did not know either (1) *what to say in answer to Jesus*, or (2) *what they themselves were really saying* (since they were talking in the dark).

² 1 Cor. ii. 11.

³ "Body," see Walton and Burkitt *ad loc.*

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Luke may have omitted the words because they seemed inconsistent with Pauline doctrine. They suggested that "the flesh" was a weak friend, whereas Paul often wrote of it as an enemy to be "mortified" or killed. Moreover they were somewhat obscure. Some might base on them an excuse (saying of themselves "my flesh is weak") though Jesus (as Jerome says) intended them as a warning¹. Others might say that "the flesh" was essentially evil and blame the Creator for it. The Synoptists give us no help on such questions, for Mark and Matthew do not use "the flesh" technically elsewhere and Luke does not use it technically at all².

John deals with the question mystically, indicating in his Prologue that "flesh" may be regarded in two aspects. Those who are to be children of God "were not born of the will of the flesh"; but the Word of God "became flesh"³; "that which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit"⁴. Then comes a long exposition of the doctrine that the "flesh" of the Son of Man is to be the life-giving bread of the world⁵. The last of many instances of the word in this exposition is "The spirit it is that giveth life, the flesh is of no avail"⁶.

In the Epistle it is said that "*the [passionate] desire of the flesh...is not from the Father*"⁷. But this does not imply a condemnation of "flesh" in itself. It is also added that "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh* is from God"⁸. The impression left on the reader by all these Johannine expressions is, that the Son has introduced, so to speak, a new kind of "flesh" into the world, and that those who partake of it as food will partake of His Spirit. But it still remains true that the flesh without the Spirit is a mere tool, not indeed an enemy, but a thing that "availeth

¹ On Mt. xxvi. 41 Jerome says "Hoc adversum temerarios."

² Luke uses *σάρξ* only twice. In iii. 6, he quotes from Is. xl. 5—"all flesh," where see Jerome as to the higher meaning of "all flesh," when it preserves (1 Cor. xv. 49) "the image of the heavenly." In Lk. xxiv. 39 *πνεῦμα σάρκα...οὐκ ἔχει*, "spirit" means "apparition."

³ Jn i. 13—14.

⁴ Jn iii. 6.

⁵ Jn vi. 51—63.

⁶ Jn vi. 63.

⁷ 1 Jn ii. 16.

⁸ 1 Jn iv. 2.

nothing" and may be used for evil. The Johannine doctrine is clear and practical, though mystical. It teaches us, in effect, to aim at righteousness not by avoiding selfishness but by seeking and entering into, or receiving into ourselves, the self-sacrificing love of the Son. This incarnate love—metaphorically in the material world but literally in the spiritual world—is His flesh, and it is to become ours¹.

§ II. *The last words of Jesus to the disciples*

In Mark and Matthew, the last words of Jesus to the disciples are "He that delivereth me over hath drawn near," immediately preceded by "*Rise up, let us be going*²." The Greek here used for "let us be going," *agōmen*³, occurs nowhere in Luke, only here in Matthew, once elsewhere in Mark, and fairly often in John. It has been adopted into Hebrew. John has it in the sentence "*Rise up, let us be going hence*," uttered by Jesus to the disciples⁴. But John places it (presumably) at the going forth from the chamber of the Last Supper on the way to the gate of the City. Mark has placed it at the going forth of Jesus in Gethsemane to meet the soldiers. There can hardly be a doubt that one and the same tradition was before Mark and John: "The Lord Jesus, when the hour came, that He should go forth to His death, did not flee from His enemies as the disciples did, but exhorted the disciples saying *Egeiresthe agōmen, 'Rise up, let us go [to meet them].'*" But Mark has placed it before one kind of "going forth," John before another and an earlier one⁵.

The same transposition has probably befallen another Marcan

¹ Σάρξ occurs also in Jn viii. 15 "ye judge according to [the] flesh" —(a Pauline phrase)—and xvii. 2 "even as thou hast given him authority over all flesh" (an O.T. phrase). Thus, in the Fourth Gospel, it occurs in every Biblical usage as well as in the one peculiarly Johannine.

² Mk xiv. 42, Mt. xxvi. 46 ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν· ἰδοὺ ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν (Mt. ἤγγ. ὁ παραδιδούς με).

³ On *agōmen*, see *Paradosis* 1372—7 and *Son* 3322—32.

⁴ Jn xiv. 31 ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν.

⁵ Concerning the different acts of "going forth" on the eve of the Crucifixion see *Acts of John* § 11 ἐξέλθωμεν and § 12 ἐξῆλθεν. The latter—which says in effect: "The Lord went forth [to meet

tradition in the preceding verse—"it is enough," or literally "it has in full¹." "I have in full" may mean "I have my debt [paid] in full." In Genesis the steward says to Joseph's brethren in the Greek of LXX, "I-have-in-full your money"; but Aquila and the Hebrew have "your money came to me" (meaning "duly reached me")². So here Mark may have combined the idiomatic Greek rendering "[the account] has [payment] in full" with a literal rendering of the Hebrew "has come," adding "hour" as a subject of "has come." Matthew omits the difficult Greek word³, and so does one very ancient Latin MS of Mark (which diverges widely from the received text)⁴. Luke also assigns to Jesus a phrase that we must needs render "It is enough"; but it is uttered, not in Gethsemane but on the way thither, and the Greek word is entirely different, and so is the context⁵.

the soldiers]...we fled"—may refer to Jn xviii. 4. On, "going forth (ἐξέρχουμαι)" meaning "departing this life," see *Notes* 2939.

¹ Mk xiv. 41 ἀπέχει ἡλθεν ἡ ὥρα, D ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ὥρα, d "sufficit finis et ora," a "consummatus est finis, advenit hora," *Briz.* "adest finis, venit hora," *Corb.* "adest enim consummatio, et venit hora," h "iam ora est," SS "the hour hath come, the end hath arrived." Codex h omits ἀπέχει, the other authorities expand it into a phrase implying consummation. Ἀπέχει implies a crisis personified as a Creditor, who makes demands and "has them [paid] in full."

² Gen. xliii. 23, LXX ἀπέχω, Heb. בָּא אֵלַי, "ἄλλος" (Field) ἡλθε πρὸς μέ. So Numb. xxxii. 19 "our inheritance has come (בָּאָה) (R.V. is fallen) to us," ἀπέχομεν, no v. r. In Is. xlii. 19 מְשַׁלֵּם, R.V. txt "he that is at peace [with me]," marg. "made perfect" or "recompensed," LXX om., Theod. ἀπέσχηκός (Jerome "recepit"), Sym. τέλειος: Targ. "persolvenda erit," i.e. "to be paid in full."

These passages indicate two possible Hebrew originals for ἀπέχει, implying (1) arrival of a crisis, (2) payment of a debt. But comp. also Numb. xvi. 3 "It is enough for you (רַב־לָכֶם)," [?]ἐχέτω ὑμῖν.

³ Mt. xxvi. 45 ἰδοὺ ἡγγικεν (not ἡλθεν) ἡ ὥρα omitting ἀπέχει.

⁴ Codex h has for Mk xiv. 41—2 "et venit tertio et ubi adoravit dicit illis dormite iam nunc ecce adpropinquavit qui me tradit et post pusillum excitavit illos et dixit iam ora est ecce traditur filius hominis in manu peccatorum surgite eamus."

⁵ Lk. xxii. 38 Οἱ δὲ εἶπαν Κύριε, ἰδοὺ μάχαιραι ὧδε δύο. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰκανόν ἐστιν. This resembles (p. 315, n. 3) the use of ἰκανόν or ἰκανούσθω to the angel commanded (like Peter) to cease to smite.

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On the other hand, if the Mark-Matthew phrase implies something like the satisfaction of a claim, the payment of a debt with a "receipt in full," then we have to note that, just before the *egeiresthe agōmen* tradition, John inserts the words "There cometh the ruler of the world, and *in me he hath nothing*; but still—in order that the world may know that I love the Father...¹" The meaning is that "the ruler" *has no sin to find in the Son*, nothing of that mortal "debt" which, in the case of all other mortals, gives to "the ruler" a claim to make them pass through death. In other words it may be said of "the ruler" that he is entitled to "have [his debt] in full," but that "his debt," in this case, is nothing.

Other traditions about utterances of Christ at this stage, anticipating something of the nature of an "end" or "final settlement," are expressed by means of the Greek word "*end*," *telos*, or forms of it. Thus Luke alone has "That which is [written] concerning me hath a *telos*, or *end*," and "This that is written must needs *find-an-end* in me²." And in the Fourth Gospel, Christ's very last word on the Cross is "*It is ended*³." Few modern readers would suspect for a moment that this word could have any connection, mystical or otherwise, with the thought of satisfying the claims of Death upon mankind by the payment of the blood of Christ on whom Death had no claim. But Paul himself uses the word *telos* to signify the "*custom*" or "*duty*" of excise⁴. And the Johannine *tetelestai*

¹ Jn xiv. 30—31. On this, Westcott says "There was in Christ nothing which the devil could claim as belonging to his sovereignty. In others he finds that which is his own, and enforces death as his *due*; but Christ offered Himself voluntarily." To this it should be added that "*due*"—which I have italicised—might be interchanged with "debt" and also with "sin."

² Lk. xxii. 37 A.V. "must yet *be accomplished* (τελεσθῆναι)... have an *end* (τέλος)," R.V. "must *be fulfilled*... hath *fulfilment* (lit. *end*)."

³ Jn xix. 30 Τετέλεσται. A.V. and R.V. "It is finished." Τετέλεσται has just been used above (Jn xix. 28) εἰδὼς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, A.V. "*accomplished*," R.V. "*finished*." It might have been rendered in both passages by "*ended*."

⁴ Rom. xiii. 7 "Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, *custom* (τέλος) to whom *custom* (τέλος)."

may be found as early as the reign of Titus in a custom-house receipt to signify (about goods passing through a city gate) "*This has paid duty*¹." Lastly we find Origen twice connecting the thought of the ruler of the world "finding nothing in Jesus" with the thought of "paying tribute, or custom²." These facts indicate the wide scope that many of Christ's sayings might legitimately claim, and the variety of forms in which they might be embodied.

We must go back to the words rendered by R.V. both in Mark and Matthew "Sleep on *now* and take your rest³." The

¹ Notes 2923 d. In such receipts, τετέλεσται, "has paid duty," is regularly defined (*Fayum Pap.* p. 195) by "διὰ πύλης followed by a village name."

² Origen (*Luc. Hom.* xxiii., Lomm. v. 176) connects Jn xiv. 30 with Rom. xiii. 7—8 as follows: "Cum exierimus a saeculo, et haec vita nostra fuerit commutata, erunt quidam in finibus mundi sedentes, velut publicanorum officio diligentissime perscrutantes, ne quid sui in nobis inveniant. Videtur mihi princeps saeculi hujus quasi *publicanus esse*, unde scriptum est de eo 'venit princeps mundi istius, et in me habet nihil.' Illud quoque, quod in Apostolo legimus 'reddite omnibus debita, cui tributum tributum: cui vectigal vectigal: cui honorem honorem: nemini quid debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis': sacrata intelligendum est."

Also, in his commentary on Rom. xiii. 7—8, he says "Exactus est (v. r. exsolvit) tributum etiam Dominus noster Jesus Christus in carne positus: quod idcirco se dixit exsolvere, non quod debitor sit, sed ne scandalizet eos. Quod si ille qui nihil habebat in se Caesaris, et in quo princeps hujus mundi veniens *non invenit quicquam de suis*, cum liber esset, solvit tamen tributum,—venit enim et in mortem, ut esset et (Ps. lxxxviii. 5) '*inter mortuos liber*' . . .," where the meaning is that all the other dead were "bound" as "debtors" to die, but Jesus alone died not "bound," but "free."

³ Mk xiv. 41 καθέυετε [τὸ] λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε, Mt. xxvi. 45 om. τὸ. W. H. bracket τὸ in Mk, but against its omission by ACD must be set (1) its insertion by \aleph B etc. and (2) the tendency to assimilate Mk to Mt. It is instructive to see that AD insert τὸ in Mt. while omitting it in Mk (see *Clue 16 a*, Counterchange). This makes their evidence of very little value. Also τὸ, in Mk, might easily be dropped after -τε. SS om. τὸ λοιπὸν in Mk, but has in Mt. מְנִיל, which (*The. Syr.* 2104) may mean *vñv*, or ἀπὸ τοῦ *vñv*, or *ἄρα*. The Latin versions of Mk render [τὸ] λοιπὸν by "jam," but *k* transposes it thus: "Dormite iam nunc ecce adpropinquavit qui me

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word rendered "take your rest" may mean "be free from all distraction," "take your ease," or may be used of spiritual refreshment or repose, and sometimes of "rest" after death¹. "*Now*" does not adequately express the difficult original, which means literally "*that which is left*." In Matthew it has not the article and would almost necessarily mean, according to Greek usage, "as regards what remains of your lives" (or "as regards what remains to be considered")². In that case it would seem to be, as some of the later Greek commentators have suggested, ironical: "Sleep on now *for ever*, since your awaking will come too late." But the irony would be bitter indeed³.

In Mark, the word probably has the article, and Mark's context suggests that he (or the authority followed by him) may have intended us to take "sleep" interrogatively, as above, in the first of the utterances to the disciples, where Mark alone has "Simon, thou sleepest⁴?"—apparently blending reproach with quasi-interrogation. In LXX, there appears to be no instance of the adverbial "for that which remains" (as used in English and Greek), but the neuter adjective is

tradit et post posillum excitavit illos et dixit iam ora est ecce traditur filius hominis in manu peccatorum surgite eamus."

¹ See Dan. xii. 13 where ἀναπαύου and ἀναπαύση (a conflation of נָחַ) represent "rest (after death)," with which comp. Rev. vi. 11, xiv. 13. Mk vi. 31 ἀναπαύσασθε "rest, or refresh yourselves" is addressed by Jesus to the disciples; but Lk. xii. 19 ἀναπαύου (in a passage retained by SS and probably genuine) is addressed by the rich fool to his soul "Take thine ease."

■ The natural rendering "for the *rest*" would be inconvenient in this section where we are speaking of "*rest*" as "repose."

³ Prof. Swete on Mk xiv. 41 quotes Theophylact, "He says this to them ironically...laughing at (ἐπιγελῶν) their sleep"; and Euthymius, "Reproving (ἐντρέπων) them... 'Since up to this moment ye did not keep awake, for the future sleep and rest *if ye can* (εἰ δύνασθε).'" But he also quotes Augustine as merely admitting that such irony would be right *if it had been necessary* ("recte fieret si esset necesse").

⁴ Mk xiv. 37 καθεύδεις; οὐκ ἴσχυσας...; Matthew (xxvi. 40 οὕτως οὐκ ἴσχύσατε...;) omits καθεύδεις and inserts an exclamatory or semi-interrogative οὕτως. Luke (xxii. 46 τί καθεύδετε;) inserts the interrogative "*why?*"

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occasionally used to mean "the remainder [of something previously mentioned]¹." So perhaps here, in accordance with the special context, we may take "that which remains" to mean "the remainder of your sleep." If so, the three interrogatives (of which the second is only implied by "they knew not what to answer him") would run thus: "Simon, art thou sleeping?...[I say for the second time, Are ye sleeping?]. . . [I say for the third and last time] Are ye sleeping [out] the remainder [of your sleep] and slumbering at your ease? It is enough. . ."

But all this is extremely obscure and necessitates an unusual rendering of the Greek adverb ("for-what-remains"). Chrysostom, taking the verbs imperatively, appears to suppose them to be a command of Jesus ("sleep on") dictated in part by kindness because He knew that when they awoke they would desert Him, and in part by the knowledge that they could be of no avail. But this is a desperate attempt at explanation, for Jesus, immediately afterwards, bids them "arise." Jerome attempts no explanation. Presumably he and other later Greek commentators were dissatisfied with Origen's explanation, which is, that the "sleeping" mentioned in Christ's third and imperative utterance is quite different from the "sleeping" mentioned in His first and interrogative utterance. Origen says in effect, that what Jesus meant by His third utterance was: "Thanks to me, sleep in all future time, and enjoy peace. For in me ye shall have peace; in me God will give sleep to His beloved²."

This interpretation is indeed astonishing—even in Origen. Yet it is not without interest (and perhaps not without profit)

¹ Comp. Is. xlv. 17 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐποίησεν εἰς θεὸν γλυπτόν, "but the rest [of the wood above mentioned]" and Ezek. xxxiv. 18 τὸ λοιπόν, i.e. the rest of the fodder above mentioned. In LXX, λοιπόν, or λοιπά, is mostly taken with some noun expressed or implied, and differs altogether from the adverbial λοιπόν (1) in the Pauline Epistles, meaning "for the rest," "for what remains," "finally," and (2) in Hermas, meaning "for the future," "in the next place," "consequently" (see Goodspeed).

² See Origen on Mt. xxvi. 45.

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to note that the Fourth Gospel falls into much the same vein of thought about "peace" in connection with the "going forth" of Jesus and the "coming" of "the prince of the world":—"Peace I leave with you...the prince of the world cometh... Arise, let us go hence," and again in the very last utterance of Jesus to His disciples before His death "These things have I spoken to you that in me ye may have peace. In the world ye [must] have tribulation. But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world¹." Peace, gained through war and victory, that is the note on which the Johannine doctrine of Christ comes to its close. How strange a contrast with the final Synoptic note, which in Mark is—or is popularly supposed to be—represented in effect by words meaning "The traitor is near²!"

But Luke omits this³. And this should lead us to ask whether John may not be intervening, and whether "The traitor is near" may not be an incorrect interpretation, which John desires to correct, of some tradition implying something of a quite different nature. An ancient comment on Mark suggests this, indicating that Christ's thought is set not on Judas but on "the Economy⁴," that is, on "the Dispensation" by which the salvation of Man is to be attained through the "delivering up" of Jesus to death. In the Pauline Epistles and in the Fourth Gospel, it is the Father, not Judas, who is described as "delivering up," or "giving," the Son for the sake of mankind⁵. Moreover the expression "hath drawn near" is

¹ Jn xiv. 27—31, xvi. 33.

² Mk xiv. 42 ὁ παραδιδούς με ἤγγικεν, Mt. xxvi. 46 ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδιδούς με.

³ In Luke, Christ's last utterance to the disciples is xxii. 46 "pray that ye enter not into temptation," parall. to Mk xiv. 38, Mt. xxvi. 41.

⁴ Cramer on Mk xiv. 41—2 δεικνυσιν ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ Ἰουδᾶ ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἦν. This does not go so far as to deny that Judas was literally παραδιδούς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, but it helps us to understand that the Supreme Himself might be regarded as, in a higher sense, ὁ παραδιδούς.

⁵ See *Son* 3535 "The historical fact as to Christ's predictions of being 'delivered up' appears to be that He used, and repeatedly used, an expression of this kind, but that our Greek gospels, following the LXX, have paraphrased it in such a way as to lead Christians to a misunderstanding of its full meaning."

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never applied in the New Testament to the approach of a human being, but always to the Kingdom of God, the Day of the Lord, the Presence of the Lord, etc.¹ The negative part of this rule applies also to the perfect tense in LXX where "hath drawn near" may represent the Hebrew "*is near*."² A Hebrew or Aramaic original of Mark might refer to God, "He that delivereth me up, the Father, *is near*, therefore let us go forward in His strength to meet the enemy³." If that was the original meaning it would accord with the words, peculiar to Matthew, a little later in the parallel context, where Jesus avows His belief that, if He prayed for it, the Father would send Him "twelve legions of angels⁴." It would throw new light on the action—and the disappointment—of Peter if he regarded his Master's utterance as meaning, "The Lord is on our side, let us go forward," and missed the meaning of the context, which implied that the Father Himself was "delivering up" His Son for the salvation of mankind.

We infer that John is here intervening as to Christ's last utterance to His disciples, to shew that Mark, while retaining almost exactly the Lord's actual words, has not expressed their meaning. It was not a cry of sadness or alarm, but a call to action: "He that delivereth me over to death is near me and helping me. Let us go forward through defeat to victory and through death to life."

¹ See Mt. iii. 2, iv. 17 etc., and, outside the Gospels, Rom. xiii. 12, Jas. v. 8, 1 Pet. iv. 7.

² Is. lvi. 1 "My salvation [*is*] *near* to come," Ezek. vii. 7 "The day [*is*] *near*," Heb. adj. קרוב, "*near*," but LXX ἤγγικε. The pres. ἐγγίζει is also freq. used for Heb. adj. "*near*."

³ See Son 3329—32.

⁴ Mt. xxvi. 53.

CHAPTER XI

THE ARREST OF JESUS

[Mark xiv. 43—52]

§ I. *The Synoptic "multitude" or Johannine "cohort"*

It will be noted, in the parallels given below¹, that Mark and Matthew, when first mentioning "a multitude," say that

¹ Mk xiv. 43—52
(R.V.)

(43) And straightway, while he yet spake, cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and the scribes and the elders.

(44) Now he that betrayed him had given them a token, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he; take him, and lead him away safely.

(45) And when he was come, straightway he came to him, and saith, Rabbi; and kissed him (*lit.* kissed him much).

(46) And they laid hands on him, and took him.

(47) But a certain one of them that stood by drew his sword, and smote the

Mt. xxvi. 47—56
(R.V.)

(47) And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people.

(48) Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he: take him.

(49) And straightway he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, Rabbi; and kissed him (*lit.* kissed him much).

(50) And Jesus said unto him, Friend, [do] that for which thou art come. Then they came and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.

(51) And behold, one of them that were with Jesus stretched out his

Lk. xxii. 47—53
(R.V.)

(47) While he yet spake, behold, a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them; and he drew near unto Jesus to kiss him.

(48) But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?

(49) And when they that were about him saw what would follow, they said,

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it was "from the chief priests," whereas Luke has nothing but

Mk xiv. 43—52
(R.V.) *contd.*

servant (*lit.* bond-servant) of the high priest, and struck off his ear.

(48) And Jesus answered and said unto them, Are ye come out, as against a robber, with swords and staves to seize me?

(49) I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and ye took me not: but [this is done] that the scriptures might be fulfilled.

(50) And they all left him, and fled.

(51) And a certain young man followed with him, having a linen cloth cast about him, over [his] naked [body]: and they lay hold on him;

(52) But he left the linen cloth, and fled naked.

Mt. xxvi. 47—56
(R.V.) *contd.*

hand, and drew his sword, and smote the servant (*lit.* bond-servant) of the high priest, and struck off his ear.

(52) Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

(53) Or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels?

(54) How then should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?

(55) In that hour said Jesus to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me? I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not.

(56) But all this is come to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples left him, and fled.

Lk. xxii. 47—53
(R.V.) *contd.*

Lord, shall we smite with the sword?

(50) And a certain one of them smote the servant (*lit.* bond-servant) of the high priest, and struck off his right ear.

(51) But Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him.

(52) And Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and elders, which were come against him, Are ye come out, as against a robber, with swords and staves?

(53) When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched not forth your hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

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"behold, a multitude¹"; but later on, when the three Synoptists tell us what Jesus said to the multitude, Mark and Matthew say it was "to them," or "to the multitudes"; but Luke says "Jesus said unto the chief priests and captains of the temple and elders that had come against him²." Also Luke in his own words

Jn xviii. 2—11 (R.V.) Now Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with his disciples. (3) Judas then, having received the band (*or*, cohort) [of soldiers], and officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons. (4) Jesus therefore, knowing all the things that were coming upon him, went forth, and saith unto them, Whom seek ye? (5) They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am [he]. And Judas also, which betrayed him, was standing with them. (6) When therefore he said unto them, I am [he], they went backward, and fell to the ground. (7) Again therefore he asked them, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. (8) Jesus answered, I told you that I am [he]: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way: (9) that the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one. (10) Simon Peter therefore having a sword drew it, and struck the high priest's servant (*lit.* bondservant), and cut off his right ear. Now the servant's (*lit.* bondservant's) name was Malchus. (11) Jesus therefore said unto Peter, Put up the sword into the sheath: the cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?

¹ Mk xiv. 43

καὶ εὐθὺς ἔτι αὐτοῦ
λαλοῦντος παραγίνεται
[ὁ] Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώ-
δεκα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄχλος
μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων
παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ
τῶν γραμματέων καὶ
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.

Mt. xxvi. 47

καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦν-
τος ἰδοὺ Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν
δώδεκα ἦλθεν καὶ μετ'
αὐτοῦ ὄχλος πολλὸς μετὰ
μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πρεσ-
βυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ.

Lk. xxii. 47

ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος
ἰδοὺ ὄχλος, καὶ ὁ λεγό-
μενος Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν
δώδεκα προήρχετο αὐ-
τούς, καὶ ἤγγισεν τῷ
Ἰησοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτόν.

² Mk xiv. 48

καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ
Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς....

Mt. xxvi. 55

ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ
εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς
ὄχλοις....

Lk. xxii. 52

εἶπεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς
τούς παραγενομένους ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ
στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ
πρεσβυτέρους....

In Luke, Syr. Curet. omits "that came against him"; *b*, *Corb*, *e* have "ad eos... *principibus* (sic)," but *Brix*. has "ad eos qui venerant ad eum a *principibus*," *a* has "ad eos... *pontifices*." *Brix*. conforms Lk. to Mk and Mt.; the multitude had come "from" the chief priests (but did not contain any of them). The *Diatess.*, quoting

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tells us at first nothing of what Mark and Matthew have told us about the weapons borne by the multitude; but when he repeats the words of Jesus to "the multitude" he tells us, as Mark and Matthew also do, that Jesus called them "*swords and staves*¹."

John's account is somewhat ambiguous on some points, as may be seen by comparing the versions given below². But in

Lk. xxii. 52 *a*, has merely "Jesus said to those that came unto him" (followed by Jn xviii. 4 *b* "whom seek ye?").

¹ Mk xiv. 48, Mt. xxvi. 55, Lk. xxii. 52 *ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλασε μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων*; Mk-Mt. + συλλαβεῖν με.

In LXX, ξύλα seldom if anywhere (Gesen. ⁷⁸¹—2, but see the sing. ξύλον in Is. x. 15) means "staves," but often "trees." Mark, however, follows ordinary Greek usage as in Joseph. Bell. ii. 9. 4 (176) where Pilate mingles his soldiers in a clamorous Jewish crowd "with orders not to use the sword but to strike clamourers with cudgels (ξίφει μὲν χρήσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότες ἐγκελευσάμενος)."

This makes it not unlikely that μαχαίρων, in Mk's context, may mean not "swords" (which the word would mean in LXX) but large "knives" or "dirks" brought by some who swelled the crowd. In literary Gk, μάχαιρα, if a military word, would mostly mean "sabre." Jn avoids any word for sword by using the inclusive term "arms [of heavy-armed soldiers]."

² Jn xviii. 3 *ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ [ἐκ] τῶν Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὅπλων*. The order of the words is important, and ἐκ is ambiguous: "Judas therefore, having taken the cohort, and—from the chief priests and from the Pharisees—[official] servants, cometh there with lanterns and torches and arms." Here, theoretically, ἐκ might mean "[some] of." Accordingly SS has "Now Judas the betrayer brought with him *a cohort and [some] of the chief priests and Pharisees and guards*, and a multitude of the people carrying lanterns and torches, and came there." Codex *a* has "accepta cohorte *a* principibus sacerdotum et de Pharisaeis ministros (*sic*)," *b* "cum accepisset *a* cohorte et a principibus sacerdotum et Pharisaeis ministros," *Brix*. "accepta *cohortem* (*sic*) militum et quibusdam ex principibus sacerdotum et Pharisaeorum ministris," *e* "cum accepisset *cohortem a* pontificibus et Pharisaeis ministros." Some of these versions seem to take "ministros," not as a separate class "servants of the temple," but appositionally as meaning "[as] assistants" (comp. Acts xiii. 5).

Nonnus describes two classes, 1st "a shield-bearing host," received

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any case it describes Judas as receiving "*the cohort*¹." It also describes Judas as "coming there with lanterns and torches and arms [of war]." "Arms [of war]" might include the Synoptic "swords." Of "staves" John makes no mention. He appears to emphasize the military aspect of the principal part of the captors of Jesus, afterwards describing them as "*the cohort*, and the chiliarch, and the officers of the Jews²."

by Judas, belonging to (*lit.* of) the chief-priests, 2nd, an infuriated swarm of followers armed with staves instigated by the "plot-originating" Pharisees:—

καὶ στρατὸν ἀσπιστῆρα δεδεγμένους ἀρχιερέων
καὶ πολλὸν οἰστρήεντα παρ' ἀρχεκάκων Φαρισαίων
σύνδρομον ἄλλον ἔχων κορυνηφόρον ἐσμὸν ὁδίτην
ἦλθεν ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ἐς ἡθάδα κῆπον Ἰούδας
τεύχεα καὶ λαμπτήρας ἔχων.

The termination is strange—Judas (not the soldiers) being described as "having weapons and lights." But this is perhaps to prepare for the following description of the lights, on which see below, p. 485, n. 4.

Ἀλλοπρόσαλλος (from Homer (*Il.* v. 831) down to Clem. Alex. 24) means "inclining now to one side now to the other." It suggests that Judas was prepared to go over to the side of Jesus at the last moment, if Heaven intervened for Him against the soldiers. Compare Jer. Targ. on Gen. xi. 27 "And when Nimrod cast Abram into the furnace of fire because he would not worship his idol, and the fire had no power to burn him, Haran's heart became doubtful, saying, *If Nimrod overcome, I will be on his side; but if Abram overcome, I will be on his side.*"

¹ "Cohort," σπεῖρα. This word is Hebraized (1) (Krauss, p. 408 a) as ספירה which might be transliterated as *spîrah* or *spîra*, but more freq. (2) with *aleph* prefixed, (*ib.* p. 93 b) as אספר *aspar*, אספור *asphôr*, or, more correctly, אספיר *asphîr* (besides other variations *ib.* pp. 94, 497, 581). Form (1) might be confused with ספר "scribe"; form (2) with אסף "gather." SS has Mt. xxvii. 27 כנשא "gathering," but Mk xv. 16 אספיר and sim. Jn xviii. 3. In Mt. xxvii. 27, Palest. Syr. has קסטרא, i.e. *castrum*, Walton has אספיר. See next note *ad fin.*

² Jn xviii. 12. Nonnus calls "the chiliarch" φύλαξ ἱεροῦ μελάθρου Χιλιάρχος ζαθέης στρατιῆς πρόμος, which indicates that he identifies him with (Acts iv. 1 etc.) ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, the Jewish Captain, or Governor, of the Temple (quite distinct from the Roman Chiliarch in command of the garrison in Antonia).

Chrysostom, however, has a remark indicating that he took "the cohort" to be Roman, and that the Romans were brought into action

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Here we may note that "the cohort" is mentioned by Mark and Matthew later on, in describing how Jesus is regally clothed (in mockery) by "soldiers" (Matthew "the soldiers of the governor") who "call together the *whole of the cohort*"; but Luke omits this, having previously described a similar regal clothing and mocking by "Herod with his soldiery¹." Verbally this is of importance as an instance of Johannine intervention. "*The cohort*" is mentioned by Luke in the Acts², along with "the chiliarch," as intervening to suppress a tumult; and therefore Luke must have been familiar with the term as representing the Roman garrison regularly on duty at least times in the fort Antonia which commanded the Temple. But Luke does not mention it anywhere in the narrative of the Passion. John brings it into prominence and reiterates the term.

John's object may be in part symbolical. Luke seems to have desired, by his mention of Herod as well as Pilate, to shew how the two fulfilled the prediction in the Psalms "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together,

in an irregular way by the Jews (as Roman soldiers are said to have been bribed by the Jews in Mt. xxvii. 65 "Take a guard," comp. *ib.* xxviii. 11—12): "And how did they persuade the Cohort? They were soldiers; accustomed to do everything for money (*ἄνδρες ἦσαν στρατιῶται, χρημάτων ποιεῖν πάντα μεμελετηκότες*)."

On the Jewish Governor of the Temple see Hastings i. 352 *b*. He and his subordinate captains are mentioned only by Luke (xxii. 4, 52, Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26). In Josephus *Ant.* xx. 6. 2, he is mentioned with the High Priest *τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἀνανίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀνανὸν δῆσας*. In 2 Macc. iii. 4 he is called the *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ* and is at enmity with the High Priest.

In Lk. xxii. 4 *τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*, used absolutely, is rendered by Delitzsch "the governors of the temple,"³ but SS has "the scribes" ספרים, and it has been pointed out in the previous note that a form of "cohort" might be taken as ספר "scribe." In several ways it appears that there might be a confusion between the Roman Chiliarch of the Cohort in Antonia, which overlooked the Temple, and the Jewish Governor of the Guard of the Temple.

¹ Mk xv. 16—17, Mt. xxvii. 27—9, Lk. xxiii. 11. This will be discussed later on.

² Acts xxi. 31 *τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τῆς σπειρης*. Other "cohorts" are called by special names (*ib.* x. 1, xxvii. 1).

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against the Lord and against his Anointed¹." To John, on

¹ Acts iv. 26 οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν, quoted from Ps. ii. 2 and rep. in Acts iv. 27. Comp. Acts iv. 5 συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Any mention of a hostile "gathering together" against Christ would recall to Christians the thought of Ps. ii. 2. More causes than one may have contributed to this Lucan error. But one cause is revealed in the following parallels:—

Mk xv. 16—17

οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πραιτώριον, καὶ συνακαλοῦσιν ὅλην τὴν σπείραν. καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν....

Mt. xxvii. 27—8

τότε οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραλαβόντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον συνήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅλην τὴν σπείραν. καὶ ἐκδύσαντες (v. γ. ἐνδύσαντες) αὐτὸν χλαμύδα κοκκίνην περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ.

Lk. xxiii. 11

ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν (marg. + καὶ) ὁ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατευμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας περιβαλὼν ἐσθήτα λαμπρὰν ἀπέπεμφεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ.

This is the only place where any of the Synoptists mention "the praetorium," and here Luke omits it. The reason is, that he takes it to be a palace of Herod Antipas. Luke himself mentions (Acts xxiii. 35) "*the praetorium of Herod*" at Caesarea. But there was also "*a praetorium of Herod*" in Jerusalem. Both were built by Herod the Great, and both served as residences for the Roman Governor. See Schürer i. ii. 48 (referring to Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 14. 8 and ii. 15. 5, Philo ii. 589 foll., where, however, both writers use the term "palace," not "praetorium"): "The praetorium at Jerusalem, in which Pilate was staying at the time of the trial and condemnation of Jesus Christ (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9), is therefore just the well-known palace of Herod, on the west side of the city."

Luke has read Mark's narrative as follows: "The soldiers of Pilate led Jesus [by Pilate's orders] to *the praetorium* [i.e. *the palace*] of Herod [*Antipas*] in Jerusalem. Then there was a gathering of the soldiers [wrongly called by Mark 'the whole of the cohort' and better called Herod's armed men]." From this incident he has inferred a reconciliation between Pilate and Herod. The whole narrative is non-historical, but it is not fiction. It is an antiquarian's mistake. This view is suggested in *Joh. Voc.* 1814 c.

John intervenes, mentioning πραιτώριον no less than four times (xviii. 28 (*bis*), 33, xix. 9) and shewing distinctly that it was Pilate's official residence.

A Hebrew word blending the Latin or Greek *palatium* with the Latin or Greek *praetorium* is very freq. in Hebrew tradition. Krauss (pp. 455—6) favours the latter derivation, Levy (iv. 50 *b*) the former. But the forms, *paltourin* etc., suggest that the Heb. was influenced

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the other hand, writing in later days, Herod Antipas would assuredly seem a poor and insignificant type of a world-ruler or a "king of the earth." Rome as the type of earthly rule over men's bodies, and "the rulers of the Jews" as the type of the Law that claimed dominion over men's souls, would assume supreme importance in their alliance against the Son of God. Yet even while admitting that there is a symbolistic tendency in John's narrative, we may reasonably maintain that some of the symbolistic detail was evolved rather than invented, if we can shew that the Synoptic tradition of the "kiss" and the "sign" of Judas may have been interpreted by John as meaning something quite different in the original tradition.

As regards the "sign," it has been suggested in previous volumes that, in Greek tradition, "sign" may have been confused with "ensign" meaning a body of soldiers under one "ensign¹"; that Luke omitted this as obscure; and that John interpreted it as meaning a "cohort" under a "chiliarch." But only inadequate attempts have been made to explain why John also omits the word "kiss," and to investigate what John has, if anything, that corresponds to the Synoptic tradition "Judas betrayed Jesus *with a kiss*."

The Johannine corresponding statement is, in effect, "Judas betrayed Jesus *with a completely equipped body of heavy-armed soldiers*²." To express this he introduces the term "*arms*," *hopla*, not used elsewhere in the Gospels. In canon. LXX it mostly means "shields³"; but in literary Greek the plural *hopla* would mostly mean the offensive and defensive arms of a *hoplitēs*,

by both the Latin words. In Epictet. iii. 22. 47, the Stoic is said to have no *πραιτωρίδιον* but only the earth to lie on and a shirt, where there seems to be an allusion to the Latin word "praetorium," used as a term for a magnificent country house (see Lewis and Short).

¹ See *Paradosis* 1365 a, *Son* 3260 b, suggesting a confusion between *σημείον* and *σημαία*, "cohort" (Steph. *Thes.* vii. 176 c), comp. 3326 c.

² Jn xviii. 3 *μετὰ . . . ὅπλων*.

³ Ὅπλον does not occur in the Pentateuch. In the historical books it mostly mean "shield." Elsewhere it occasionally means offensive weapons.

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i.e. a heavy-armed soldier¹. Now when the Hebrew noun "arms," *neshek*, is used in this sense as it often is—meaning "military equipment," "weapons"—it is almost identical with the Hebrew noun "*kiss*"², and the Hebrew verb "*equip with arms*" is identical with the Hebrew verb "*kiss*"³."

Nor is this all. Even an ordinary reader of John, if he compares his narrative with that of the Synoptists, might well ask why the former takes the trouble to insert that the men had two kinds of lights with them ("lanterns and torches"), whereas the Synoptists mention no lights at all. And even those who are accustomed to the long paraphrases of the Fourth Gospel by Nonnus may be reasonably surprised at the extraordinary length of the lantern-torch-paraphrase given below⁴.

¹ It is freq. used thus in Macc., in which the word is about as freq. as in the whole of canon. LXX.

² Gesen. 676 *b* "kiss" נִשִּׁיקָה, "weapons" נֶשֶׁק.

³ Gesen. 676 gives נֶשֶׁק vb "equip" as occurring only in 1 Chr. xii. 2, 2 Chr. xvii. 17, Ps. lxxviii. 9—the last, a difficult passage but much commented on in Midrash, which illustrates the three passages by one another. In Job xxxix. 21 "to meet the armed men (or, the weapons) (נֶשֶׁק)" Aq. and Theod. have ὅπλον.

⁴ "Lantern," φανός (not in LXX), occurs only here in N.T. Chrysostom says that Jesus, "being in the midst [of them], blinded their eyes" miraculously, so that even their "lanterns" did not avail them, till He came forward and spontaneously made them see Him. Nonnus, after saying that Judas came τεύχεα καὶ λαμπτήρας ἔχων, returns to the "lanterns," not mentioning the word but defining the thing in nine lines of astonishing paraphrase:—

καὶ ὁμόστολος ἀνὴρ

χερσὶ πολυσπερέεσσι μετάρσιον ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω
 λύχνων ἐνδομύχων ἀνεμοσκεπὲς ἄγγος αἰείρων,
 ἄγγος, ὅπερ δονάκεσσιν ἀμοιβαίοισι συνάπτων
 πυκνὰ μεριζομένοισι γέρων κυκλώσατο τέκτων
 ἀστερόεν μίμημα καὶ ἔκελον ὀξείϊ κόσμῳ·
 μεσσοφανὴς ὅθι λύχνος ὁμοζυγέος διὰ κόλπου
 ὀξὺ φάος πολυωπὸν ὑπὸ σκέπας ἔκτοθι πέμπων,
 ἀκροφανὲς σελάγιζε πολυσχιδὲς ἀλλόμενον φῶς.

One's first impression after reading this, and Wetstein's long note or excursus on the ancient and modern meanings of φανός (first "torch," then "lantern") is, that Nonnus is influenced by nothing but pedantry. But a closer study of it indicates that he may be

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Now it happens that the only important passage in Scripture containing this ambiguous word in the form of a verb meaning "kiss" or "arm" refers to the "children of Ephraim" who "*being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle*¹." Early Christian poets might apply this to the soldiers who arrested Jesus, whom John calls "the cohort," adding that they "departed back" and "fell to the ground²." Though this application is improbable in itself, it is less improbable than that John invented the "falling," and much less improbable than that "the cohort" *did thus actually "fall."*

But there is a third meaning of the ambiguous verb, probably incorrect etymologically, but recognised by Ibn Ezra and Rashi³. This is "kindle" or "burn." A Christian poet might say that the Jews kindled their "lanterns and torches" to seek, and yet not to find, their own Messiah, the Light of the World—walking, as Isaiah said, in the flame of their own fire, only to "lie down in sorrow⁴." Another form of this kindling of lights is found in the Gospel of Peter⁵. Later on we shall come to the "kindling around" of a fire in connection with the temptation and fall of Peter, where poetic influence may be discerned mixed with narrative of fact⁶.

The Greek for "lantern" is a Hebraized word, very frequent in Hebrew tradition, and occasionally used in Aramaic, occurring

suggesting a simile, likening the Jews with their lanterns, seeking the Light of the World, to a human lantern, sheltering from the wind a frail rush-light, "mimicking the stars and likening itself to the (?) swiftly-moving (ῥέει) Cosmos." Ὀξύς might be an epithet of "fire" or "sun," etc., but I have not found it as an epithet of κόσμος.

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 9.

² Jn xlviii. 7.

³ See Ps. lxxviii. 21, Is. xlv. 15, on which Ibn Ezra says "ישק, He kindleth it. Comp. נשק 'was kindled' (Ps. lxxviii. 21)." *Oxf. Conc.* καίειν, ἀνάπτειν, takes the same view (see also *Oxf. Conc.* Index to Ben Sira, ἐκκαίειν). Gesen. 969 *b* takes שיק as from ש.ל.

⁴ Is. l. 11 "Ye that kindle a fire...ye shall lie down in sorrow."

⁵ *Evang. Petr.* § 5 (ed. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D.) περιήρχοντο δὲ πολλοὶ μετὰ λύχνων νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστίν, ἔπεσαν τε (for ἐπέσαντο). On this the Editor says "Comp. Isa. lix. 10 καὶ πεσοῦνται ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ὡς ἐν μεσονυκτίῳ. It also seems an echo of Jn xviii. 3, 6 ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων...καὶ ἔπεσαν χαμαί."

⁶ See *Son* 3369 *a—e*.

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in a story that Vespasian kindled lanterns, by way of omen, for Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and found that only the lantern for Jerusalem would burn—a prophecy of its destruction by fire¹.

Returning to the Johannine use of the term "cohort," not after the arrest of Jesus (as in Mark and Matthew²) but before, we conclude that the evidence of Hebraic influence as to other words in the context strengthens the hypothesis of Hebrew influence as to this particular word. In Greek, a "cohort," if taken exactly, would have meant some six hundred men, an impossible number here, but the above-mentioned Hebraized *spîra*, *aspîr* or *aspâr*, might be used loosely for any body of Roman soldiers from a maniple to a legion³. The Hebrew word is variously spelt, and might be confused with other Hebrew words meaning (1) "a mixed crowd, or collection of people," (2) "guards," (3) "scribes⁴." Luke gives us the impression that the crowd was of this mixed nature⁵.

The evidence indicates that John is almost certainly wrong, and that he should have mentioned the Jewish guard of the Temple. But, so far from inventing, he appears to be taking great pains to follow ancient tradition—interpreted by him in

¹ See Levy iv. 65 *b* on פָּנִים *i.e.* φανός.

² Mk xv. 16, Mt. xxvii. 27.

³ See Krauss p. 93, Levy i. 129 *b*. Krauss p. 408 *a* calls it *manipulus*.

⁴ See above, p. 481, n. 1; אָסַפּ means "collect," and אֲסוּפּוֹת (Gesen. 63 and Levy i. 127) "learned assemblies," "assemblies of the wise"; אָסַפְסָף (Gesen. *ib.*) = (Numb. xi. 4) a collection or rabble of the camp-followers (comp. Nonn. ἐσμὸν ὀδίτην) attending Hebrews at the Exodus. Curet. and SS have the form אֲסַפְרָא for "captains" in Lk. xxii. 4.

Mention may also be made of the word σπαθάριος, אֲסַפְתָּרִין (Levy i. 130 "satelles qui spatham seu ense gestaret") connected with (Lev. *v.* on Lev. iv. 3, Wü. p. 35) Shebna (Is. xxii. 15) the "treasurer (or, steward)" who is "over the house (*i.e.* the Temple)," called elsewhere (Is. xxxvi. 3) "the scribe." Lev. *v.* says he was chosen "the chief of the spatharii" "zum obersten Spatelträger," κόμης σπαθάριος.

⁵ That is to say Luke in his second mention of the crowd (xxii. 52) when he no longer calls it ὄχλος (as in xxii. 47) but defines its component parts.

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accordance with a version that happened to suit a magniloquent symbolism which represented Christ's captors as "falling on the ground."

§ 2. *The words and acts of Jesus during the arrest*

Mark represents Jesus as having uttered nothing to Judas on any occasion¹, and nothing to anyone on this occasion except the words (above quoted) "As against a robber have ye come out with swords and staves to seize me?" followed by "I was daily with you... and ye took me not; but—that the scriptures might be fulfilled²." From the last part of this Luke seriously differs—a difference discussed elsewhere, as to which John seems to take the Marcan view³.

But a more important difference relates to the Johannine account of the acts of Jesus, which describes Him as not waiting to have Himself pointed out by the kiss of Judas, but coming out in front of the disciples of His own accord and saying "Whom seek ye?" and avowing that He is Jesus of Nazareth, and finally saying "If therefore ye seek me, let these go⁴." In this story, Judas, instead of rushing forward and (ostentatiously) "kissing⁵" Jesus so as to reveal Him to the soldiers,

¹ John represents Jesus as having said to Judas (xiii. 27) "What thou doest do more quickly," some time before the arrest. Judas is also addressed by Jesus in the Anointing at Bethany (xii. 7 ἄφες, sing.). Mt. xxvi. 50, Lk. xxii. 48 represent Jesus as addressing Judas at the moment of the arrest.

² Mk xiv. 49
καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
διδάσκων καὶ οὐκ ἐκρα-
τήσατέ με· ἀλλ' ἵνα
πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί.

Mt. xxvi. 55 b—56 a
καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμην διδά-
σκων καὶ οὐκ ἐκρατήσατέ
με· τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέ-
γονεν ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν
αἱ γραφαί τῶν προφη-
τῶν.

Lk. xxii. 53
καθ' ἡμέραν ὄντος
μου μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ οὐκ ἐξετείνετε τὰς
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἐμέ· ἀλλ'
αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα
καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκό-
τους.

³ See *Law* pp. 146—7 where it is maintained that Mark's *apostrophe* represents the original, and that John favoured this idiom (*Joh. Gr.* 2105—11).

⁴ Jn xviii. 8.

⁵ Mk xiv. 45, Mt. xxvi. 49 κατεφίλησεν, Lk. xxii. 47 φιλῆσαι. Καταφιλέω means "kiss passionately," but here perhaps "kissed and

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"stands" back at first along with them, and then recoils in awe along with them when they all "fall on the ground¹."

Two courses are here open to a reasonable reader. He may either (1) put the whole of John's account aside as a pure invention, or (2) take some trouble (and there is need of a great deal) in attempting to put himself into the Evangelist's position. If he decides on the latter, then he must begin by asking what modifications in the traditional narrative John would necessarily make if he interpreted the Synoptic "kiss" as meaning "armed men" or "arms." Luke, alone of the Synoptists, describes Judas as *drawing near to Jesus "to kiss him"*—whereas Mark and Matthew insert a salutation between the "coming" and the "kissing." In Luke's sentence—the hypothetical Johannine equivalent, "*soldiers*," being substituted for "*kiss*"—a very slight change would convert the words into "*There drew near Jesus to the soldiers*²." Why did He "draw near to the soldiers"? To intercede with them (it might be replied) that they might "permit" the disciples "to depart³."

This view supposes the intercession ("permit") to be purely inferential—a Johannine attempt to supply what Jesus said when He thus stepped forward in front of the disciples. But John may have had some textual basis for it. For Luke has an imperative "*permit*" attributed to Jesus in the parallel

embraced" so that Jesus was detained by the embrace. Philo distinguishes (i. 480) *καταφίλημα* from "a true kiss (*γνησίον φιλήματος*)," and says (i. 478) "As [the word] *horse* ((*h*)*ippos*) is not in *pouch* (*marsippos*) so *philein* is not in *cata-philein*"—a strong thing to say, but instructive as indicating the dislike that would be felt by a writer of literary Greek to use the word as Mark uses it.

¹ Jn xviii. 5—6 "And Judas also... was standing with them. When therefore... they went backward and fell to the ground." "They" appears to include "Judas"—unless we suppose him to be alone still standing while the soldiers go back and fall on the ground.

² According to this Johannine view, Lk xxii. 47 *προήρχετο αὐτοὺς* was misplaced and misapplied. Lk. applied it to Judas "going before" the multitude, but it should have been applied to Jesus "going before" His disciples.

³ Jn xviii. 8 *ἄφετε τοὺτους ὑπάγειν*.

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context¹. It is very variously interpreted and very difficult². Codex *b* has two renderings, one of which is "*Permit this man [to go]*"³. The tradition that originated this may very well have been rendered by John "*Permit these men [to go]*."

It happens that the Greek word for "*permit*" here used by Luke is identical, in some forms, with the Greek word for "*heal*"⁴. And this may help to explain the very great difficulty that Luke, at this point, relates a miraculous "*healing*" of a man struck by the sword of one of Christ's followers, which is omitted by the other three Evangelists. Another possible cause of confusion is the imperative "*permit*," which may sometimes mean "*Hold!*" "*Let be!*" "*Enough!*" In that sense, it might be addressed to the striker of the blow⁵. These

¹ Lk. xxii. 51 *ἐὰν*. In N.T. *ἐάω* occurs only in Lk. and Acts, apart from Mt. xxiv. 43, 1 Cor. x. 13. Lk. iv. 41 *ἐὰ* is parall. to Mk i. 34 *ἤφεν*. We may assume that the original of Luke's *ἐὰν* would be, in most Greek Christian tradition, *ἄφετε* (which LXX has in Dan. iv. 15 (12) agst Theod. *ἐάσατε*).

² Lk. xxii. 51, SS "enough as far as this (man)," Walton Syr. "*satis est ad hanc usque rem [processisse]*." The Latin *vss* (except Vulg. and *Brix.* and *d* "*sinite*") have "*sine*."

³ "*Respondens autem Jesus dixit: Dimitte eum. Et tetigit aurem ejus et sanavit eum. Ait autem Jesus: Sine usque hoc.*"

⁴ See 3 Macc. v. 18 *τίνας ἔνεκεν αἰτίας ἰάθησαν* (so Swete) *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*. This, taken by itself, would mean "*the Jews were healed.*" But it means "*were permitted* (v.r. *ἐιάθησαν*) to survive (*περιβιωκότες*). The passive is rare, but occurs in Clem. Rom. § 55 *ἡτήσατο* (Judith) ... *ἐαθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐξελεθεῖν*. Such a phrase as *ἡτήσατο [τοῦ] ἐαθῆναι* [v.r. *ιαθῆναι*], meaning "*that the disciples might be permitted [to depart]*," might be confused with a request "*with a view to healing.*"

⁵ See Son 3353 (iv) *f* foll. on *aphès* (*ἄφες*) as "*a Greek word adopted into late Hebrew, and ambiguous in Greek as well as in Hebrew, since it might mean 'dismiss,' or 'let go,' or 'permit,'*" and quoting Mk xv. 36 *ἄφετε*, parall. to Mt. xxvii. 49 *ἄφες* as illustrating "*the Aramaicized aphès, being of the nature of an exclamation, and not a sing. imperative.*" A feeling of this kind may perhaps explain the Latin *sine*, for *sinite*, in almost all the Latin versions of Lk. xxii. 51.

Jesus may have uttered two brief phrases, one, addressed to His disciples, the other to His own heart, or to the Father. The first may have been *ἄφες* "*Have done!*" or "*Enough!*" the second "*How long!*" *ἕως τοῦ;* Comp. Is. vi. 11, and see below, p. 493.

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facts combine to shew that the Johannine tradition "*Permit these men to go,*" though it may be non-historical, is not a fiction. It is much more likely to be historical than is the Lucan hypothesis, that Jesus said to the soldiers "Permit me [to step] as far as this [wounded man]."

In the parallel context Matthew and Luke severally record last utterances of Jesus to Judas¹. The first mentions the traitor's real purpose "*That for which thou art come*"; the second mentions the pretence, "a kiss." A commentary on Luke attributed to Apolinarius connects the two thus: "He [*i.e.* Jesus] shewed to Judas—lest he should suppose himself undetected—that He does not receive him on the assumption of the friendship that he pretends by the *kiss*, but [as coming] for the purpose for which he has come and, [which] he desires to accomplish²." A last utterance of Jesus to Judas—somewhat similar in thought to the one in Matthew, though different in expression—is placed by John at an earlier moment, "*That which thou art doing do more quickly*³." John himself admits that this was misunderstood by the disciples; and such an admission may very well explain variations and transpositions in the accounts of Christ's other words and deeds on that night of disturbance and distraction.

Passing to the details of the account of the wounding of the High Priest's servant and to the sequel, we find that Mark, alone of the four Evangelists, records no consequent utterance of Jesus⁴. Matthew records a command to the striker to sheathe the sword, and a rebuke, and a saying about "twelve legions of

Since Mark systematically omits many of the sayings of Jesus, on which Matthew and Luke expatiate, he may have not unnaturally omitted these two or three obscure words, perhaps taking them as a mere reproach, introducing Christ's next words "[Shame on you!] Do ye come out as against a robber?"

¹ Mt. xxvi. 50, Lk. xxii. 48.

² See Cramer on Lk. xxii. 48. "Ἐδειξε δὲ αὐτῷ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸν δέχεται... ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο, ἐφ' ᾧ περ ἦκει καὶ βούλεται τοῦ (? leg. τοῦτο) ἐπιτελέσαι. Either ὅτι or ᾧ περ must be repeated before βούλεται. If it were ὅτι, then the meaning would be that Jesus desired the accomplishment.

³ Jn xiii. 27.

⁴ Mk xiv. 47.

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angels," who would attend the Son if the Son desired it of the Father¹. Luke records the saying (above quoted) about "permitting," and also an act—a miracle of healing². John combines a command to sheathe the sword with the words "The cup that the Father hath given me, (R.V.) shall I not drink it?" an utterance resembling that which the Synoptists place earlier, before the arrival of the soldiers.

Reviewing the evidence, we may reasonably conclude that Mark is on this occasion in error, having omitted some very brief utterance of Jesus—which he found obscure, not only because it was brief, but also because he misunderstood the circumstances that elicited it. His text, as has been shewn in a previous volume, favours the view that Mark regarded the blow as accidentally struck by one of Christ's enemies, not by a disciple⁴. In Mark, the wounding of the servant is introduced with a "but," which may very well imply a parenthesis to this effect: "So they laid hands on Jesus and held him fast (But [I should have said that, in the general confusion] one of the men on duty⁵, having hastily drawn his sword⁶, cut off the ear

¹ Mt. xxvi. 52—3.

² Lk. xxii. 51.

³ Jn xviii. 11, see above, p. 459 foll.

⁴ See *Corrections* 479—81.

⁵ "Men on duty." See *Corrections* 479 quoting many instances of *παρεστηκότες* including Mk xv. 35, 39.

⁶ Mk xiv. 47 *σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν*, "having drawn the sword [by his side]" could not mean "having drawn a knife." See *Corrections* 480. Lk. xxii. 36—8 indicates that there happened to be "two swords," and no more, among the whole of the disciples. Jn xviii. 10 ("Simon Peter *having a sword*") implies that the "having" was casual.

As regards Mt. xxvi. 51 *ἀπέσπασεν*, Matthew's context indicates that he took it to mean "*drew his sword*"; but the conclusion arrived at in *Corrections* 481 *a* is that a Greek writer, "so far as LXX and Hemsterhuys (on Lucian *Deor. Dial.* xx. 5) enable us to judge," could not rightly use the active of *ἀποσπᾶν* in this sense. In Goodspeed it always means "tear or, draw away." To this must be added the negative evidence of Steph. *Thes.*, and of Wetstein (who illustrates Mark's use of *σπασάμενος*—but not Matthew's use of *ἀπέσπασεν*, which ought to mean "he wrested a sword" out of some one's hand).

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of the servant of the high priest). And Jesus said unto them, Are ye come out as against a robber...?"

Let us suppose that the words omitted by Mark verbally resembled those preserved here by Luke, "*Thus far*," but differed in thought, being really "*How far!*" i.e. "*How long!*" an exclamation elsewhere imputed to Jesus by all the Synop- tists¹. We may suppose it to have been used absolutely as it is sometimes in Scripture². If so, it would seem to have been—or to have been in part—an exclamation of spiritual rebuke because His disciples had misunderstood Him. According to Luke, Jesus had just told them to "buy a sword³." If so, they were now taking Him at His word and using "a sword." In any case, they were disobeying the spirit of His general doctrine. The sense of failure might make Him exclaim "*How long!*"

But this would not be clear to those who did not realise Christ's lifelong aim and object, and His sense (at the moment) of failing to attain it. Matthew interprets the words as merely rebuking a resort to the arm of the flesh, like the rebuke in Jeremiah "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm⁴"; and he represents Jesus as going on to use language about the legions of God similar to that in Chronicles "With us is the Lord our God to help us and to fight our battles⁵." He also makes it clear (though not consistently⁶) that the sword was wielded by "one of those with Jesus," whom Jesus bids, in language resembling that of Ezekiel, to "cause it [*i.e.* the sword] to return to its place⁷."

¹ Mk ix. 19 (*bis*), Mt. xvii. 17 (*bis*), Lk. ix. 41 "*How long shall I be with you...?*"

² Is. vi. 11, Hab. ii. 6, Ps. vi. 3, xc. 13 (עַד מַה); also Numb. xxiv. 22 (עַד מַה) (Gesen. 607 b, 554 a).

³ Lk. xxii. 36.

⁴ Jerem. xvii. 5.

⁵ Mt. xxvi. 53—4, 2 Chr. xxxii. 8.

⁶ Mt. xxvi. 51 ἀπέσπασεν should have been ἐσπάσατο, but Matthew appears to have combined a tradition (1) about a man "drawing (ἐσπάσατο)" his own sword, τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ, with another (2) about a man "wresting away (ἀπέσπασε)" some one else's sword.

⁷ Mt. xxvi. 52 ἀπόστρεψον τὴν μάχαιράν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, comp. Ezek. xxi. 5 "I have drawn forth my sword out of its sheath, it shall not return any more," ἐξέσπασα τὸ ἐγχειρίδιόν μου ἐκ τοῦ κολεοῦ

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Luke, according to our hypothesis of an original tradition containing "*how long*," decides to render it literally, with a slight alteration converting "*As far as what?*" into "*As far as this!*" meaning "*As far as this [person]*"¹! Hence he infers that Jesus asked that He should be "*allowed*" to go "*as far as this [person]*" in order to heal him. It has been shewn above that, in Greek, "*to be healed*" may be identical with "*to be allowed*"². Besides this identity, the "*restoring (or, causing to return) to its place*," which Matthew connects with a "*sword*," is capable of being connected with the severed "*ear*." Luke appears to have thus connected it. This explains not only why Luke *inserts a restoration of the ear to its place*, but also why he *omits the command to restore the sword to its place*. He appears to have confused the two, and to have substituted the former for the latter.

As regards the command to sheathe the sword John follows Matthew, but substitutes "*sheath*" for "*place*."

The exclamation "*How long!*" may seem to some hardly appropriate for the Saviour at such a moment. On an earlier

αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀποστρέφει οὐκέτι and *ib.* 30 "*cause it to return to its sheath*," LXX simply ἀπόστρεφε, omitting "*to its sheath*." Mt. has τόπος for κολεός.

¹ The Heb. "*How long?*" used absolutely in aposiopesis (Gesen. 554 *a*, 607 *b*), though mostly rendered by LXX ἕως πότε; is rendered in Hab. ii. 6 ἕως τίνος; If a Greek tradition gave τοῦ; for τίνος; the rarity of this use of τοῦ might induce Luke to amend it into τούτου. It occurs in Soph. Oed. Col. 412 κλύουσα τοῦ λέγεις; where it is emphatic, as it would be also here.

This hypothesis suggests an explanation of the tradition, peculiar to Luke (xxii. 49), that "*those round Jesus seeing what was going to happen said, 'Lord, shall we strike with the sword?'*" It may have sprung from one of many attempts to explain "*Lord, how long?*" on the supposition that it was uttered by the disciples: "*How long, O Lord, shall we stand idle? Wilt thou that we strike with the sword?*"

² See above, p. 490, n. 4. In Ps. xlv. 11 "*be still* (הרפו)," LXX σχολάσατε, Sym. ἐάσατε, Aq. has ἰάθητε. This might seem to be for ἐάθητε, but Aq. appears to have identified רפה, "*be slack*," with רפא, "*heal*," as LXX does in Job xii. 21 "*slackeneth*," LXX ἰάσατο.

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occasion, just before the healing of the demoniac, who could not be healed by His disciples because of their want of faith¹—with His disciples behind Him, ashamed of their want of success, and the hostile crowd before Him exulting in their failure—it might seem intelligible that He should exclaim, “O faithless generation, *How long shall I be with you?*” But here, where Jesus is on the point of being taken away from His disciples, and from His enemies too, into the region of death, this meaning of the cry seems less applicable.

Possibly it has a further application. “*How long!*” occurs several times in psalmodic or prophetic exclamations, half questioning, half expostulating, concerning the delay of the Lord to put forth His arm to redeem His people. But there is one passage in Isaiah where it is more a question than an expostulation, and where the prophet sees revealed to him, in a vision, the glory of the Lord, and his own failure to make that glory clear to the blind people around him, and to make them see the terrible and desolating punishment impending on their blindness. As the outcome of all, in reply to his question “Lord, *how long?*” he receives the reply “Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, and the Lord have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land².”

Now all the Synoptists agree that Jesus, early in His career, quoted (freely) the preceding words in this passage of Isaiah (“hear ye indeed, but understand not”) in order to illustrate His own failure to teach the truth to a large part of His countrymen³; and John also quotes the words toward the close of his account of Christ’s public teaching to shew how and why that teaching failed to reach many to whom it was directed⁴.

We ought not therefore to dismiss hastily the suggestion that Jesus, in the moment when He became a prisoner, quoted, from the same prophecy, this passionate appeal. For in that moment there had arrived that crisis which He had anticipated

¹ Mk ix. 19, Mt. xvii. 17, Lk. ix. 41.

² Is. vi. 11—12.

³ Mk iv. 12, Mt. xiii. 13, 15, Lk. viii. 10.

⁴ Jn xii. 40.

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and feared. He had divided His countrymen. He had brought "not peace but a sword¹." In that moment He saw cities in Palestine "waste without inhabitant" and men "removed far away" by the Roman conquerors. Nor can we conceive that it was possible for Him not to have seen in the blow struck by Peter a prospect of evil for His own followers and a temporary triumph for "the ruler of this world." For their sakes, therefore, as well as for the sake of His own countrymen, and for the cause of truth, Jesus might exclaim "*How long!*" It was not an exclamation of faithlessness. On the contrary, Hebrew precedent and Jewish tradition stamped it as implying belief in ultimate deliverance, since "*how long?*" in the mouth of a Prophet or Psalmist of Israel, implied the conviction "not for ever."

§ 3. "*They all left him,*" in Mark

If Mark had not added "and fled," we might, by a somewhat unnatural though grammatical rendering of the verb "leave," or "let go," have interpreted him as meaning that all the guards "*left their hold on*" Jesus; as in the Acts it is said that the centurion and his men "departed from Paul" when they were on the point of scourging him, and that the chief-captain "was afraid²." That fear was caused by the question "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman?" In the case of Jesus, fear might be regarded as caused, at all events for a few moments, by something in His presence and address. And it will be seen that John takes this view:—

Mk xiv. 50	Mt. xxvi. 56	Lk. xxii. 53—4	Jn xviii. 6
And they (<i>i.e.</i> the disciples) all left him and fled.	Then the disciples all left him and fled.	Omits.	They (<i>i.e.</i> the soldiers) went away backward and fell to the ground ³ .

¹ Mt. x. 34, comp. Lk. xii. 51.

² Acts xxii. 25—9.

³ Mk xiv. 50 <i>καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον πάντες.</i>	Mt. xxvi. 56 <i>τότε οἱ μαθηταὶ [marg. + αὐτοῦ] πάντες ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον.</i>	Jn xviii. 6 <i>ἀπῆλθαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεσαν χαμαί.</i>
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Matthew, by inserting "disciples," suggests that perhaps he feared lest, without such an insertion, some might interpret the original of Mark's phrase as "[the soldiers] *letting him go*." Luke has, at this point, a tradition peculiar to himself, that Jesus said to the guards, in effect, "*Suffer me [to go]*" as far as this wounded man" and that this request was granted. If therefore he had inserted anything in his own person about "letting go" it would probably have been "*And they [i.e. the guards] suffered him [to go]*." But he does not contradict Mark and Matthew by inserting their own word—"leave" or "let-go"—in so different a context¹.

Instead of the ambiguous word "*left*" in Mark and Matthew, John has "they went away backward." But this, too, is ambiguous. For it might mean either "the disciples turned back from following" or "the soldiers fell back from seizing." Mark adds "*They fled*." This is no longer ambiguous. The parallel John adds "and fell on the ground." This, too, is not ambiguous. But "*fled*" and "*fell*" might both be derived from an original Hebrew "fall," meaning "*fall away*" or "*desert*." This is thrice rendered by "*flee*" in LXX, though Aquila and Symmachus would render it by "*fall*" or "*desert*." There appears to be sometimes in "fall" a meaning antithetical to "*stand*" in the sense of "stand fast," so that "fall" means, not "*fall on the field of battle*," but "*fall off (or fail)*"—as in Paul's saying "To his own master he [*i.e.* the servant] standeth or *falleth*³." And the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to play on the physical and the spiritual meaning of the word when it first

¹ For ἀφίημι meaning "let go a captive," see 2 Chr. xxviii. 14, 1 Macc. xiii. 16, 19. Luke (xxii. 51) uses ἐάω.

² See Jerem. xxxvii. 13, 14, xxxviii. 19, LXX φεύγω. In Jerem. xxxix. 9 "those that fell away (R.V. the deserters) that fell away to him," LXX is missing. In 2 K. xxv. 11 A.V. "the fugitives (R.V. those that fell away) that fell away to the king of Babylon," the renderings vary, but LXX repeats ἐμπίπτειν. It is used absol. in 1 S. xxix. 3 ("he [David] fell away [from Saul]," LXX ἐνέπεσεν πρὸς μέ, Vulg. "deserted to me"). In Jerem. xxxvii. 13 LXX φεύγεις Aq. has πίπτεις, Sym. αὐτομολεῖς (sim. xxxviii. 19).

³ Rom. xiv. 4.

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reminds us of faithless Israel "whose *limbs fell* in the wilderness" and then adds the warning "that no man *fall* after the same example of disobedience¹." There appears to be an underlying thought of "*falling away*" from the Lord.

Let us suppose that there were early differences of opinion about Christ's warning to the disciples, expressed by Mark and Matthew in the words "Ye all *shall stumble*²." It is supported by a prophecy. But the prophecy (from Zechariah, "the sheep shall be *scattered*") mentions not "stumbling," but "scattering³." Mark and Matthew might regard it as being fulfilled when the disciples scattered in flight, falling away from their Master⁴. But there is a want of verbal correspondence between the prediction of Zechariah and that of Jesus.

Luke omits the prediction about "stumbling" in his parallel to Mark. Probably here (as elsewhere) Luke takes a more serious view than Mark does of the nature of "stumbling⁵." He has inserted a prediction of the same kind, but he uses a different metaphor—that of Satan "sifting" the disciples⁶. It is perhaps for these reasons that he omits the Marcan tradition here, about the flight of the disciples.

In these circumstances we might naturally anticipate that John would intervene. And he appears to do so, as regards both the "scattering" and the "stumbling." As to the "scattering," he represents Jesus as saying "Ye shall be *scattered*...and shall leave me alone, and [yet] I am not alone, because the Father is with me⁷." This, when fulfilled, fulfils the prophecy "the sheep shall be scattered," omitted by Luke. As to the "stumbling," the Fourth Gospel intervenes in two ways. First, Jesus says to the disciples "These things have I spoken unto you that ye may *not stumble*⁸," thus contradicting Mark and Matthew in the letter—though not in the spirit—by saying that, in the more serious sense of "stumbling so as to fall," the disciples would *not* "*stumble*."

¹ Heb. iii. 17, iv. 11.

³ Zech. xiii. 7.

⁵ See *Law* p. 127.

⁷ Jn xvi. 32.

² Mk xiv. 27, Mt. xxvi. 31.

⁴ Mk xiv. 50, Mt. xxvi. 56, Lk. om.

⁶ Lk xxii. 31.

⁸ Jn xvi. 1.

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But while thus deprecating for the Eleven the destiny of "stumbling so as to fall," John might naturally have in view the contrast between them and Judas, whose "stumbling" was to end in "falling," according to the words of the Psalmist, "When evil-doers came upon me (LXX draw near against me) to eat up my flesh, [even] mine adversaries and my foes, they stumbled and fell¹." From this Psalm Origen quotes when commenting on the words of Jesus to Judas "What thou doest, do more quickly." He apparently believes that Judas fulfilled this prophecy. Fresh from a profane "eating of the flesh" of Jesus, and joining himself with His "adversaries and foes," Judas became one of those who "stumbled and fell²." Origen's comment on the Johannine passage mentioning the "falling" is not extant; but his remarks help us to understand how John might have been influenced by the Psalm in question so as to introduce a detail about "stumbling," in connection with Christ's arrest. It is very different, in fact, from anything in the older Gospels; but, in word, it appears capable of being extracted from a new interpretation of old Christian traditions in the light of Hebrew poetry.

¹ Ps. xxvii. 2. Note that in Jn xviii. 6 "to the ground," *χαμαί*, might be added by John to (Ps. xxvii. 2) *ἔπεσαν* as it is by LXX in Dan. ii. 46. There, the LXX adds it merely for emphasis. Here, in an obscure tradition, John might desire to make the meaning clear (not "fell away," but literally "fell flat on the ground").

² Orig. Lomm. ii. 456 quoting Jn xiii. 27. In the context, Origen says "I think also that the 26th (Heb. 27th) Psalm is uttered as a prophecy on the part of the Saviour in connection with the season of His Passion, and in the moment when the evil one with all the soldiers of his host was contending against Him; for when He saw them arming themselves against Him, . . . He says (Ps. xxvii. 1—3 (LXX)) 'The Lord is my light . . . in this do I hope.'" Origen's own words, *πανστρατεί* and *ὁπλιζόμενους*, together with some of those quoted (*παρατάξεται*, *παρεμβολή*, and *πόλεμος*) give a military aspect to the passage which accords with the Johannine mention of (xviii. 12) "the cohort and the chiliarch."

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§ 4. "A certain young man," in Mark¹

If this story is to be taken literally, it is necessary to ask why Mark mentions this "young man" at all, without telling us more about him; why Matthew and Luke do not mention him; and how it came to pass that on a cold night—for we know that it was cold²—the man was wearing nothing but a light linen garment in the open air. If it is to be taken metaphorically, then the linen garment is like that mentioned in Revelation, "Buy of me *white garments*...that the shame of thy nakedness be not made manifest," "Blessed is he that watcheth and *keepeth his garments*," "*The fine linen* is the righteous acts of the saints³." In that case, the narrative suggests that this young man did *not* "watch and keep his garments," but failed in the moment of trial. He "began to follow⁴," in the procession, but was seized. Then, instead of imitating Jesus, he extricated himself from the guards and fled, leaving his "linen garment" in their hands. He had no other clothing. Now therefore he was "naked." This would be a brief poetic summary of that which befell Peter at this crisis. No one of the disciples went so far in courage at the moment. No one fell so low in the sequel.

How, if at all, does John intervene as to the story of this "follower" of Christ, left "naked"? On the supposition that it is Peter, we may reply that perhaps he intervenes later on, after the Resurrection, dramatically and supplementarily, in a positive instead of negative way. Mark shews us the *un-clothing* of Peter. John shews us the *re-clothing*. With the exception of Matthew's parable about good works including the clothing of the "*naked*"⁵, the word "*naked*" occurs nowhere

¹ Mk xiv. 51—2 καὶ νεανίσκος τις συνηκολούθει αὐτῷ περιβεβλημένος σινδῶνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ, καὶ κρατοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καταλιπὼν τὴν σινδῶνα γυμνὸς ἔφυγεν.

It seems as if Mark meant, "I have said 'they all *fled*.' But that was not quite true. One did not at first '*flee*.' He began to follow in the crowd, but in the end he, too, '*fled*'—naked, and leaving his linen garment behind him."

² Jn xviii. 18, and see Mk xiv. 54.

³ Rev. iii. 18, xvi. 15, xix. 8.

⁴ Mk xiv. 51 συνηκολούθει.

⁵ Mt. xxv. 36—44.

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in the Gospels except in this passage of Mark, and in that passage of the Fourth Gospel which describes the eager return of the penitent Peter to the Master whom he had denied: "When Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his coat about him—for he was *naked*—and cast himself into the sea¹." The word for "*coat*," *ependūtēs*, confirms the impression that the Evangelist is writing symbolically. It is used by Aquila to represent "*ephod*²." In the New Testament it occurs nowhere except in this Petrine story. The earliest Christian writers never use it; but Tatian uses a similar word, *ependūma*, to describe immortality as the robe that is the *overclothing* of mortality³.

In concluding this comparison between Mark and John as to their traditions about "*nakedness*," it may be well to point out that there is also a noteworthy similarity of word, along with dissimilarity of context, in their uses of the word rendered in John "*standing by*" a little later on: "One of the officers, *standing by*, struck Jesus with the palm of his hand⁴." It means, literally, "*one that stands by the side of*," i.e. "*attends on*." Lucian, using this word, describes Hermes as "*attendant on Zeus*" and "*attendant on the law-court*⁵." Now in Mark we

¹ Jn xxi. 7.

² See *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *m—n* "Jn's unique use of *ἐπενδύτης* (xxi. 7) is all the more remarkable because it does not appear to be a vernacular word in contemporary Greek, being non-occurent in the Indices to the Papyri of the *Egypt Expl.* and the Berlin Urk. up to the beginning of this present year (1907). [This is still true, 1917.] Wetstein (on Jn) and Steph. *Thes.* allege it from Greek tragedy and from Greek scholiasts, but not from intervening literature. Westcott says 'the word was adopted in later Hebrew for the "*frock*" of labourers.' But he alleges no evidence. Krauss' index does not give it; nor does Wetstein's long note on its various and disputed meanings." See n. 5 *ad fin.* on *ἐπενδύτης* and *λέντιον* as Christ's gifts to the apostles.

³ Tatian *Contr. Graec.* § 20, adding "It is possible for everyone that is naked to obtain this decent covering." Comp. 2 Cor. v. 3 *εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθισόμεθα.*

⁴ Jn xviii. 22.

⁵ See Steph. *Thes.*, giving as the meaning of *παρεστάναι* "Appareo, Apparitoris munere fungor: ut apud Lucian. *D. Deor.* xxiv. 1. Oportet Mercurium *παρεστάναι τῷ Διὶ*: item *παρεστάναι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ*, In foro apparituras facere." Jerome, from "The Gospel according

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have seen reason to believe that the original may have been taken by him to mean that "one of the *attendants*" by accident struck off the ear of the High Priest's servant. Matthew and Luke, on the other hand, say that the striker was one of "*those round, or, with, Jesus.*" But only John says that it was "*Peter.*"

Perhaps John, while recording such traditions of Christ's Passion as mentioned "striking" and "buffeting," as well as "scourging," noted Luke's omission of that particular tradition (about the insolent "*striking with the palm of the hand*") which, as we shall see, is mentioned by Mark and Matthew, and which appears to allude to Messianic prophecy¹. The perpetrators of that act are called by Mark "*some,*" or "*certain [persons].*" In the Marcan context, this might mean "*some of the Sanhedrin,*" and the parallel Matthew ("they") almost obliges us to suppose that he took this view². John here assigns the act to a single official—an "*attendant*" at the informal trial of Jesus in the court of Annas—who perpetrated it unrebuked by Annas. Later on, John again mentions "blows with the palm of the hand" as inflicted by the soldiers³."

to the Hebrews," quotes the words (referring to Jesus after His resurrection) "*Dominus autem quum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis* ivit ad Jacobum. . . ." It is suggested (*Notes* 2999 (xvii) *k*) that this Gospel did not speak of *the servant of the priest*, but spoke allusively about "*him that stood by [the Lord]*" on the occasion of the arrest, that is, Peter. If so, the writer of the Gospel is describing Jesus, after His resurrection, as coming to Peter first of all, before He appeared to James (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 5—7). The Saviour's coming is metaphorically described as a restoration of the "linen garment" of righteousness. The metaphor may be illustrated from the *Acts of Philip in Hellas* § 1 τὸ γὰρ ἔνδυμα ὅπερ ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπενδύτης μόνον ἦν καὶ λέντιον, that is to say, an "ephod" wherein to serve God in purity (Jn xxi. 7) and a "towel" wherewith to serve men in humility (Jn xiii. 4—5). See *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *m—n*. *Diatess.* says that the Marcan "young man" was "wrapped in a towel" and "left the towel," and SS has Syr. *sindōn* both in Mk and in Jn.

¹ See p. 525 foll. on Mk xiv. 65, Mt. xxvi. 67—8, Lk. xxii. 63—5.

² "Almost," but not quite. "They," when represented by 3rd pers. pl. of a Gk verb in the Gospels, sometimes means "people" (*Son*, 3180 *b*, 3281 *a*).

³ Jn xix. 3. *πάπισμα*, in N.T., occurs only in Mk xiv. 65, Jn xviii. 22, xix. 3. See *Joh. Voc.* 1737 *e*. It was condemned by Phrynichus.

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By these details John in the first place softens or explains the incredible statement to which Matthew apparently commits himself, that members of the Sanhedrin struck Jesus; he says in effect, "It was not so, but there was some foundation for the charge, since the President of the Court allowed an official to do it." In the next place John guards his readers against assuming that the blow struck at Christ's arrest by some person unnamed in the older Gospels, and vaguely described by Mark as "one of those standing by," did not come from Peter. The Johannine view may be paraphrased as follows: "Some have confused 'Peter' with a certain 'attendant' among those who arrested Jesus, as if this 'attendant' struck off by accident the ear of the high priest's servant. And in truth, later on, an 'attendant,' who was also 'the high priest's servant,' did 'strike' a blow; but all the circumstances were quite different¹. 'Peter,' not 'an attendant,' should have been mentioned as striking the blow at the moment of the arrest."

We seem, at this stage of the Gospel narrative, to be in a region of Petrine traditions, primitive, very brief, largely metaphorical, and very difficult to arrange chronologically. Mark's tradition about "a certain young man" left "naked" is one of these. Luke omits it, but has, a little before, a saying of Jesus that He will pray for Peter that his faith may not utterly fail and that he may turn and strengthen his brethren². John expresses this dramatically in a scene describing spiritually the reclothing of Peter after being "naked," and his reception of the Lord's commission "Feed my sheep."

¹ "The circumstances" include the mention of "the right ear" in Lk. xxii. 50 and Jn xviii. 10, on which see *Introd.* pp. 60—1. "It is an agreement [of John] with Lucan narrative (as distinct from that of Mark and Matthew), rare or non-existent elsewhere in Johannine narrative." On "the right ear" mentioned in the consecration of priests see Exod. xxix. 20 etc. Origen, on Mt. xxvi. 51, quotes Jn xviii. 10 and says "Forsitan quod agebat Petrus mysterium erat quoniam Judaici populi dextra auditio fuerat amputanda." This seems to represent Jn's view correctly. But it cannot be easily reconciled with Luke, who represents the "dextra auditio" as being restored.

² Lk. xxii. 31—2.

CHAPTER XII

THE TRIAL BEFORE THE HIGH PRIEST

[Mark xiv. 53—72]

§ I. "To the high priest," in Mark¹

THE first words of Mark's narrative run thus in the Syro-Sinaitic Version: "And they carried Jesus along unto the chief

¹ Mk xiv. 53—4
(R.V.)

(53) And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and there come together with him all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.

(54) And Peter had followed him afar off, even within, into the court of the high priest; and he was sitting with the officers, and warming himself in the light [of the fire].

Mt. xxvi. 57—8
(R.V.)

(57) And they that had taken Jesus led him away to [the house of] Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were gathered together.

(58) But Peter followed him afar off, unto the court of the high priest, and entered in, and sat with the officers, to see the end.

Lk. xxii. 54—6
(R.V.)

(54) And they seized him, and led him [away], and brought him into the high priest's house. But Peter followed afar off.

(55) And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.

(56) And...seeing him as he sat in the light [of the fire]....

Jn xviii. 12—18 (R.V.) (12) So the band (*or*, cohort) and the chief captain (*or*, military tribune, *lit.* chiliarch), and the officers of the Jews, seized Jesus and bound him, (13) and led him to Annas first; for he was father in law to Caiaphas, which was high priest that year. (14) Now Caiaphas was he which gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people. (15) And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and [so did] another disciple. Now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus

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priests, and *they were bringing with him* (W.H. txt "there come together," marg. adds "with him") all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes," where it must be remembered that the Syriac, like the Greek, makes no distinction between "chief priest" and "high priest¹."

It is not surprising that several authorities omit "with him," since, in accordance with New Testament usage, "*come-together-with him*" should mean "*come-along-with him*"—whether "*him*" meant Jesus or the High Priest². But it might also mean "*come-to-meet the high priest for conference*"³—that is to say, for an informal meeting of the Council, regular so far as the component members of the Council were concerned, but irregular

into the court of the high priest; (16) but Peter was standing at the door without. So the other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter. (17) The maid therefore that kept the door saith unto Peter, Art thou also [one] of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not. (18) Now the servants (*lit.* bondservants) and the officers were standing [there], having made a fire of coals (*lit.* a fire of charcoal); for it was cold; and they were warming themselves: and Peter also was with them, standing and warming himself.

¹ Mk xiv. 53

Mt. xxvi. 57

Lk. xxii. 54

καὶ ἀπήγαγον τὸν
Ἰησοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιε-
ρέα, καὶ συνέρχονται
(marg. + αὐτῷ) πάντες
οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσ-
βύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμ-
ματεῖς.

οἱ δὲ κρατήσαντες
τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον
πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρ-
χιερέα, ὅπου οἱ γραμ-
ματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύ-
τεροι συνήχθησαν.

συλλαβόντες δὲ αὐ-
τὸν ἤγαγον καὶ εἰσήγαγον
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρ-
χιερέως.

W. H. have *συνέρχονται πάντες* in txt, and *συνέρχονται αὐτῷ πάντες* only in margin. But since their edition SS has been found to include the pronoun "with-him."

In SS, כהנא may mean "priests" or "priest," but the pl. adj., "chief," is רבי; the sing. is רב.

² *Συνέρχομαι*, with dat. of person, means "come-along-with" in Lk. xxiii. 55, Acts i. 21, ix. 39, x. 23, 45 etc., and (almost certainly) in Jn xi. 33. See Field *Ot. Norv.* on Mk xiv. 53. A.V. "with him were assembled" would require *συνήχθησαν*.

³ See L. S. and Steph. *Thes.* vii. 1351 shewing that *συνέρχομαι* τι sometimes means, not "I come along with some one to a conference," but "I come to a conference with some one." In such cases, *εἰς λόγους* etc. would mostly, but not necessarily, be inserted.

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perhaps as to the suddenness of the summons, and certainly as to the hour of assembly (not yet morning, nor even day-break¹).

Now, returning to the context in Mark, we have to ask whom Mark means by "the high priest." We must not assume that it was Caiaphas. For Mark never mentions Caiaphas. Does Mark deliberately leave the name unmentioned (and mention only the title) because of some complication as to the name of the High Priest in question? Some Synoptic facts point to this conclusion. For though the parallel Matthew says—implying that it was done at once—"they led away Jesus to *Caiaphas the high priest*, where the scribes and the elders were [formally] gathered together," the parallel Luke says that they merely "led him *into the house of the high priest*"²; but the [formal] "gathering together" was not till after day-break: "And when it was day *there was* [formally] gathered together the assembly of the elders of the people, both chief priests and scribes³."

Matthew, who alone has previously mentioned Caiaphas, speaking of a formal "gathering" of a full council into "the court of the high priest [commonly] called Caiaphas⁴," may here use "*unto Caiaphas*" either (1) as a condensation for "into the court of Caiaphas," or (2) as meaning "*into the house of Caiaphas*," or (3) "*into the personal presence of Caiaphas*." His meaning is not clear. Nor is Luke's "house of the high priest" clear. For Luke himself has described John the Baptist as beginning his public career "in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas⁵." Which of the two, then (a reader

¹ On the Talmudic rule concerning the hours for civil and criminal trials see *Hov. Heb.* on Mt. xxvii. 1 quoting *Sanhedr.* iv. 1 (? iv. 5) "They handle capital causes in the day time, and finish them by day."

² Mt. xxvi. 57, Lk. xxii. 54.

³ Lk. xxii. 66.

⁴ Mt. xxvi. 3. The parall. Mk xiv. 1, Lk. xxii. 2 omit this.

⁵ Lk. iii. 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα, A.V. "A. and C. being the high priests," R.V. "in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas." Perhaps the authority here followed by Luke desired to suggest the thought "Annas and [perhaps we should add, his son-in-law and tool] Caiaphas." Caiaphas was high priest about A.D. 18—36. W. H. have Ἀννας, but Ἀννας is more usual (as also Ἀναῖος in Josephus *ed.* Niese).

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may well ask) does Luke mean when he writes "the house of the high priest"?

John tells us that Jesus was led "to Annas first, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was high priest *during that [eventful] year*¹." "The emphasis on "that year" is explained from a previous passage which tells us that Caiaphas, "not of himself but being high priest *during that [eventful] year*"—a phrase already used in the context—was divinely moved to utter, though evil himself, a prophecy of good: "It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not²." In the present passage, John repeats the phrase for the third time, emphasizing the fact that Caiaphas, the legal high priest of the Jews, had already foredoomed Jesus to death, not because of justice but because of expediency ("Now Caiaphas was he that gave counsel to the Jews that it was expedient"). And here³, instead of repeating the Synoptic account of the trial of Jesus before Caiaphas, John tells us—what the Synoptists did not—that Annas the *de facto* high priest irregularly examined Jesus, and allowed Him to be struck by one of the officers, and then sent Him, "bound," to "Caiaphas, the [*de jure*] high priest⁴."

Some scribes and commentators, early and late⁵, have found it impossible to believe that John could first tell us that Annas was the High Priest's father-in-law, and then proceed to call him the actual High Priest ("*The high priest* therefore asked Jesus...of his teaching)," and then say, at the conclusion of the examination, "*Annas* therefore sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest." But Nonnus is almost certainly right in

¹ Jn xviii. 13—14.

² Jn xi. 49—51. Ἐνιαυτός (apart from Lk. iv. 19 (Is. lxi. 2) ε. δεκτόν) does not occur in the Gospels except in the thrice-repeated phrase (Jn xi. 49, 51, xviii. 13) "high priest *during that [eventful] year* (τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου)."

³ Jn xviii. 19 foll., see p. 522.

⁴ Jn xviii. 24. Some take Jn xviii. 19 "the high priest" to refer to Caiaphas, not to Annas. In that case, xviii. 24 ἀπέστειλεν (οὖν) would need to be rendered "*had sent*..." but the οὖν is against this. See *Joh. Gr.* 2462.

⁵ See Blass, Burkitt, and SS on Jn xviii. 13 foll., and p. 522, n. 1.

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supposing that John's meaning is "*Annas* therefore asked Jesus ...of his teaching¹." To call him "the high priest" is an audacious inconsistency. But the audacity is deliberate. John desires us to feel that the whole affair was of a piece, not only a cruel injustice, but an illegal injustice, perpetrated by those who called themselves legalists. The examining "high priest," Annas, was no high priest at all—legally. But he was actually. Jesus was already doomed to death when Annas, the high priest in fact, sent Him bound to Caiaphas, the high priest in name, to go through the imposture of a nominal trial.

In this matter, John does not intervene as to any point of importance in Mark; but he does intervene as to a point of some importance in Luke, who had called Annas, in effect, "high priest" jointly with Caiaphas. John seems to say, "Although Annas, in the eyes of the Jewish world, was superior to Caiaphas in dignity and reputation, the latter was in a mysterious way subject to a prophetic influence, like Balaam—a prophet prophesying in an evil and condemnatory spirit a prophecy of a good and true redemption."

An ancient scholium given below, though corrupt, helps us to understand why Mark never mentions Caiaphas by name. He was probably an insignificant creature, overshadowed by his father-in-law Annas. When Josephus mentions him, as he does twice, it is as "Joseph who is also Caiaphas" or "Joseph who is also called Caiaphas²," and whereas to other high priests

¹ Jn xviii. 19 (Nonnus) Ἰησοῦν δ' ἐρέεινε...*Annas*. Nonnus afterwards says (on Jn xviii. 24) that Annas sent Jesus, caught as it were in a hunter's net, to his son-in-law—"one high priest [sending Him] to another high priest (ἀρχιερεὺς ἐτέρῳ πεφυλαγμένον ἀρχιερεῖ)." •

² Cramer p. 429 (on Mk xiv. 53—4) Πολλὴ θερμότης τοῦ Πέτρου· οὐδὲ φεύγοντας ἰδὼν ἔφυγεν ἀλλ' ἔστη καὶ εἰσηλθὼν· ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐπειδὴ γνώριμος ἦν. καὶ διατὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ, ὅπου ἦσαν ἅπαντες συνηγμένοι; ἵνα μὲν (leg. μετὰ) γνώμης πάντα ποιῶσι τῶν ἀρχιερέων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τότε ἀρχιερεὺς. συνήχθησαν οὖν ἅπαντες, καὶ συνέδριον ἦν λοιμῶν· καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι σχῆμα περιθεῖναι τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ταύτῃ δικαστηρίου.

For *ηνδεκακαιωαννης* read *ηνδεκακαιοαννας*, i.e. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἄννας. This is suggested by the context, which demands some name of a chief priest. It is also suggested by a footnote "*ἀπήγαγόν, φησι, τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς*

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mentioned along with him Josephus attaches (as usual) the father's name, to Joseph Caiaphas he does not¹. We ought therefore to think of him as "Joseph Caiaphas" or "Joseph the Caiaphas," possibly meaning "Joseph the explorer, or sooth-sayer²." That may be the aspect in which John regards him, namely, as an inferior Balaam—in part a tool in the hands of Annas, but in part a high priest, forced on one momentous occasion to utter an oracle rough-hewn by the devil for the immediate purposes of hell, and shaped by God for a far off consummation of the counsels of heaven.

"Ἀνναν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὅπου ἦσαν συν[ηγμένοι]. Cod. 178." The scribe that corrected *καίωαννας* "also the [celebrated] Annas" into *καίωαννης* "also John" (ο and ω being constantly interchanged), may have been influenced by the belief that the writer of the scholium, in using the term *γνώριμος*, was thinking of Jn xviii. 15 ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος ἦν γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, and that this was the apostle "John." But *γνώριμος* apparently means here, not *γνωστός*, but "well known," "distinguished" (see Steph. *Thes. s. v.*). The epithet would apply to Annas, who was far superior to Caiaphas in dignity and notoriety.

For *ἵνα μετὰ γνώμης* as a correction of *ἵνα μὲν γνώμης*, see Steph. *Thes. ii. 678* quoting Polyb. xxxii. 7. 2 *μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης*. The scholium implies that, if the approval of Annas was secured, that would carry with it the approval of all the chief priests, since he was "at that time (τότε)," in effect, "chief priest" (by himself).

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2, and 4. 3.

² See Levy iv. 299 *ב* קיי "Untersucher," quoting *Par.* 3. 5 "Eljoani, Sohn des Untersuchers," and warning the reader not to take it as a proper name. McNeile on Mt. xxvi. 3 says, with a query, "The surname is strictly a subst., ? 'the Soothsayer,' קיפא (Dalm. *Wörterb.* קיי)." Some such meaning would commend itself to John, who regards him as a Balaam. No doubt, early Jewish Christians would play on the name in a bad sense. But I know of no other fit and similar word except קוף, "ape," meaning that he was the "ape" of Annas (see Levy iv. 269 *a*).

§ 2. "Peter warming himself," in Mark and John¹

The parallel texts given below shew that all the later Evangelists, in various ways, depart from Mark's extraordinary statement that Peter "was warming himself *in the light*," where we should expect "*by the fire*." This, and the parallel Luke, are the only New Testament passages where the Authorised Version renders the Greek "*light*" by the English "*fire*." Luke softens the difficulty of Mark by telling us previously that they had "lighted a fire [all] round²," and by adding now that a maid saw Peter "*by the light*," so that it is easy to supply "*of the fire*." But Matthew, who makes no mention of a "*fire*," makes also no mention of "*light*," but has "*to see the end*."

¹ Mk xiv. 54

καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ἦν συναθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ θερμαινόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς.

Mt. xxvi. 58

ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ [ἀπὸ] μακρόθεν ἕως τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἕσω ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἰδεῖν τὸ τέλος.

Lk. xxii. 54 b—56 a

... εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως· ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει μακρόθεν. περιεψάντων δὲ πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ συνακαθισάντων ἐκάθητο ὁ Πέτρος μέσος αὐτῶν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν παιδίσκη τις καθήμενον πρὸς τὸ φῶς...

Jn xviii. 18 ἰσθῆκεισαν δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀνθρακίαν πεποιηκότες, ὅτι ψῦχος ἦν, καὶ ἐθερμαίνοντο· ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος μετ' αὐτῶν ἑστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος.

The "warming" is repeated in:—

Mk xiv. 67

καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν Πέτρον θερμαινόμενον ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ λέγει...

Mt. xxvi. 69.

ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐκάθητο ἔξω ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ· καὶ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ μία παιδίσκη λέγουσα...

Lk. xxii. 56 (as above)

ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν παιδίσκη τις καθήμενον πρὸς τὸ φῶς καὶ ἀτενίσασα αὐτῷ εἶπεν...

Jn xviii. 25 ἦν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος ἑστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος.

On Mk xiv. 54 πρὸς τὸ φῶς, Wetstein quotes Xen. *Cyropaed.* vii. ἐπεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ. But this is not a parallel to Mark's use of φῶς with the article, which, unless preceded by some mention of the lighting of a fire, would naturally mean "the light of the sun."

² Lk. xxii. 55 περιεψάντων, "lighted around." See *Son* 3369 a foll. quoting *Joh. Voc.* 1711 f as shewing the Lucan usage to be "unlike any use of περιάπτω in Steph. *Thes.* except one describing a fire kindled round a man to torture him."

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Turning to Hebrew and LXX for explanation, we find that (1) the same Hebrew letters mean, according to the position of the vowel point, "*fire*" or "*light*," and that Symmachus has the former, but Aquila and Theodotion the latter, where Isaiah speaks of "the Lord whose *fire* (or, *light*) is in Zion²"; (2) these same letters are easily confusable, and are actually confused, with the Hebrew for "*see*³"; (3) the following passage of Isaiah connects fire (a different Hebrew word from the one under discussion) and "light" with "gird" or "surround" (as in Luke) in such a difficult context that the Oxford Gesenius would emend "surround" into "kindle": "Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that *surround* [yourselves with] *fire-brands*: walk ye in the light of your own fire. . . ye shall lie down in sorrow⁴."

Hence, here in Mark, "warming themselves by the light" may have been derived partly from an explanatory addition about the object of the fire-light, but partly from an allusion to Isaiah's thought of the sinners of Israel, who rejected the true light of God, and desired "to walk in the light of their own fire," notwithstanding the retribution that would fall on Jerusalem. That retribution was now to be repeated. The Romans were to teach them that God's "light" might be to them a "furnace," and "not a coal to warm at or the light [of a hearth] to sit before⁵." Luke, who regarded the fire mainly from the Petrine point of view as the "*light*" by which

¹ Gesen. 21—2.

² Is. xxxi. 9. The LXX departs from the Hebrew.

³ See Is. xxvii. 11 R.V. "*set-on-fire*," LXX ἀπὸ θέας, "from *beholding*," Prov. xv. 30 "*the light* of the eyes," LXX "the *beholding* (θεωρῶν) eye." In 1 S. xiv. 27, Heb. marg. is from אור "light," but txt from ראה "see." Comp. Judith xiii. 13 Vulg. "*kindling lights*," LXX "*having kindled a fire for illumination*," Syr. "*having kindled a light to see [her]*." This may illustrate Mt. xxvi. 58 "*to see the end*" parall. to Mk xiv. 54 "*in the light* [of the fire]."

⁴ Is. l. 11. See Gesen. 25 suggesting אור for אור—which would here have accus. of person omitted, if text were genuine. The Targum has a very long and obscure paraphrase pointing to desolation with fire and sword but containing nothing that suggests "girding" or "surrounding." See p. 527.

⁵ Is. xlvii. 14.

the maid "saw" Peter, omits the "warming." But John, who sees in it a fiery trial of Peter, calls it "a coal fire" and mentions the "warming" with what might seem to many superfluous repetition: "Now there stood the servants and the officers having made a fire of coals, because it was cold, and they were warming themselves; and there was Peter also with them, standing and warming himself¹."

Why do Matthew and Luke omit the Marcan twice repeated tradition about "Peter warming himself" both here and later on where it is used absolutely (without "by the light [of the fire]")²? Two answers may be given. One is, that the Greek verb in the passive, applied to persons, is (if we may trust the *Thesaurus*) not used of mere physical warmth, but of the warmth or excitement caused by drunkenness or fever, anger, hope, joy, or any excessive passion³. This might suffice to induce Luke to omit it. The text of Matthew suggests that he might be influenced also by considerations of an original Hebrew tradition. The only instance of the Hebrew passive of the verb "warm" in the Old Testament is used of men "inflaming themselves" with idolatry, and there the LXX confuses it⁴; and the Hebrew word is peculiarly liable to confusion⁵. In Hosea, it is applied to conspirators⁶. Matthew and Luke may well have been unwilling to use about the Apostle Peter a word that, if taken literally, might seem to some to imply a feeling

¹ Jn xviii. 18, on which see *Son* 3369 a.

² Mk xiv. 67.

³ See Steph. *Thes.* iv. 327. Jas. ii. 16 θερμαίνεσθε, "be ye warmed," means perhaps "with warm clothing" and may be illustrated from LXX Job xxxi. 20, Hag. i. 6; but Wetst. on Jas. ii. 16 alleges no instance of the passive from literary Gk, nor is there one in Goodspeed, or Epictetus.

⁴ Is. lvii. 5 "ye that inflame yourselves (הנחמים)" LXX οἱ παρακαλοῦντες, taking it as from נחם.

⁵ The verb חָמַם "warm" (Ges. 328 b) may imply the heat of passion (חֵם, Ges. 404 a). In Job xxx. 4 לָחַם, R.V. txt has "their meat," from לֶחֶם "meat," but marg. "to (ל) warm them (חָמַם)."

⁶ Hos. vii. 7 (of conspirators, Ges. 328 b) "they are all hot as an oven and devour their judges...there is none that calleth unto me," LXX ἐθερμάνθησαν, Jerem. li. 39 (of Chaldeans) "when they are heated," LXX ἐν τῇ θερμασίᾳ αὐτῶν.

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incompatible with a due sense of his Master's danger, while, if taken metaphorically, it suggested an evil excitement caused by "the fiery darts" of Satan.

But John, if he regarded the word as used allusively and metaphorically, would seem to have been of a different opinion, believing that Peter *was* "inflamed" with self-confidence, in spite of his Master's warning. The "inflammation" of the enemies of Jesus was of a different kind. But still the result was that Peter "stood with them" and "trusted in the light of his own fire," and "lay down in sorrow." Whatever may be John's exact meaning he at all events emphasizes the Marcan detail that Matthew and Luke omit, so that it is an instance of Johannine Intervention.

§ 3. "False witnesses" about "the temple," in Mark and Matthew¹

The evidence of these "false witnesses," omitted by Luke, is placed in a new light by John, who represents Christ's first

¹ Mk xiv. 55—9
(R.V.)

(55) Now the chief priests and the whole council sought witness against Jesus to put him to death; and found it not.

(56) For many bare false witness against him, and their witness agreed not together.

(57) And there stood up certain, and bare false witness against him, saying,

(58) We heard him say, I will destroy this temple (*or*, sanctuary) that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands.

(59) And not even so did their witness agree together.

Mt. xxvi. 59—61
(R.V.)

(59) Now the chief priests and the whole council sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death;

(60) And they found it not, though many false witnesses came. But afterward came two, and said,

(61) This man said, I am able to destroy the temple (*or*, sanctuary) of God, and to build it in three days.

Lk. xxii. 66
(R.V.)

(66) And as soon as it was day, the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away into their council, saying, If...

words in public to have been "Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise," and, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up¹." We are told by John that the Jews took this in a literal sense, but that Jesus "spake of the temple of his body." It is an instance of Johanne Intervention. Luke omits a charge specified by Mark and Matthew as being falsely brought against Jesus. John intervenes to say "Taken literally the words were false. Taken spiritually they, or words very similar, were true and actually uttered by Jesus. They were almost the first words in His Gospel²."

A passage in the Acts may explain Luke's motive. "False witnesses," he says, alleged against Stephen, "This man ceaseth not to speak words against this holy place and the law, for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place...³." Stephen's interrupted speech concludes with asserting about the Old Temple and the Old Law that, though Solomon built God a house, "the Most High dwelleth not in houses made by hands," and that Israel "received the law... and kept it not⁴." What he might have gone on to say about the New Temple and the New Law is not recorded⁵. But we gather from the narrative and speech taken together that Stephen would have declared that the sins of the Jews themselves were bringing about the dissolution of the Old Temple and the Old Law to make way for the New. At all events, when the High Priest, after hearing the charges of the "false witnesses," said to Stephen "Are these things so?" the accused did not reply "They are not." That being the case, it is

¹ Jn ii. 16, 19.

² Mk xiv. 56, 59 (1) "their witness agreed not together" and (2) "*not even so* did their witness agree together," are peculiar to Mark. "*Not even so*" may imply that there was *some* truth in the second "witness." Mt. xxvi. 60 "two" was substituted for Mk xiv. 57 "some," probably in allusion to Deut. xvii. 6 "at the mouth of *two* witnesses..." *i.e.* not less than two.

³ Acts vi. 13—14.

⁴ Acts vii. 48—53 quoting Is. lxvi. 1.

⁵ The verse following the words quoted by Stephen says (Is. lxvi. 2) "But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit."

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intelligible that Luke shrank from repeating similar accusations in his Gospel, where there would be still less scope for explaining how far truth was mingled with the falsehood.

We ought also not entirely to pass over the account, peculiar to Luke's Introduction, of an early visit of Jesus to the Temple. In the body of his Gospel, Luke has followed Mark and Matthew in recording the words of Jesus about the "house of prayer" converted into "a den of robbers" and His prediction "Not one stone shall be left on another." But in his Introduction he represents Jesus as a boy of twelve, apparently speaking of the structure as if it were the home of His Father where He, the Son, might naturally be sought¹. Perhaps we are to suppose an extraordinary degeneration in the control of the Temple to have occurred during the twenty years that ripened Jesus from boyhood to manhood. If not, there is something (on the surface at all events) a little difficult to reconcile in the Lucan traditions about Christ's first and last visits to the Temple².

Some version of Luke's tradition about Christ's early visit to the Temple may help to explain the early date assigned by John to Christ's public and authoritative visit. In reply to the question "Where ought we to expect to find the Messiah, the Son of God, when He begins to proclaim the Kingdom of God?" the answer "In the Temple, in His Father's House" seems appropriate. Still more does it seem so, when we reflect that the Messiah calls Himself the Son of Man and regards it as His mission to build up regenerated Man into a Temple fit

¹ Lk. ii. 49.

² Origen on Lk. ii. 49 (Lomm. v. 159) on "Jesus in medio magistrorum," says "Unusquisque nostrum si bonus fuerit atque perfectus, possessio Dei Patris est, et habet in medio sui Jesum. Credamus quippe dicenti 'quoniam in his, quae sunt Patris mei, me oportet esse.' Magis rationabile atque vivens, et verum templum Dei hoc esse suspicor, quam illud, quod typice terreno opere constructum est. Unde illo in templo ut typice fuit, ita recessit et typice. Egressus est enim de templo terreno, dicens, 'ecce, relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta,' et relinquens domum illam venit ad possessionem Dei Patris, ad ecclesias in toto orbe dispersas, et dicit, 'in his, quae sunt Patris mei, me oportet esse. Tunc ergo non intellexerunt verbum, quod locutus est iis.'"

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for the indwelling Spirit of the Father. The closing chapters of the Fourth Gospel set forth this doctrine fully, but it is implied from the first in the compressed enigma of the sentence, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up."

Even though John may be chronologically wrong in placing a visit of Jesus to the Temple at so early a date, he cannot have been wrong in attributing to Jesus, from the first, the doctrine of Isaiah: "I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit," and again "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye build for me? . . . But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit¹." Both of these passages contain the implied doctrine that the Temple of the Lord is Man². But the Gospel, developing the

¹ Is. lvii. 15, lxvi. 1—2. On the inadequacy of the word "poor," see *Son* 3242 (i)—(ii).

² This doctrine is typically expressed in Hebrew doctrine about the Tabernacle—also called the Tent of Meeting—that is, the Tabernacle appointed as the meeting-place of Jehovah and Israel: (Exod. xxv. 8) "And let them make me a sanctuary that I may *tabernacle* (יָשַׁב) among them." The LXX weakens this to "and I will *be seen* (or, *appear*) in you (ὁφθῆσομαι ἐν ὑμῖν)," Origen (*Hom. Exod.* ix. 3) "*videbor vobis*." Comp. Exod. xxix. 45 "And I will *tabernacle* among the children of Israel," where LXX has "I will be called upon (ἐπικληθῆσομαι) in (ἐν) the children of Israel," but "ἄλλος" has σκηνώσω.

Owing, perhaps, to the general failure of LXX in the Pentateuch (exc. Numb. xxxv. 34) to express this poetic doctrine of the "tabernacled" of God with men, it is not mentioned by the early Fathers (Goodspeed). But see *Didachè* § 10 "We give thanks unto thee, holy Father, for thy holy Name which *thou hast made to tabernacle* (κατεσκήνωσας) in our hearts" (comp. Herm. Sim. v. 6). Also Justin *Tryph.* § 115 supports the Christian doctrine from Zech. ii. 10 foll.

In N.T., the divine "tabernacled," either "in" *i.e.* "among" men, or "upon" them, or "with" them, is mentioned only in Jn i. 14 ἐν ἡμῖν, Rev. vii. 15 ἐπ' αὐτούς, ib. xxi. 3 μετ' αὐτῶν. But there is an equivalent, of a less poetic nature, in Lk. xvii. 21 "the kingdom of God is within you (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν)." This, apart from context, might mean either "among you" or "within your hearts." It is the object of the Fourth Gospel to shew how the Word, by first tabernacled "*among*" men, prepared the way for tabernacled "*within*" them in the latter sense (as the *Didachè* expresses it). The phrase

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doctrine of the Law and the Prophets, taught that the "humble spirit" was to be, not that of the solitary ascetic, but of a social nature, that of the "little one," who makes himself the servant of others—not because he is aiming at his own sanctity or salvation, but because he is filled with the love of the Father, which constrains him to love and serve his brethren.

This constraining love may explain what appears egotism, but is really altruism, in the words "*I will raise it up.*" Why not "*My Father will raise it up*"? It seems to be because Jesus, feeling Himself one with the Father, spoke as the Father and used "*I*" where others would use "*He*." Paul takes us to the root of Christ's thought when he says, "Christ also pleased not himself; but as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me¹." It is no accident that, in the Psalm, the words here quoted from it are immediately preceded by "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up"—quoted by John as being "remembered" by Christ's disciples in connection with His authoritative purification of the Temple².

(Jn i. 14) "*tabernacled among us*" prepares the way for (*ib.* ii. 21) "*he spake of the temple of his body.*" For the Temple was only the development of the Tabernacle. And the essence of either was, not that it was a house of stone, or a tent with curtains, but that it was a "place of meeting" between God and man.

"Behold, the *tabernacle of God* is with men," is the exclamation that follows the words (Rev. xxi. 2) "*I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God as a bride...*" This is a Christian version of the fulfilment of the dream about (Gen. xxviii. 12) "*a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold, the angels of God ascending and descending on it.*" Philo (*Son* 3378) calls these "angels" *logoi*, or "words of God"; and the "ladder" he calls "the soul." But John seems to regard the "ladder" as being the Logos itself, a spiritual "ladder" that is both fixed and moving, being no other than the Son of Man Himself, the medium and avenue of man's prayers to God and God's gifts to man. Hence Jesus says to Nathanael (Jn i. 51) "*Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man,*" and, later on (iii. 13) "*No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven,—the Son of man that is in heaven.*"

¹ Rom. xv. 3, Ps. lxix. 9.

² Jn ii. 17, 22.

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Paul and John quote from one and the same verse of the Psalms, the former to shew that Jesus "pleased not himself," the latter to explain why He acted in a manner so seemingly arbitrary and violent that the Jews asked for a sign to prove His authority: "What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things¹?" Yet there is no inconsistency. Later on, in the Fourth Gospel, we shall find Jesus saying, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing²"; and here, at the outset, the Evangelist warns us that, when we hear Jesus saying "I," we may often profitably remind ourselves that it is a short way of saying "The Father, working in me and through me³."

Still it remains astonishing that almost the very first Johannine words assigned to Jesus in public represent Him as claiming to do what (one might have supposed) the Son would regard the Father as alone able to do, namely, to raise up the Son from the dead. However astonishing, the assignment appears to be deliberate. In the Three Gospels, Jesus says, "*It is written*, My house shall be called a house of prayer." In the Fourth Gospel, "*it is written*" is dropped, and the Son speaks of "my Father's House." Later on, He identifies His Father's House with Himself. Paul identifies himself with a temple of the Saviour, when he says "I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live—no longer I, but Christ liveth in me⁴." Somewhat similarly in the Fourth Gospel, the Son says in effect,

¹ Jn ii. 18.

² Jn v. 19.

³ Comp. Ps. lxxv. 1—3 "We give thanks unto thee, O God... (R.V. marg.) When the earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved, *I set up the pillars of it.*" Rashi paraphrases the italicised words thus: "I, thy people Israel, '*I set up the pillars thereof,*' when I said (Exod. xxiv. 7) '*All that the Lord hath spoken will we do and be obedient.*'" He says that, on the day when the Law was given from Mount Sinai, all Creation was in danger of being dissolved, if Israel had not promised obedience to the Law. Thus, what appears at first sight to be a blasphemous egotism in Israel ("I set up") turns out to be an acknowledgment that Israel is God's devoted servant, and the instrument of His goodness to all the nations, to whom Israel is to transmit the knowledge of the divine Law.

⁴ Gal. ii. 20.

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"Let the destroyers destroy my Father's House (which is my body), I will raise it up." The similarity is not complete, and Christ's doctrine was probably not expressed exactly in the Johannine words or at the early date assigned to it by John. Yet even those who feel themselves constrained to say "We cannot believe that Jesus said this" may honestly and reasonably add "But we can and do believe that Jesus thought thus¹."

§ 4. *The questioning of Jesus by the High Priest, in Mark and Matthew*²

Mark and Matthew thrice mention "the high priest," either as questioning Jesus, or as rending his garments while declaring

¹ On the subject of this section see *Son* 3195, 3585 foll. On Jn ii. 19 *λύσατε* see *Joh. Gr.* 2439 (v), which suggests that it might be called a "judicial imperative." *Hor. Heb.*, on Mk xiv. 56 *ἵσα* (of which Steph. *Thes.* and Wetstein have no Gk illustration), gives reason for thinking that the Gk may represent a Hebrew Mishnic term meaning "fitting together." The deviations of Matthew from Mark are not such as to call for Johannine Intervention, since both tell us that they are recording charges that they believe to have been false, while John records what he believes to have been true.

² Mk xiv. 60—65
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvi. 62—8
(R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 66—71,
63—5 (R.V.)

(60) And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?

(61) But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?

(62) And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the

(62) And the high priest stood up, and said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee?

(63) But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God.

(64) Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at

(66) And... they led him away into their council, saying,

(67) If thou art the Christ, tell us. But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe:

(68) And if I ask [you], ye will not answer.

(69) But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God.

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that there is no need for more evidence against Him¹. Luke, after relating how Jesus was "led into the house of the high priest²," never mentions him again. Those who question

Mk xiv. 60—65
(R.V.) *contd.*
clouds of heaven.

(63) And the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What further need have we of witnesses?

(64) Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be worthy of (*lit.* liable to) death.

(65) And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophecy: and the officers received him with blows of their hands (*or*, strokes of rods).

Mt. xxvi. 62—8
(R.V.) *contd.*
the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.

(65) Then the high priest rent his garments, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy: what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard the blasphemy:

(66) What think ye? They answered and said, He is worthy of (*lit.* liable to) death.

(67) Then did they spit in his face and buffet him: and some smote him with the palms of their hands (*or*, with rods), saying,

(68) Prophecy unto us, thou Christ: who is he that struck thee?

Lk. xxii. 66—71,
63—5 (R.V.) *contd.*

(70) And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am (~~✱~~), Ye say it, because I am).

(71) And they said, What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth.

(63) And the men that held him mocked him, and beat him.

(64) And they blindfolded him, and asked him, saying, Prophecy: who is he that struck thee?

(65) And many other things spake they against him, reviling him.

Jn xviii. 19—24 (R.V.) The high priest therefore asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his teaching. (20) Jesus answered him, I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues (*lit.* synagogue), and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in secret spake I nothing. (21) Why askest thou me? ask them that have heard [me], what I spake unto them: behold, these know the things which I said. (22) And when he had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand (*or*, with a rod), saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? (23) Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me? (24) Annas therefore sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.

¹ Mk xiv. 60 ἐπηρώτησεν, *ib.* 61 ἐπηρώτα, *ib.* 63 λέγει. The parall. Mt. xxvi. 62—65 does not use the verb "question."

² Lk. xxii. 54.

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Jesus, in Luke, are always "they," that is, the Sanhedrin¹. Whether they question through Annas or Caiaphas alone, or through both, or through others as well, is left uncertain. Luke also has words of Jesus peculiar to his Gospel ("*And if I question [you]*"²) which suggest that he found the traditions on the questioning of Jesus various and obscure.

John says "The high priest therefore questioned Jesus about his disciples and about his teaching," and that Jesus answered him with a "thou" (not with "ye" as in Mark) "Why questionest thou me? Question them that have heard me," upon which

¹ Lk. xxii. 66 τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ... εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν, λέγοντες...

² Lk. xxii. 67—8 ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἴπω οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε· ἐὰν δὲ ἐρωτήσω οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε. Several authorities, including SS, have "ye would give me no answer nor *would ye release me*." So D, adding μοι ἡ ἀπολυσηται. Cramer (on Lk. p. 162) prints, as from Cyril, "Wherefore also Christ says to them *If I speak to you*, and what follows (καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς). For wherein (ποῦ γὰρ) having heard, did ye believe? And wherein, being asked, did ye keep silence (ποῦ δὲ ἐρωτώμενοι ἐσιγῆσατε)?"

There was perhaps some early confusion in Greek tradition arising out of the use of ἐπιλύειν "solve [a problem]," "answer [a riddle]." Apart from one instance of the passive in Acts xix. 39, ἐπιλύω is not used in N.T. except in Mk iv. 34 of "solving" the difficulties of parables; but it is quite common in Hermas, and freq. with ἐπερωτάω (Sim. v. 3. 2, and 5. 1; ix. 10. 5, and 11. 9 etc.); and with adjuration in ib. ix. 10. 5 ἡρξάμην αὐτὸν ὀρκίζειν... ἵνα μοι ἐπιλύσῃ (comp. Mt. xxvi. 63 ἐξορκίζω). Jesus had put to the Jews, in effect, an ἐπερώτημα, which they had been unable to answer (ἐπιλύειν), when He asked them how David could describe his own Son as (Mk xii. 36, Mt. xxii. 44, Lk. xx. 42) "my Lord." That Christ's statements about the Son of Man were of the nature of enigmas we learn from Jn xii. 34 "Who is this Son of Man?" See Son 3454—5. Here Luke's original and its context may have meant "You, the Sanhedrin, question me 'Art thou the Christ?'" To answer that I must needs question you 'What say ye of the Christ?' But if I put the question (ἐὰν ἐρωτήσω) *ye will assuredly not give an answer* (or, *solution*) (οὐ μὴ ἐπιλύσητε)." This has been corrupted by some into the much more common ἀπολύσητε "release," but the latter makes such poor sense that the corrupt clause has been generally dropped. The original has been supplanted by the paraphrase "Ye will assuredly *not answer* (οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε)." But some authorities have combined the two readings.

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He was struck by one of the officers who exclaimed "Answerest thou the high priest so¹?" Almost immediately after this mention of "the high priest," our present Greek text of John proceeds "Annas therefore *sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.*" There is some uncertainty here about John's text². But it is not uncertain that, as regards the questioning of Jesus, John intervenes for Mark against Luke, supporting Mark in saying that the questioning proceeded from a single person, whereas Luke says it proceeded from the Sanhedrin as a whole.

At this stage of the trial, having before us Christ's reply to His Jewish judges, we should note that this is, virtually, His last word to the Jewish nation. When He next speaks it will be to Pilate. Is there any resemblance between this final word in the Three Gospels and the final word in the Fourth? There is in effect, though not in word. The Three, when they describe the Son as "sitting at the right hand³," do not verbally

¹ Jn xviii. 22. SS simplifies the narrative (1) first, by placing xviii. 24 ("Annas sent him") before xviii. 14—15, 19—23 so that Annas is mentioned, in two consecutive verses, as having Jesus brought to him, and as sending Him on at once to Caiaphas "the chief priest," who alone is called by that title and who conducts the examination (*ib.* 19 "the chief priest was asking Jesus"); (2) secondly, by placing all the Petrine narrative xviii. 16—18, 25—27 together, after xviii. 23. The only exception is xviii. 15 (which describes Peter as "entering into the court"). This is divided from xviii. 16 (Peter "standing outside" and brought in) by xviii. 19—23 (the examination). The result is as follows:—Jn xviii. 13—27 "(13)...brought him first unto Hanan the father-in-law of Caiapha that was the chief priest of that year. (24) *Now Hanan sent him bound* unto Caiapha the chief priest, (14) him that had counselled the Jews (ἦν δὲ Κ. ὁ συμβουλευσας...). (15) *Now Simon Kepha...entered with Jesus into the court.* (19—23) *Now the chief priest was asking.... Jesus saith...wherefore didst thou smite me?* (16—18) *Now Simon Kepha was standing outside...because it was cold.* (25—27) *Now Simon also was standing...the cock crew.*"

² See above, pp. 507—8.

³ Mk xiv. 62

Mt. xxvi. 64

Lk. xxii. 69

Ἐγὼ εἶμι, καὶ ὄψεσθε
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Σὺ εἶπας (marg.
εἶπας;) πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δεῖ ἔσται
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κα-

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express judgment but they imply it. The Fourth Gospel expresses it: "And if any man hear my sayings and keep them

Mk xiv. 62 *contd.*

ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς
δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον
μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ.

Mt. xxvi. 64 *contd.*

ἀπ' ἄρτι ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον
ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν
νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Lk. xxii. 69 *contd.*

θήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς
δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.

Lk. refers only to Ps. cx. 1 ("Sit thou on my right hand"); Mk-Mt. refers to that and to Dan. vii. 13: ("*lit.*) And behold, with (ὃς) the clouds of heaven [one] like a son of man coming he was and even to the Ancient of Days he arrived, and before Him they brought him near."

LXX

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐ-
ρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχετο, καὶ ὡς
παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρήν· καὶ οἱ παρε-
στηκότες παρήσαν αὐτῷ.

In the Hebrew text of Daniel, the "coming" is not from heaven to earth, but "*to*" the Ancient of Days. But LXX alters the Heb. "*to*" to "*as*." Luke's view of the "coming" in the Acts (i. 9—11) is that the Son of Man will descend from heaven on "a [single] cloud" to judge the earth as also He ascended "on a [single] cloud" from earth (comp. Lk. xxi. 27 "*in a cloud*," Mk xiii. 26, Mt. xxiv. 30 "clouds"). Perhaps the ancient Hebrew tradition about the Son of Man as "coming" to "the Ancient of Days" whose "throne" (Dan. vii. 9) "was fiery flames" is referred to in Rev. v. 6—7 where the Lamb is seen at first "in the midst of" the throne, and the living creatures, and the elders, "standing" as though it had been slain, and then He "*came*," and He takes the Book of the Redemption of the World out of "the right hand of him that sat on the throne."

It seems probable that Jesus, in His answer to the High Priest, referred only (as in Luke) to the Psalm ("*sit thou on my right hand*") and that the reference to Daniel ("coming") has been added by Mark for completeness either (1) out of its order, to shew *how* the Son of Man is found to be "seated at the right hand," or else, (2) in a Christian interpretation—deviating from Daniel—to represent the Son as first placed on "the right hand" in heaven, and afterwards "coming" down from heaven to earth to judge His enemies.

It has been shewn in *Son 3347* (i) foll. that Jesus did not probably have Daniel in view in the Discourse on the Last Days (where Matthew alone (xxiv. 15) says "spoken of by Daniel the prophet"). And it is probable, in view of Luke's omission, that Jesus is not quoting Daniel here. He appears to be referring only to Ps. cx. 1—only to that same scriptural riddle which He had previously set before the Jews

Theod.

καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐ-
ρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος,
καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐφθασεν· καὶ προσήχθη αὐτῷ.

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not, I (*emph.*) judge him not, for I came not to judge the world but to save the world. He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my sayings hath one that judgeth him. The word that I spake, that same [word] shall judge him in the last day¹." The thought is of a Saviour converted by our sins into an inevitable and (we may almost say) unwilling Judge, an unalterable Word of Retribution. From two different points of view—the Hebrew ("sitting at the right hand") and the Greek ("judging"), the Eastern and the Western—the Three Gospels and the Fourth express the inevitableness of the Day of the Divine Judgment².

In what follows, Luke omits the words "*liable to death*" in which Mark and Matthew record the sentence of condemnation passed by the Sanhedrin³. Probably he does it for the same reason that induced him to omit "condemn" before in Christ's prediction:—

Mk x. 33	Mt. xx. 18—19	Lk. xviii. 32
They shall <i>con-</i> <i>demn him to death</i> ⁴ and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles.	They shall <i>con-</i> <i>demn him to death</i> ⁴ and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles.	He shall be de- livered up unto the Gentiles.

Luke may have argued that the Sanhedrin *did not* pass any sentence of death because they *could not legally* pass one. But he does not tell us of their inability. John does tell us. In his Gospel, the Jews avow their intention to kill Jesus by saying—when Pilate bids them try Jesus according to their own Law—"It is not lawful for us to put any man to death⁵."

as bearing on the nature of "the Christ," when He asked (Mk xii. 35) "How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David?"

¹ Jn xii. 47—8.

² See *Son* 3306—15 on "The Son of Man" and "The Power" discussing details, e.g. Mk xiv. 62 ἐγώ εἰμι, and Mt. xxvi. 64 ἀπ' ἄρτι.

³ Mk xiv. 64 οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου, Mt. xxvi. 66 οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν, "Ἐνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν, Lk. xxii. 71 paraphrases this by "We have heard [his guilt] from his own mouth."

⁴ Κατέκρινον αὐτὸν θανάτῳ (W. H. in Mt. [θανάτῳ]) is rather more absolute than ἔνοχος θανάτου.

⁵ Jn xviii. 31.

§ 5. *The smiting of Jesus*¹

In the texts given below, Mark differs from Luke in a detail small in itself but of some importance as pointing toward a background of prophecy. He says that "the officers" struck Jesus (literally "took²" Him) with "*blows-of-their-hands*." The word here used for "blow-of-the-hand," *rapisma*, occurs nowhere in the New Testament, outside the Fourth Gospel, except here. Matthew uses the same word here, as a verb *rapizein*, but does not at this point mention "the officers." Luke has neither word³.

¹ Mk xiv. 65

καὶ ἡρξαντότινες ἐμ-
πτύνει αὐτῷ καὶ περικα-
λύπτει αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον καὶ κολαφίζειν
αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ
Προφήτευσον, καὶ οἱ
ὑπηρέται ράπισμασιν
αὐτὸν ἔλαβον.

Mt. xxvi. 67—8

τότε ἐνέπτυσαν εἰς
τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐκολάφισαν αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ
ἐράπισαν λέγοντες Προ-
φήτευσον ἡμῖν, χριστέ,
τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε;

Lk. xxii. 63—5

καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ συνέ-
χοντες αὐτὸν ἐνέπαιζον
αὐτῷ δέροντες, καὶ περι-
καλύψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπη-
ρώτων λέγοντες Προφή-
τευσον, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ
παῖσας σε; καὶ ἕτερα
πολλὰ βλασφημοῦντες
ἔλεγον εἰς αὐτόν.

² 'Ράπισμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον. Comp. *Acts of John* § 4 "If thy plucking [of my hair] in jest caused so much pain, what [should I have felt] if thou hadst taken me with blows-of-the-hand (ράπισμασίν με ἔλαβες)?" Origen (on Jerem. xx. 1—2, Lomm. xv. 339—40), quoting several instances of "smiting" prophets, including Is. l. 6 as uttered by Jesus Himself, says that Jesus is being to this day smitten and scourged by Jews and Gentiles: "Go into the synagogues of the Jews and see Jesus being scourged by them with the tongue of blasphemy. See those gathered together from the Gentiles (ἴδε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν συναγομένους) taking counsel against Christians [as they call us] in what manner they take (or, receive) Jesus (τίνα τρόπον λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν)." The context indicates a play on λαμβάνω alluding to the phrase "take with blows."

³ Why does Luke avoid ὑπηρέτης in the narrative of the Arrest and the Passion, whereas John has it there, about the ὑπηρέται of the chief priests, (xviii. 3—22, xix. 6) five times, Mark twice, Matthew once? Luke has it only in his Preface (i. 2), "*ministers of the word*," and iv. 20 "gave the book to the (R.V.) attendant (A.V. minister)," i.e. the "*beadle*" of the synagogue. In LXX, it perhaps only once represents a Heb. word (Prov. xiv. 35) where it means a king's "servant," who "dealeth wisely" and is in the king's "favour"; but in Daniel (LXX) it is applied (LXX [iii. 46] not in Heb.) to the servants of Nebuchadnezzar who cast the three martyrs into the furnace. Matthew applies it to a judge's "beadle" or "bailiff," who

John has both: "One of the officers... gave a *blow-of-the-hand* to Jesus¹." John repeats this later on about the Roman soldiers: "They began to give him *blows-of-their-hands*²." We naturally ask why Luke does not use it and why John uses it twice.

A reason why Luke would not use *rapisma* is supplied by the grammarian Phrynichus who says that "it is not in use," meaning in the literary use of Attic Greek³. And a reason why

exacts debts, where Luke has "exactor," (Mt. v. 25) "lest the judge deliver thee to the *beadle*" (Lk. xii. 58 *exactor*, πράκτορι). John begins by using it thrice (vii. 32, 45, 46) of the "*beadles*" of "the chief priests and Pharisees" sent to arrest Jesus. On this occasion, they fail to do their official duty, being overpowered by Christ's words (*ib.* 46 "Never man so spake"). They consequently receive a reproof from their superiors. But, later on, the "*beadles*" act as subservient instruments (xviii. 3, 12, 18, 22, xix. 6) to the chief priests and Pharisees, or even as persecutors on their own account. See also *Joh. Voc.* 1719 *h*.

This seems to explain both the Lucan and the Johannine view. Luke in his Gospel (though not in the Acts) regards a ὑπηρέτης as a "minister" attached to a holy place or office—a synagogue, temple, or gospel. John assumes that the ὑπηρέται of the Temple, under the Pharisees, were, from the first, "*beadles*" of an unholy place, "a place of traffic," and that they soon became—in spite of one brief reaction—only too ready to serve their worldly and unjust superiors in persecuting Jesus.

In the Acts, Luke varies. The earlier and Petrine portion (Acts v. 22, 26) describing the arrest of the apostles by the Sanhedrin, uses ὑπηρέται to mean "*beadles*." The later and Pauline portion (xiii. 5, xxvi. 16) uses it to mean a "ministering attendant" on Paul and Barnabas, or to mean Paul himself as a "minister" of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

¹ Jn xviii. 22 εἰς παρεστηκὼς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

² Jn xix. 3 καὶ ἐδίδουσιν αὐτῷ ῥαπίσματα. Apparently Pilate sanctions this, as he certainly does the mockery that follows, in order to beg off (so to speak), as being beneath contempt, this "king of the Jews" about whom he says (*ib.* 4) "I bring him forth to you that ye may know that I find no crime in him."

³ Phrynichus: Τὸ ῥάπισμα οὐκ ἐν χρήσει· χρῶ οὖν τῷ κρείττονι· τὸ γὰρ τὴν γνώθον πλατεία τῇ χειρὶ πληῖσαι ἐπὶ κόρῃς πατάσαι Ἀθηναῖοι φασίν. Facts indicate (see Field on Mk xiv. 65 and on Jn xviii. 22) that the rendering of R.V. marg. "blows with rods" would not apply except to ancient or quasi-ancient (*i.e.* deliberately archaic) Greek.

John might retain and emphasize it, is, that it occurs in the following passage of Isaiah: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of them that are taught, that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear...and I was not rebellious...I gave my back to the smiters and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair (LXX to blows-of-the-hand), I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the Lord God will help me...and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me¹?" This is almost immediately followed by the passage quoted above as applicable to the officers "warming themselves" round the fire ("walk ye in the flame of your fire...ye shall lie down in sorrow²"). *Rapisma* occurs nowhere else in LXX. Barnabas and Justin Martyr both quote the Isaiah passage mentioning *rapisma*³. No early Christian writer beside them (except the *Didachè*) uses the word at all, and they use it only in this quotation from Isaiah. We may therefore infer that John retained the Marcan word rejected by Luke because it led back his readers to Isaiah. For the sake of doing this, he might well be prepared to deviate from the usage of literary Greek⁴.

Mark appears to distinguish the "officers," who insulted Jesus in this particular way, from others, who inflicted other insults. John does not describe this general outburst of insolence, which occurred after the High Priest had pronounced sentence. But by describing a "blow" of this particular kind

¹ Is. l. 4—8. The words "tongue of them that are taught" recall Heb. v. 8 "learned obedience by the things that he suffered." The latter part is quoted in Rom. viii. 33—4. There is a martyr's paradox in "I hid not my face from shame" and "I know that I shall not be ashamed."

² Is. l. II.

³ Barn. v. 14, Justin M. *Apol.* § 38. The *Didachè* uses the sing. once (i. 4) referring to Mt. v. 39.

⁴ Yet Jesus Himself does not say *τί με πατίσεις*; to the officer who has given Him a *ῥάπισμα*. He says (Jn xviii. 23) *τί με δέπεις*; Did John shrink from representing Jesus as using a word corresponding to our "slap"? Or did he guard against the insinuation that Jesus artfully used a Messianic word in order to suggest that He was the Messiah?

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as given by "an officer," in the presence of Annas, before Jesus had been sent to Caiaphas for formal trial, John leads us to infer that other "officers," after condemnation, would continue such insults.

There are many tokens of verbal confusions in the context. Mark omits "Who smote thee?" Matthew omits Mark's "covered his face round." Luke alters it into "covered him round," which appears to indicate a protest against Mark's tradition, and might mean "covered him round *with a robe*, or *chlamys*." Luke also omits the "spitting." This might be explained by a confusion of *επτύον* "spit" with *ετύπτον* "struck," used later on by Mark and Matthew (but not by Luke) in their account of the second mocking¹.

§ 6. "*Thou also wast with Jesus*," in Mark and Matthew²

Luke regards this utterance of "a maid-servant" as addressed not to Peter but to bystanders. He agrees, however, with

¹ See below, pp. 564—70, and esp. p. 568. Jn, too, omits "spitting"—an instance of the failure of Johannine Intervention—perhaps as being repellent (*Joh. Voc.* 1666).

² (i) THE FIRST DENIAL

Mk xiv. 54, 66—8
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvi. 58, 69—
71 a (R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 54 b—57
(R.V.)

(54) And Peter had followed him afar off, even within, into the court of the high priest; and he was sitting with the officers, and warming himself in the light [of the fire].

(58) But Peter followed him afar off, unto the court of the high priest, and entered in, and sat with the officers, to see the end.

(54) ...brought him into the high priest's house. But Peter followed afar off.

(55) And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.

(66) And as Peter was beneath in the court, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest;

(67) And seeing Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and saith, Thou also wast with the

(69) Now Peter was sitting without in the court: and a maid came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilaean.

(56) And a certain maid seeing him as he sat in the light [of the fire], and looking stedfastly upon him, said, This man also was with him.

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Mark that it was uttered after a steadfast gaze and recognition, but substitutes the third person ("this man") for the second ("thou").

(i) THE FIRST DENIAL *contd.*

Mk xiv. 54, 66—8
(R.V.) *contd.*

Mt. xxvi. 58, 69—
71 a (R.V.) *contd.*

Lk. xxii. 54 b—57
(R.V.) *contd.*

Nazarene, [even]
Jesus.

(68) But he denied, saying, I neither know, nor understand what thou sayest: (*or*, I neither know, nor understand: thou, what sayest thou?) and he went out into the porch (*lit.* forecourt); and the cock crew (many *anc. auth. omit* and the cock crew).

(70) But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest.

(71) And when he was gone out into the porch,...

(57) But he denied, saying, Woman, I know him not.

Jn xviii. 15—17 (R.V.) (15) And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and [so did] another disciple. Now that disciple was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus into the court of the high priest; (16) but Peter was standing at the door without. So the other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter. (17) The maid therefore that kept the door saith unto Peter, Art thou also [one] of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not.

(ii) THE SECOND DENIAL

Mk xiv. 69—70 a
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvi. 71 b—72
(R.V.)

Lk. xxii. 58
(R.V.)

(69) And the maid saw him, and began again to say to them that stood by, This is [one] of them.

(70) But he again denied it.

(71) ...another [maid] saw him, and saith unto them that were there, This man also was with Jesus the Nazarene.

(72) And again he denied with an oath, I know not the man.

(58) And after a little while another (*ἄλλος, masc.; lit. a different [person]*) saw him, and said, Thou also art [one] of them. But Peter said, Man, I am not.

Jn xviii. 18, 25 (R.V.) (18) Now the servants (*lit.* bondservants) and the officers were standing [there], having made a fire of coals (*lit.* a fire of charcoal); for it was cold; and they were warming themselves: and Peter also was with them, standing and warming himself.... (25) Now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself. They said therefore unto him, Art thou also [one] of his disciples? He denied, and said, I am not.

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But why do the three Synoptists insert "also," as if the maid-servant meant "We have already one follower among us, and now here is *also* another!"? John's narrative suggests that perhaps this *was* her meaning. There *was*, he says, already in the palace another disciple known to the High Priest, and he spoke to the maid-servant—who was the portress—to let Peter in. While doing so, she could not refrain—in the moment of recognising Peter—from saying to him in jest "Is it possible? Can it be that you also are a disciple of his? We have already among us one disciple of the prisoner whom they want to crucify. And now, at his request, am I to let in another disciple?"

(iii) THE THIRD DENIAL

Mk xiv. 70 b—72
(R.V.)

(70) ... And after a little while again they that stood by said to Peter, Of a truth thou art [one] of them; for thou art a Galilaean.

(71) But he began to curse and to swear, I know not this man of whom ye speak.

(72) And straightway the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word, how that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept (*or*, And he began to weep).

Mt. xxvi. 73—5
(R.V.)

(73) And after a little while they that stood by came and said to Peter, Of a truth thou also art [one] of them; for thy speech bewrayeth thee.

(74) Then began he to curse and to swear, I know not the man. And straightway the cock crew.

(75) And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly.

Lk. xxii. 59—62
(R.V.)

(59) And after the space of about one hour another (*masc.*) confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this man also was with him: for he is a Galilaean.

(60) But Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew.

(61) And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said unto him, Before the cock crow this day, thou shalt deny me thrice.

(62) And he went out, and wept bitterly.

Jn xviii. 26—7 (R.V.) (26) One of the servants (*lit.* bondservants) of the high priest, being a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him? (27) Peter therefore denied again: and straightway the cock crew.

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It is generally assumed that this first disciple was John the son of Zebedee. If it was, then the jesting question of the portress to Peter means no more than this: "Have we here in you a second disciple of this Galilaean so bold as to venture into the lion's den?" But it is possible that Judas is meant¹. He would be "known to the high priest"—and to the portress also in the course of several recent visits to the palace, during the arrangements for the arrest of Jesus. And though there are great difficulties in this hypothesis, they are hardly so great as the difficulty of supposing that this single passage reveals the disciple whom Jesus loved as being also the disciple that was "known" to the High Priest who condemned Jesus.

If Judas was the other disciple whom the portress had in mind, then her "*also*" assumes quite a new meaning, and her jest a new bitterness: "Can it be that thou *also*, like Judas, art one of this man's disciples, returning like Judas, with the Master whom thou hast betrayed?" If that was the meaning, one can understand how Peter—who up to that moment may not have realised fully that Judas was a traitor²—realising now what the question meant ("Are you, too, a traitor?"), may have hastily replied—to the meaning, rather than to the words—"I am not." Then he may have found himself led on, step by step, into absolute denial of discipleship.

¹ For this view of Jn xviii. 15 see *Beginning*, pp. 351—71.

² According to Mark (xiv. 45—6) nothing had been said by Jesus, and according to Matthew (xxvi. 50) nothing had been said clearly, to indicate that Judas was a traitor. According to John, logically, Peter ought to have realised it from Christ's giving Judas "the sop" (Jn xiii. 26), but (from the Johannine point of view) not from any words of Christ to Judas; for, in Jn, Christ's last words to Judas are understood by (xiii. 28) "no man at the table." In Mk and Jn there are no words corresponding to Lk. xxii. 48 ("Judas, betrayest thou...?"). None of the Synoptists tell us whether Judas, after saluting Jesus, kept up the pretence of discipleship and fled away with the rest of the disciples, or whether he returned with the soldiers and Jesus, followed at a distance by Peter, to the High Priest's palace. See note above (p. 480, n. 2 *ad fin.*) on the epithet ἀλλο-πρόσαλλος attached by Nonnus to Judas.

§ 7. "He began to anathematize," in Mark and Matthew¹

"Anathematize," in LXX, means to "ban," "devote [to God]," "exterminate." A city, for example, hostile to Jehovah, was "devoted," or "anathematized," when it was doomed to be utterly destroyed. A thing thus doomed to destruction was, in Hebrew, *cherem*, or, in Greek, *anathema*². Paul says concerning any one that distorts the Gospel "Let him be *anathema*," and again "If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be *anathema*³." This was equivalent to saying "Let him be *anathematized*." In the Acts Paul says that "in all the synagogues" he tried to constrain the Christians to "*blaspheme*⁴." This appears to mean to "curse," or "anathematize," the name of Christ⁵. Similarly Pliny says that he acquitted such Christians as prayed to the gods and made an offering to the image of the Emperor "and, furthermore, *cursed* Christ⁶." When Paul came to Antioch of Pisidia and Corinth he at first taught in the synagogue but separated himself from it when the Jews "*blasphemed*⁷."

¹ Mk xiv. 71—72 *a*
ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύναι ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ δευτέρου ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν· καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη...

Mt. xxvi. 74—75 *a*
τότε ἤρξατο καταθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύναι ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν· καὶ ἐμνήσθη...

Lk. xxii. 60—61 *a*
εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος Ἀνθρώπε, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν ἀλέκτωρ. καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη...

Jn xviii. 27 πάλιν οὖν ἠρνήσατο Πέτρος· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.

² Gesen. 355—6 *הרם*. Ἀναθεματίζω, in LXX, alw. = *הרם*, and so does *ἀνάθεμα*. It is quite different in meaning from *ὀμνυμι* "swear."

³ Gal. i. 9, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

⁴ Acts xxvi. 11.

⁵ Comp. Jas. ii. 7 "Do not the rich...blaspheme the honourable name by which ye are called?" that is, the name of Christ.

⁶ Pliny *Epist.* x. 97 "maledicerent Christo," quoted by Lightf. on *Mart. Polyc.* § 9 "swear (*ὀμοσον*) and I release thee; revile (*λοιδορησον*) the Christ." It was not enough to (*ib.*) "swear by the fortune of Caesar (*ὀμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην*)."
⁷ Polycarp must also "revile" his Saviour. Pliny says a true Christian would never do this. It seems probable that the Romans borrowed this test of a Christian from Jewish precedents in synagogues.

⁷ Acts xiii. 45—8, xviii. 6—7.

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And this reference to a growing Jewish custom may explain Paul's warning to the Corinthians "No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith '*Jesus is anathema*¹.'" Matthew's form of the word (*catathematize*) is used twice by Irenaeus of faithful Christians "*catathematizing*" a misleading teacher or a misleading doctrine². Thus the usage of the Hebrew word *cherem* and of the Greek word *anathema* points to the conclusion that Mark—very possibly under a wrong impression—regarded Peter as falling in with the language of those around him so as to anathematize, not himself conditionally, but his Master absolutely. For those who took that view the contextual phrase "I do not know" would seem to mean "I ignore, or, renounce³." Matthew has most nearly preserved this; Mark has made it less abrupt; Luke has entirely departed from it⁴.

It is highly improbable that Peter, amid the officers and

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 3. This might be addressed to devout proselytes who had been in the habit of attending worship in the synagogue, as much as to say, "There must be limits to your acquiescence in Jewish practice." A scholium attributed to Origen (Cramer on 1 Cor. xii. 3) says that if you behold a Jew interpreting the Old Testament, and in particular the Prophets, in a manner by no means to be despised, he may leave you in doubt whether he has, or has not, the Holy Spirit: "In order therefore that you may not be in two minds (*περισπασθῆς*) about such a one whether he has the Holy Spirit or not, he [*i.e.* Paul] teaches that, since *every Jew calls Jesus anathema*..., and no one speaking in the Spirit of God calls Jesus anathema, the Spirit of God is not possessed by him who says that he knows the Law and the Prophets and yet anathematizes Jesus." Origen often refers incidentally to 1 Cor. xii. 3, and refers fully to it again in *De Orat.* § 22 (Lomm. xvii. 172—4) as to the danger of "anathematizing Jesus" by our wicked actions; but he does not there mention the practice of "every Jew."

² Iren. i. 13. 4 of women "anathematizing" the heretic Marcus who tried to deceive and seduce them, *καταθεματίσασαι αὐτὸν ἐχωρίσθησαν τοῦ τοιοῦτου θιάσου* (comp. *ib.* i. 16. 3 *ἣν γνώμην καταθεματίσαντας*).

³ Comp. Mt. xxv. 12 "I know you not," and Mt. vii. 23, Lk. xiii. 27 (*Son* 3213 b, 3499 (x) (xi)).

⁴ Mt. xxvi. 74 *οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον* is more contemptuous, and less liable to be taken literally, than Mk xiv. 71, which adds *τοῦτον δὲ λέγετε*. Lk. xxii. 60 *ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις* comes, not as a climax, but as an anti-climax, in the three denials.

soldiers, would use an ecclesiastical term like *anathema* or *cherem*. But it is not improbable that Mark has anachronistically inserted here a term that came into use afterwards when Christians were compelled to choose between death and cursing Christ. Peter himself, perhaps, exaggerated his own fault, and a Petrine record in Mark has preserved a trace of the exaggeration. The force of the Marcan word could not but be felt by those who knew its antecedent use. It is true that some good Latin Versions blunt its force by inserting "*himself*" ("Peter devoted himself [to destruction]")¹. But the Vulgate does not do this, either in Mark or in Matthew². In the former it transliterates the Greek *anathematize*. In the latter it adopts the rendering "*detestari*," which is regularly used of execrating others (not oneself)³. Origen, while not going so far as to say that Peter under the influence of an evil spirit used the expression mentioned by Paul "Jesus is *anathema*," quotes the Pauline context ("Jesus is the Lord") in order to explain Peter's conduct: "No one can say *Jesus is the Lord*, except in the Holy Spirit." He reminds us that "the Holy Spirit was not yet," and adds "Therefore it was not possible that Peter as he then was, and at that time, could confess Jesus"⁴.

¹ "Himself" is ins. by *a* and *k* in Mk, and by *a* and *b* in Mt.

² *Thes. Syr.* 1373 gives Mt. xxvi. 74 למחרמו (see Nöldeke § 167 on the termination in *ū*) = καταθεματίζειν, but Mk xiv. 71 מחרים = ἀναθεματίζειν, *ib.* 1376 Mt. xxvi. 74 מחרים and מחרם. It does not give any instances (outside the Petrine narrative) of חרם, used absolutely, to mean "curse oneself." In Acts xxiii. 12 etc. the Syr. has (*lit.*) "cursed on them[selves]." In Syr. (Nöldeke § 223) personal pronouns are used as reflexives when the verb is not reflexive. This might result in ambiguity. In Mt. xxvii. 5 "hanged himself," SS has "him[self]." לה, but Pesh. "his soul."

³ There is in Scripture a freq. formula of asserting on oath, "The Lord do so unto me and more also," Ruth i. 17, 1 S. iii. 17 etc. But it has no connection with the Hebrew חרם, ἀναθεματίζειν. Lewis and Short give no instance of *detestari* with *se*.

⁴ Origen on Mt. xxvi. 68 foll. (Lomm. v. 15) quotes thus "Tunc coepit devotare et jurare quia nescio hominem," omitting "se" before "devotare" (as Codex Corb. (Migne) does in Mk); but subsequently

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Luke omits all mention of "anathematizing" or "swearing," and John inserts nothing that corresponds to it, having simply

(Lomm. pp. 17, 19) the Latin has "*coepit se devotare et jurare...*," and "*non solum ter denegat Petrus, sed etiam devotat se ipsum et jurat quia...*" In Mt. xxvi. 74 Vulg. and *Corb.* (Migne) and *Brix.* render *καταθεματίζειν* by "detestari," which means (Lewis and Short) "curse some person, or thing, while calling God to witness," and hence "renounce," "abominate," but not "call down penalties on oneself." Chrysostom gives no explanation of *anathematize* or *catathematize*.

In Mk and Mt., Delitzsch inserts Heb. "his [own] soul" after *הָרִם* to shew that Peter was devoting himself to destruction if he was not speaking the truth (and we should have expected this in Syr. also if the translator thought this to be the fact). But Gesen. and Levy give no instance of such a use of *הָרִם* in Biblical or later Hebrew. In Acts xxiii. 12 "anathematized themselves," the Gk inserts *ἐαυτοῖς*, Delitzsch "bound a bond on their souls."

The following facts indicate that the Gospel narratives of Peter's denial distinguished between (1) "*denying* (*ἀρνεῖσθαι*) Jesus" and (2) "*disowning* (*ἀπαρνεῖσθαι*) Jesus." *Ἀπαρνοῦμαι* is used in Christ's prediction of Peter's denial and in Peter's reply, Mk xiv. 30, 31, 72 *με* or *σε*, Mt. xxvi. 34, 35, 75 *με* or *σε*, Lk. xxii. 34 *με*... *εἰδέναι*, *ib.* 61 *με*. *Ἀρνοῦμαι* is used in the evangelistic description of fact, Mk xiv. 68 *ἡρνήσατο λέγων Οὐτε οἶδα...*, *ib.* 70 *πάλιν ἡρνήϊτο*, Mt. -xxvi. 70 *ἡρνήσατο... λέγων Οὐκ οἶδα...*, *ib.* 72 *ἡρνήσατο μετὰ ὄρκου ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα...*, Lk. xxii. 57 *ὁ δὲ ἡρνήσατο* [Tisch. + *αὐτόν*] *λέγων Οὐκ οἶδα...* The Synoptists give us the impression that what is expressed in Christ's words by the intensive *ἀπο-*, is expressed in their words by the context. And the context in Mt. indicates that Matthew believed the vehemence of disavowal to have risen, from (1) assertion to (2) oath, and from oath to (3) oath supported by anathema. In Mk, the second stage is omitted.

John makes no such distinction. In Jn xiii. 38, xviii. 25, 27, *ἀρνεῖσθαι* is used both in Christ's prediction (with *με*) and in the narrative of its fulfilment (without *με*), and he nowhere uses *ἀπαρνεῖσθαι*. Not improbably John thought that the phrase "Jesus is anathema"—introduced into synagogues by Jews and, later on, in a Roman shape, into courts of justice by Romans—had given to the word new associations, which made it unprofitable to amplify detailed distinctions as to the form of Peter's denials.

It should be noted that Matthew and Luke (but not Mark) have previously represented Jesus as using the phrase *ἀρνεῖσθαί με* :—

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(1) "I am not," (2) "denied, and said, I am not," (3) "denied again." John also omits the tradition of the Three that Peter "wept"—to which Mark adds a word rendered by R.V. text

Mt. x. 33

ὅστις δὲ ἀρνήσῃται με ἔμπροσθεν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν
ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς
οὐρανοῖς.

Lk. xii. 9

ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με ἐνώπιον τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον
τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.

Mark, in a similar saying, has *ἐπαισχύνεσθαι με*, and Luke (not Matthew) follows him:—

Mk viii. 38 a

ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαι-
σχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς
ἐμούς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ
ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ
ἀμαρτωλῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθή-
σεται αὐτόν....

Mt. xvi. 27—8 om.

Lk. ix. 26

ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαι-
σχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς
ἐμούς λόγους, τοῦτον ὁ
υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαι-
σχυνθήσεται....

Wetstein and Schöttgen on Mt. x. 33 quote Talmudic passages shewing that Heb. כפר with כ lit. "wipe away in M. or N." (i.e. "wipe away all recollections in the case of M. or N.") is used about pupils "disowning" teachers and teachers "disowning" pupils (and so Levy ii. 383 b foll.). But the Heb. prep. "in" is added, and ἀρνοῦμαι ἐν τινι would not be genuine Greek. It happens that Heb. הִפֵּר (Is. i. 29) with Heb. "from" means (Gesen. 344 a) "*be ashamed of*." Perhaps Jesus used both words. Or the similarity between הִפֵּר and כפר may have been a partial cause of the substitution of the one for the other. Mark may also have been influenced by the fact that the tradition "Whoever shall *deny me*" seemed expressly to condemn Peter and all deniers to be denied in the Day of Judgment, whereas "*be ashamed*" left room for some evasion of the hard saying. It should be noted that no evangelist (setting aside Lk. xxii. 57 Tisch.) says in his narrative that Peter "denied *him*" i.e. Jesus. Since they all avoid this, it seems unlikely that Mark could have intended us to supply "him" as the object to "anathematize." Perhaps Mark may have used the verb loosely to mean that Peter, as it were, cast oaths and anathemas about him, including in his curses those who were accusing him of being one of Christ's disciples. In any case the use of it by Mark and Matthew in so brief and obscure a context was much to be deprecated. It might induce some of Pliny's victims to say, "Peter anathematized and was forgiven, why should it be otherwise with me?" This is the very question that Origen meets, assuring the questioners that what was pardoned in Peter will not be pardoned in them (Lomm. v. 17 "in nobis hoc impium").

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"when he thought thereon¹," while Matthew and (probably) Luke add "bitterly²."

It has been necessary to mention these details because the "anathematizing" constitutes an exception to the rule of Johannine Intervention. And indeed it is easy to understand that John may have felt that the Petrine narrative, especially in Mark, came to a weak conclusion. Origen and Jerome indicate that it was made the subject of some allegorical and forced interpretation. "I know not the man," Jerome tells us, was erroneously taken by some as meaning "I know not Jesus as man, for I know Him to be God"! Jerome himself follows Origen in allegorizing the statement that Peter went "outside" the court of the High Priest, before he wept and repented, as meaning "outside the dominion of evil³." And

¹ Mk xiv. 72 ἐπιβαλὼν, of which the explanation in *Corrections* 499—501 is not satisfactory. Ἐπιβάλλω might seem used absolutely in certain instances where an object might be supplied from context (e.g. Moulton *Gr. of N. T. Gk* p. 131, an instance where ἐπιβολή "embankment" occurs in context) but these prove nothing. Cramer, on Mk, prints a tradition that Peter "wept terribly, Christ having given heed to him (προσεσχηκότος αὐτοῦ)," and it is pointed out in *Notes* 2999 (xiii) that Mt. xvii. 25 προέφθασεν αὐτόν is rendered in Syriac by ܩܪܩ which in Is. xxxvii. 33 = (LXX) ἐπιβάλλω. In Epict. i. 4. 14 the original txt, ἐπιβάλλεις, has been perhaps wrongly corrected into ἐπιβάλλη and signifies "direct [the mind]" (comp. *Ench.* 15 μὴ ἐπιβάλλε πόρρω τὴν ὀρεξιν). Field has shewn that it is often used of covering the head. But it would also naturally be connected with ἐπίβλημα. Now although this word in the Synoptists means "a patch," it appears to mean more freq. (Steph. *Thes.*) "vestimentum exterius, amiculum, stragulum torale."

The uncertainty about the meaning of ἐπιβαλὼν does not affect the conclusion that the Marcan tradition omitted by Matthew and Luke would be discussed by early Christians to whom it would suggest paraphrases. Among these would naturally be one describing how Peter, in the end, received a covering of his sin, "putting on" the Lord Jesus Christ.

² Mt. xxvi. 75 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς, [Lk. xxii. 62 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς].

³ Jerome on Mt. xxvi. 75 "In atrio Caiaphae sedens non poterat agere poenitentiam. Egreditur foras de impiorum consilio....". We shall find it hard to realise the motive for this, unless we remember

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here we may note that, in Mark, Peter is said to have "gone out *outside* into the fore-court," after the first denial¹; in Matthew and Luke to have "gone out *outside*" finally after the third denial²; but in John to have merely "stood at the door *outside*," that is, outside the court of the High Priest—and this, at the beginning, before any denial³. Also the Diatessaron says "And when Jesus went *out* Simon Cephas was standing in the outer court..." and, later on, "The cock crew twice. And in that hour Jesus turned, he being *outside*, and looked stedfastly at Cephas." It also omits Mark's mention of Peter going out into the forecourt and the parallel Matthew⁴.

that, among first-century Christians, "*without* (ἐξω)" and "those that are *without* (οἱ ἐξω)," would naturally be applied to "*those in outer darkness*," "*aliens from the Church*," or "*sinner*s," in whom they would be most reluctant to include Peter even temporarily. Moreover, Philo (i. 95) allegorizing the first Biblical instance (Gen. xv. 5) of ἐξω with a verb of motion (about Abraham) takes it as Origen and Jerome do here.

¹ Mk xiv. 68. Comp. Judg. iii. 23 *lit.* "went forth *the porch*," where A.V. supplies "*through*," R.V. "*into*."

² Mt. xxvi. 75, Lk. xxii. 62.

³ Jn xviii. 16.

⁴ Mk xiv. 68, Mt. xxvi. 71.

Some comment is due to the fact that the Synoptists all describe Peter as "*sitting*," Mark once (xiv. 54), Matthew twice (xxvi. 58, 69), Luke twice in one passage (xxii. 55—6 "Peter *sat*... seeing him as he *sat*"), while John twice (xviii. 18, 25) describes him as "*standing*."

One explanation might be that (Gesen. 442—3) the Hebrew "*sit*" repeatedly means "continue," "remain," "tarry," "stay." Mk xiv. 66 "while Peter *was* [i.e. *continued*] in the *aulè*" is parall. to Mt. xxvi. 69 "But Peter *sat* outside in the *aulè*," and may represent an original ישב "*sit*." See *Clue* 178.

Another explanation is that the Hebrew ישב "*sit*" is identical with some forms of שוב "*return and do*," "*do again*." See *Clue* 9 giving seven instances where R.V. has "turn," "return," "again," or "the second time," but LXX "*sit*." Hence "he denied *again*" or "*continued* to deny" might be expressed by "he *sat* and denied."

In deviating from the unanimous Synoptic tradition, John might also have in view an allegorical object. Perhaps he wished to exhibit Peter as "standing" before "falling," and as falling because he "stood" in the pride of his own strength (not "taking heed" lest he should "fall" (1 Cor. x. 12)). But he would do this all the more

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The obscurity of Mark's conclusion ("when he thought thereon") is removed in Matthew and Luke by substituting "wept *bitterly*." But this, according to LXX usage, suggests futility or remorse rather than repentance¹. It might convey to some readers the thought of such tears as are mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews along with a "root of bitterness²." John, later on, records Peter's penitence, expressed not in tears but in action, and it is possible—though we cannot say that it is more than conditionally probable—that, if the Marcan word rendered "he thought thereon," meant originally "covering with a garment," then John is alluding to this in his description of Peter as clothing himself after having been "naked," before coming into Christ's presence³.

readily if some evidence seemed to him to favour the view that "*repeatedly denied*" had been mistaken by the Synoptists for "*sat down and denied*."

On Lk. xxii. 55 περιάψαντες see *Son* 3369 *a*, and add that Heb. "sit," ישב = Aram. "surround," סהר (Levy *Ch.* ii. 153).

¹ See Is. xxii. 4 "I will shew bitterness in weeping," *i.e.* weep bitterly, from מרר "embitter," and מרה or מר "bitter" in Ezek. xxvii. 30, Zeph. i. 14, Is. xxxiii. 7 (Gesen. p. 600). Marah was the name of the bitter spring in the wilderness, and Naomi, in the bitterness of her sorrow for bereavements, said (Ruth i. 20) "Call me not Naomi but Marah."

² Heb. xii. 15—17 "lest any *root of bitterness* springing up trouble [you]...lest [there be] any profane person as Esau...when he desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected...*though he sought it diligently with tears*."

³ Jn xxi. 7. See *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *a—o* on "The re-clothing of Peter." On the early conjectures about Mk xiv. 72 ἐπιβαλὼν, see Swete *ad loc.*, and *Corrections* 499—501, where it is conjectured that there may have been some early connection between the Marcan word and Lk. xxii. 32 (about Peter) ἐπιστρέψας. Ἐπιβάλλειν is used about "taking note of," or "giving heed to," dreams by Artemidorus i. 11 πῶς ἐπιβλητέον ταῖς κρίσεσιν...χρῆ δὲ κρίνειν τοὺς ὀνείρους, i. 19 ἐγὼ δὲ...ἐν ὕπνῳ θεασάμενος...ἐπέβαλον μὲν ὡς λύπης...δηλωτικὸν εἶη τὸ ὄναρ. It would apply to Peter, in a vision, "taking note" that (Lk. xxii. 61) "the Lord looked on" him, and forgave him. It might be rendered "considered," corresponding to Heb. שָׁכַל and implying "insight." "Considered" is applied to visions or miracles in Dan. vii. 8, Acts xi. 6 (Peter's vision), xii. 12 (Peter's release by the angel).

CHAPTER XIII

THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

[Mark xv. 1—15]

§ 1. *The Praetorium*¹

PILATE is introduced to the reader of the Gospels in different ways. Without any previous mention of the name, Mark and

¹ Mk xv. 1—5
(R.V.)

(1) And straightway in the morning the chief priests with the elders and scribes, and the whole council, held a consultation, and bound Jesus, and carried him away, and delivered him up to Pilate.

(2) And Pilate asked him, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answering saith unto him, Thou sayest.

(3) And the chief priests accused him of many things.

(4) And Pilate again asked him, say-

Mt. xxvii. 1—2,
11—14 (R.V.)

(1) Now when morning was come, all the chief priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death:

(2) And they bound him, and led him away, and delivered him up to Pilate the governor.

.....

(11) Now Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus said unto him, Thou sayest.

(12) And when he was accused by the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing.

(13) Then saith Pilate unto him,

Lk. xxiii. 1—5, 9—
10 (R.V.)

(1) And the whole company of them rose up, and brought him before Pilate.

(2) And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ, a king (or, an anointed king).

(3) And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest.

(4) And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no fault in this man:

(5) But they were the more urgent....

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Matthew say that the Jews "having bound¹ Jesus, carried him

Mk xv. 1—5
(R.V.) *contd.*

ing, Answerest thou nothing? behold how many things they accuse thee of.

(5) But Jesus no more answered anything; insomuch that Pilate marvelled.

Mt. xxvii. 1—2,
11—14 (R.V.) *contd.*

Hearst thou not how many things they witness against thee?

(14) And he gave him no answer, not even to one word: insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly.

Lk. xxiii. 1—5, 9—
10 (R.V.) *contd.*

(9) And he [*i.e.* Herod] questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing.

(10) And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him.

Jn xviii. 28, 33—8 (R.V.) (28) They lead Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the palace (*lit.* praetorium): and it was early; and they themselves entered not into the palace (*lit.* praetorium), that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover.... (33) Pilate therefore entered again into the palace (*lit.* praetorium), and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews? (34) Jesus answered, Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me? (35) Pilate answered, Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? (36) Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants (*or*, officers) fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. (37) Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king (*or*, Thou sayest [it], because I am a king). To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. (38) Pilate saith unto him, What is truth?

¹ Mk xv. 1, Mt. xxvii. 2 *δήσαντες*, Lk. xxiii. 1 *om.* Jerome says "Habebant enim hunc morem ut quem adjudicassent morti ligatum judici traderent," that is, it was their way of indicating to the Roman judge that, so far as they, the Sanhedrin, were concerned, the prisoner was condemned to death. Luke's reason for omitting *δήσαντες* is not obvious, if he accepted this view of the binding. John says that Jesus was bound twice, first (Jn xviii. 12) at the arrest, secondly (Jn xviii. 24) when sent by Annas to Caiaphas. Whatever may be John's motive, it is a case of Johannine Intervention.

Concerning the binding of Jesus, see Justin M. *Tryph.* § 103 Ἡρώδου δέ...² καὶ Πιλάτος χαρίζόμενος δεδεμένον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔπεμψε, as "fulfilling that which God had said thus, Καὶ γε αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίου (*sic*) ἀπήνεγκαν ξένηα τῷ βασιλεῖ,"² quoting Hos. x. 6. Justin stops short here, but the Heb. names or defines the king, (R.V.) "It also shall

away¹, and delivered him over² to *Pilate*," Matthew adding the title "to *Pilate the governor*." Luke, who has long ago told us that John the Baptist began to preach "when Pontius Pilate

be carried unto Assyria for a present to king *Jareb* (ירב)," and the LXX inserts "*having bound*," thus, Καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους δέσαντες ἀπήνεγκαν ξένια τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰαρείμ. Field renders ירב by "*adversarius*" (R.V. (see Hos. v. 13) "that should contend"), Aq. and Theod. by δικάζοντι. This means "judge" (not "prosecute") and would apply to Herod Antipas sitting in mock judgment. It is to be noted that Justin assumes the "*binding*" in introducing (δεδεμένον), but omits it in quoting (δήσαντες), the passage of the LXX. Tertullian inserts "*bound*" in quoting thus (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 42) "Nam et Herodi, velut munus a Pilato missus, [Christus] Osee vocibus fidem reddidit; de Christo enim prophetaverat: *Et vinctum eum ducent xenium regi*." Luke is the only evangelist that mentions the sending to Herod, and the only one that does not mention the "*binding*" of Christ. Justin and Tertullian mention both. Jerome (on Hos. x. 6 and v. 13) stigmatizes as impious the view of a commentator ("quidam") who takes Jareb ("regem ultorem") to be Christ.

Another text of LXX alleged about the "*binding*" of Jesus (by Justin M. *Tryph.* §§ 17, 133, 136, 137 δήσωμεν or ἄρωμεν (see below, p. 545, n. 3), and Barn. § 6 δήσωμεν), is Is. iii. 10 "*say ye of the righteous*" (LXX) δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, where LXX has taken אמרו "*say*" as אסרו "*bind*." Comp. Wisd. ii. 12 ἐνεδρεύσωμεν (? אבר) τὸν δίκαιον. Both in Is. and in Wisd. there follows ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν.

In omitting the "*binding*," Luke may have been influenced (1) by its omission in the Heb. of Hos. and Is., (2) by the supposition that Pilate sent Jesus to Herod, not as a criminal, but as an accused person, leaving the decision in Herod's hands.

¹ Mk xv. 1 ἀπήνεγκαν—not used of persons in N.T. elsewhere except about those "carried away" after death or in a vision (Lk. xvi. 22, Rev. xvii. 3, xxi. 10)—suggests that the writer had in view Hos. x. 6 ἀπήνεγκαν.

² Παραδίδωμι, about the transference of Jesus (1) from the Jews to Pilate or the Romans is used in Mk xv. 1, 10, Mt. xxvii. 2, 18 om. parall. Lk. (but comp. Lk. xxiv. 7, 20), (2) from Pilate to the crucifiers or Jews Mk xv. 15, Mt. xxvii. 26 ἵνα σταυρωθῇ, Lk. xxiii. 25 τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν. Jn, in sense (1), has it in xviii. 30, 35, comp. xix. 11, and in sense (2), xix. 16 αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. In Isaiah's Suffering Servant, παραδίδωμι occurs thrice, liii. 6 κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν (פגע hi.), liii. 12 παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ (ערה hi.)... διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη (פגע hi.). The LXX is not accurate. See *Paradosis* 1185—94.

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was governor of Judaea¹," now has simply "led him to Pilate." He omits "binding²" and "delivering over." John introduces Pilate as follows: "They lead Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the *praetorium*, and it was early³, and they themselves entered not into the *praetorium*, that they might not be defiled. . . . Pilate therefore went out unto them. . . ."

What is John's object in thus introducing Pilate to us, not as "the governor," but as the occupier of the *praetorium*? Probably he has more objects than one. In the first place, by mentioning the official residence before the name of the resident, he prepares us for finding that resident a mere official, without much strength of character. The same thing is perhaps suggested by the fact that John follows Mark in never calling him "governor⁴." Also he makes plain to his readers—what

¹ Lk. iii. 1 and comp. xiii. 1.

² Acts iv. 25—7 quotes Ps. ii. 2 as referring to "Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel," but *stops short before the words* (R.V.) "[saying] *Let us break their bands asunder.*" The insertion of "saying" makes the enemies of the Messiah say "let us break the bands [of the Lord and His Messiah]." This is the view of the Midrash *ad loc.* and Rashi. But Origen, on Mt. xxvii. 2 "binding" (as also Jerome on the Psalm), assigns the words to Jesus, the Messiah, whom he compares to Samson (and so pseudo-Jerome on Mk xv. 1). Possibly Luke's adoption of the Jewish interpretation of the Psalm was among the reasons that induced him to refrain from mentioning the "binding."

Mk xv. 1, Mt. xxvii. 1 συμβούλιον corresponds to Ps. ii. 2 "*take-counsel* (נוסח) together," from סִדַּר but prob. connected by Aq. (ἐπαρρησιάζαντο) with סִדֵּר (see Gesen. 414 a, 691 a).

³ Jn xviii. 28 πρωί, freq. in Mk but never in Lk. It is a vague term since it may mean (Hesych.) "before the fit time," and not "early in the day." In Jn xx. 1 (Jn's only other instance) it is defined by σκοτίας ἐτι οὔσης. Here perhaps Jn implies an unseasonable earliness.

⁴ Yet ἡγεμόν was a Hebraized and Aramaicized word (Levy i. 451 a); and "governors" are mentioned along with "kings" in words of Christ (Mk xiii. 9, Mt. x. 18, Lk. xxi. 12). Also 1 Pet. ii. 13—14 εἴτε βασιλεῖ. . . εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις expressly inculcates obedience to them "for the Lord's sake," as being the king's ministers for justice. But perhaps for this very reason John

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Mark does not make quite plain later on—that the *praetorium* is the official residence of the Roman governor¹. Luke in the Acts used the phrase “*Herod’s praetorium*”². And here he, alone of the Evangelists, represents Jesus as having been sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas³. He has probably been misled by the use of the term *praetorium*, which, when Hebraized, is so often used for “palace,” and is so similarly spelt, that modern authorities differ sometimes as to which of the two meanings is intended⁴.

As regards the technical term for “delivering over,” used so frequently by Jesus about Himself in the Synoptists, we have to note here (as often elsewhere) that the act may be regarded in different aspects. It is the act of the traitor Judas. But it is also the act of God “delivering over” His Son to suffer death for men, in which sense it is applied to the Suffering Servant thrice in the LXX version of Isaiah. No evangelist so clearly as John brings out the various meanings of this “delivering over.” Pilate says to Jesus “Thine own nation... have delivered thee over to me⁵”; and afterwards Pilate “delivered him over to them to be crucified⁶.” Beside this, Jesus Himself uses the word. Had it not been, He says to Pilate, for something that was not from this world, “my servants would be fighting that I might not be delivered over to the Jews⁷,” and again “Thou wouldest have no authority against

will not give Pilate this honourable title since he made himself the minister of the multitude for injustice.

¹ Mk xv. 16

Mt. xxvii. 27

Lk. om.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς
αἰλῆς, ὃ ἔστιν πραιτώ-
ριον, καὶ συνκαλοῦσιν
ὅλην τὴν σπείραν.

Τότε οἱ στρατιῶται
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραλα-
βόντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ
πραιτώριον συνήγαγον
ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὅλην τὴν
σπείραν.

This might give the impression that the *praetorium* was a part of the barracks of the soldiers.

² Acts xxiii. 35.

³ Lk. xxiii. 7.

⁴ See above, p. 483, n. 1.

⁵ Jn xviii. 35.

⁶ Jn xix. 16.

⁷ Jn xviii. 36 ἡγωνίζοντο αὐν. Chrys. has ἡγωνίσαντο αὐν “would have fought.” But the imperf. more vividly expresses the meaning

me except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me over to thee hath greater sin¹." Finally, Jesus, on the cross, as His last act, "delivered over his spirit²."

As regards the binding of Jesus, the allusions of Justin Martyr, Barnabas, and Tertullian, above quoted, shew that the subject had been typically regarded at an early period in the second century and probably in the first³; and we have seen that Justin and Tertullian connect the "binding" with Pilate's sending Jesus to Herod. John, by twice mentioning the act, and in neither case in any connection with Pilate, seems to say "There was no such sending to Herod. The binding was, first, when the soldiers in conjunction with the officers of the chief priests arrested Jesus, and, secondly, when Annas sent Jesus to Caiaphas."

§ 2. *The charge of claiming to be a king*

Mark and Matthew introduce this charge as being mentioned by Pilate, before it was mentioned by the Jews, as soon as Jesus was "delivered over to him": "Thou art [it seems] *the King of the Jews*⁴?" Luke places the charge of the Jews first, so worded as to suggest that the claim to be "king"—though concealed under the Jewish title "Anointed," *i.e.* Messiah, or Christ—would interfere practically with "Caesar" and with Caesar's "tribute": "We found this man perverting our nation and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is *Christos, King*⁵." It seems clear that the Jews must have

"would be [*even now*] fighting" (comp. Mt. xxvi. 53 "even now... more than twelve legions of angels").

¹ Jn xix. 11.

² Jn xix. 30.

³ Justin Martyr quotes Is. iii. 10 in *Tryph.* §§ 17, 133 "Let us bind," but § 136 "Let us take away," and then again § 137 "Let us take away," saying "At the commencement of the discussion I added what your version has, '*Let us bind*'." It is prob. that "he is distasteful (δυσχρηστος) to us"—nowhere in LXX except Is. iii. 10 and Wisd. ii. 12—conveyed to the ears of Christians a play on words, "He is no *Chrēstos* or *Christos* to us." See *Beginning* pp. 336—41.

⁴ Mk xv. 2, Mt. xxvii. 11 Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

⁵ Lk. xxiii. 2.

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said to Pilate something of this kind, which Mark has passed over, and we have to ask what, if anything, John says about it.

What John says, John has prepared the way for, very early in his Gospel, by telling us that Christ's first convert, Andrew, called Him "Messiah"; and that "Messiah" meant Christos or Anointed; and that Nathanael said to Jesus "Thou art God's Son, thou art Israel's King"; and that the five thousand whom Jesus had fed on loaves and fishes desired to snatch Jesus away to "make him king" by force; and, later on, he has represented the crowds as shouting "the King of Israel" when Jesus rode into Jerusalem, and has quoted the words of a Hebrew prophet about the "King" that was to "come," riding, not upon a horse but "on an ass¹." Thus he has shewn us how easy it would be to pervert Christ's claim to be King of Israel into a claim to be King of Judaea. At the former claim Rome would smile; the latter claim Rome would speedily crush.

Now he tells us, in effect, that Mark and Matthew have omitted the charges brought by the Jews against Jesus outside the *praetorium* before Pilate began to examine Jesus inside the *praetorium*. The Jewish charges, as stated by John, were at first quite vague, merely asserting that Jesus was an "evil-doer²"; but John himself implies that the Jews must have added some mention of a claim to be "king," since the first words uttered by Pilate on re-entering the palace are "Thou art, [it seems,] the King of the Jews³?" This, however, does not amount to any such definite accusation as that specified by Luke, of making such a claim as would interfere with Caesar's "tribute." It is not easy to see how the Jews could have ventured to bring this particular charge in view of the fact that Jesus had recently and publicly said "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." In bringing it, would they not have risked an ignominious failure, since Jesus might have appealed triumphantly to indisputable facts disproving their accusation?

It seems probable that Luke, in trying to supply what Mark

¹ Jn i. 41, 49, vi. 15, xii. 13—15. In Mk xv. 32, Mt. xxvii. 42, βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ—the only Synoptic instance—is uttered by mockers. Lk. never uses the title.

² Jn xviii. 30.

³ Jn xviii. 33 Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

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omitted, has ingeniously put into the mouths of the Jews such words as would be likely to weigh with a Roman governor, but not quite those actually uttered. John endeavours, in a dialogue between Jesus and Pilate, to supply the deficiency afresh and to help us to understand the circumstances: "Pilate was not taken in. He knew that the charges hypocritically suggested by the Jews were false. Everything turned on the meaning of 'king.' And Pilate knew this and felt Jesus to be a real 'king,' but not such a one as would interfere with Caesar's tribute. Pilate, though no Stoic, knew well the Stoic doctrine that every wise man is a king¹."

But it may be asked, "Was there such a dialogue? If there was, why did the Synoptists omit it?" Possibly, as will appear in the next section, because they were influenced by the prophecy that the suffering Messiah would be "dumb," and "not open his mouth." But further, in the interval between Mark's brief statements that Pilate (1) "*questioned*" and (2) "*questioned again*," there is room for a going forth of Pilate from Jesus inside the *praetorium* to the Jews outside the *praetorium*, and for a preliminary questioning inside the *praetorium*, in which Jesus may have uttered more than is assigned to Him by the Synoptists².

¹ Philo (i. 306, 601, 691, ii. 657) descants amply on this doctrine. And comp. Horace *Epist.* i. i. 59—60 "*Rex eris... si recte facies*," and *Odes* iv. ix. 39—42 "He is a consul, and a consul more than once, whenever, like a good and just judge, he rejects the bribes of the guilty, and prefers honour to expedience."

² Mk xv. 2—5 (a) "And Pilate questioned him [inside the *praetorium*] Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answering saith unto him, Thou (σὺ) sayest." The emphatic "thou" might be taken as "*Thou of thine own accord*" (comp. Jn xviii. 34 ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ σὺ τοῦτο λέγεις; "Dost thou, of thyself, say this?"). (b) "And [when Pilate went out outside] the chief priests began to bring many accusations against him." (c) "But Pilate [coming back] again began to question him...." (d) "But Jesus no longer made any answer." "No longer" is peculiar to Mark. It suggests that Christ's previous reply was not confined to σὺ λέγεις. John may have taken σὺ, in σὺ λέγεις, in two senses, (xviii. 34) "*thou of thyself*" (xviii. 37) "*thou, not I.*"

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If He did, we may infer what He would have said here from what He says elsewhere, teaching that His Kingdom was the Kingdom of Righteousness and that His followers were to "*sit on thrones*" judging in righteousness¹.

Jesus would not have softened down His claim to represent the Kingdom of God by suggesting that He was only "a king" so far as He was a "wise man." Much more than this is implied in the words "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is [sprung] from the truth hearkeneth unto my voice²." This implies a claim to sovereignty over the consciences of men such as Jesus might have actually asserted and Pilate might have partially and faintly felt to be not without some basis of truth, if only Pilate had believed in the existence of any ascertainable truth at all. There is certainly something that seems above ordinary dramatic imagination in the combination of the three consecutive Pilatian utterances, the first, personal, that of the undignified, wayward and flighty individual, Pilate, dropping the character of "judge" and wearily asking "What is truth?" the second, judicial, that of the Roman governor, "I find no crime in him"; the third, political, or quasi-political, that of the respecter of persons and truckler to the multitude, "Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews³?"

§ 3. *Christ's silence before His judges*

The Evangelists all agree that Jesus was silent before His judges at a certain stage in their questioning; but none of them say that He was absolutely silent except Luke, and Luke limits his statement to the examination conducted by Herod,

¹ Mt. xix. 28, Lk. xxii. 30, comp. Rev. iii. 21, 1 Pet. ii. 9.

² Jn xviii. 37.

³ Jn xviii. 38, 39. Compare, and contrast, the claim of the Cynic in Epictetus iii. 22. 49 "How do I face these [people] to whom you look up with fear and awe? Do not I treat them as slaves? Who among them, having seen me, does not feel that he is beholding *his king and master*?" Clem. Alex. 416—17 better describes spiritual sovereignty as "possessing the skill to sway willing subjects."

which he alone mentions¹. Luke uses a peculiar phrase, possibly meaning "he answered nothing [in the way of defence]," applied by Mark to Christ's silence before the High Priest, but by Matthew to His silence before Pilate². It does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament³. John, however, has a phrase, also unique in the New Testament, "he gave no answer [in the way of defence]." This he applies to Christ's silence before Pilate⁴.

At least two questions arise out of these variations. (1) How did Christians reconcile Christ's brief replies to His judges with the prophecy of Isaiah: "He opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, yea, he opened not his mouth"⁵? (2) Do the Evangelists say anything that may help us to meet such an objection as that which is suggested by a warning of Epictetus that an accused person declining to plead before his judge must be prepared to be sentenced to the cross⁶?

(1) As to the prophecy of Isaiah it is noteworthy that, although early Christian writers repeatedly quote the context of "he opened not his mouth," they mostly either do not quote

¹ Lk. xxiii. 9 ἐπηρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις ἱκανοῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ.

² Οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο. Comp. Mk xiv. 61 ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν, Mt. xxvii. 12 καὶ ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν...οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο.

³ In Goodspeed, ἀπεκρίνατο, with negative, occurs only in *Mart. Polyc.* § 8 οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, where Polycarp rejects the proposal that he should apostatize. It is probably one of many instances in the *Martyrdom* shewing that it was written (see Lightf. on *Mart. Polyc.* § 1) "according to the Gospel," that is, likening the experiences of the Martyrdom to the experiences of the Passion.

⁴ Jn xix. 9 ἀπόκρισιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, not used with a neg. elsewhere (N.T.).

⁵ Is. liii. 7 (LXX) καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκαῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθῃ, καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. This is quoted by some early writers in part, omitting the word "dumb" and the phrase "opened not his mouth," but emphasizing "led to the slaughter."

⁶ Epict. ii. 2. 20.

the phrase itself, or pass over it unexplained¹. Justin Martyr alone explains fully what he calls the cessation of the stream of utterance from Christ's lips, as a fulfilment of the Psalmist's words "My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws²," but not by reference to the "dumb" sheep in Isaiah, as to which, when he quotes the verse by itself, he quotes merely the words "was led unto death." Tertullian is an exception. According to him, in one passage, "Herod was the shearer" before whom the sheep was "dumb³." There he is justified. But in another passage he ventures to apply Isaiah's words to the partial silence before Pilate⁴. Origen gives no explanation of Christ's silence except by saying that His conduct fulfilled prophecy and that it was expedient for men that He should die⁵.

¹ Barn. § 5 includes ἄφωνος in his quotation of Is. liii. 7 but does not explain its fulfilment. Justin Martyr, when quoting Is. lii.—liii. fully, includes ἄφωνος and οὐκ ἀνοίγει without reconciling them with the Gospels. He twice (*Tryph.* §§ 111, 114) quotes Is. liii. 7 ἡχθη etc. (and perhaps *ib.* § 103) but omits the dumbness.

² Ps. xxii. 15. On this Justin says (*Tryph.* § 102) "The power of His strong word, by which He was always wont to confute the Pharisees and scribes... had a cessation, like a plentiful and strong spring the waters of which have been turned off—when He kept silence (σιγήσαντος) and would *no longer answer anything* to anyone in the presence of Pilate, as is shewn in the Memoirs of His Apostles—in order that also that which is spoken through Isaiah might have active fruit, where it is spoken (Is. l. 4) 'The Lord giveth unto me a tongue that I may know when I ought to speak a word.'" This passage is remarkable for retaining the Marcan (xv. 5) "*no longer*," σιγήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι ἐπὶ Πιλάτου ἀποκρίνασθαι μηδὲν μηδενὶ βουλομένων. I have not found this elsewhere. It is not in the *Diatessaron* (which omits Mk xv. 4—7) nor does it occur in Origen's summary of Mk xiv. 43—xv. 5 (*Comm. Joann.* xxviii. 12).

³ Tertull. *De Resurrect. Carn.* § 20.

⁴ Tertull. *Adv. Jud.* § 13 "For He, when Pilate interrogated Him, spake nothing."

⁵ Origen *Cels.* i. 54 "His Passion was prophesied along with the cause [of it] (τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ προεφητεύετο μετὰ τῆς αἰτίας) [namely] that it was beneficial for men that He should die for them and suffer the stripes (μώλωπα) that follow on condemnation." Then follows a quotation of Is. lii. 13—15, liii. 1—8, including the clause about the

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(2) Of the Synoptists, Mark alone faintly suggests that the words "*no longer* answered" imply that Jesus had *for a short time* "answered," and that the answer was something more than the two words "thou sayest [it]¹." But the parallel Matthew, "did not answer him even [in reply] to a single word," effaces this faint suggestion². Luke, later on, represents Christ's silence as complete before Herod³; but he says nothing about His silence before Pilate.

John represents Jesus as replying to Pilate freely at first on the subject of "kingdom" and on His claim to be a "king," and on the connection between this and "bearing witness unto the truth⁴." But Pilate exclaims "What is truth?" and then goes out to the Jews, and after avowing the truth, so far as he has found it ("I find no crime"), acts against the truth ("took Jesus and scourged him⁵"). This changes everything. Pilate has had his chance of "striving for the truth," as Ben Sira says, so that "the Lord" might "fight for" him⁶. But he has thrown it away. The incarnate Truth cannot now "fight for" him. When he next questions Jesus "Jesus gave him no answer⁷."

Mark and Matthew say that Pilate "wondered" at this; Luke, dealing with Herod instead of Pilate, omits the "wonder⁸."

"dumb" lamb, but not explaining in detail why Jesus was "dumb." Later on, replying to the charge of Celsus that Jesus, while alive, "did not avail (*or*, suffice for) Himself (*οὐκ ἐπήρκεσεν ἑαυτῷ*)," Origen says (*Cels.* ii. 59) "If 'suffice' means 'suffice in virtue' we shall say that He *did* 'suffice' perfectly. For He neither said nor did anything unseemly, but in truth 'like a sheep He was led...and like a lamb that is dumb...and the Gospel testifies that He 'opened not His mouth.' But if he takes 'sufficed' as referring to things neutral (*μέσων*) and corporal, then we say that we have shewn from the Gospels that He came willingly to these [sufferings]." It will be observed that Origen does not answer the question that Pilate might have put, "Why did not Jesus enlighten me?"

¹ In Mk xv. 5, "no longer" is omitted by the Syriac versions.

² Mt. xxvii. 14.

³ Lk. xxiii. 9.

⁴ Jn xviii. 37.

⁵ Jn xviii. 38, xix. 1.

⁶ Sir. iv. 28 "Strive for the truth (*or*, justice) unto death, and the Lord shall fight for thee."

⁷ Jn xix. 9.

⁸ Mk xv. 5, Mt. xxvii. 14 (Lk. xxiii. 9 om.).

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John explains it, without mentioning the word. It arises from Pilate's ignorance. The Governor angrily exclaims, "Speakest thou not unto me? Dost thou not know that I have *authority* to release thee and have *authority* to crucify thee¹?" But in reality it is Pilate who "does not know." Pilate has no "authority" of a real kind. He is a slave, a slave to the fear of ceasing to be "Caesar's friend," a slave to the desire of conciliating the mob that shouts "Not this man but Barabbas²."

The truth, said Jesus, would make men free³. But Pilate had no eye for the truth, and it was beyond even divine power to utter any words that might make him see it and make him consequently free. Hence Jesus "gave him no answer" before. And hence His only subsequent answer to the claim of this Roman governor to possess "authority," is, in effect: "You are a slave. You would like to avoid crucifying me, but you dare not, because you are afraid of what will befall you if you prefer justice to expediency. When you say you have 'authority to crucify me,' you shew that you do not know what 'authority' means⁴."

§ 4. *The Custom of Release*⁵

Mark says that Pilate "used to release" one prisoner in the course of the Feast, any one whom the multitude "begged

¹ Jn xix. 10.

² Jn xix. 12, xviii. 40.

³ Jn viii. 32.

⁴ Jn xix. 11 "Thou wouldest have no authority against me except it were given thee from above." Comp. Epict. iv. 1. 56—7, which says that freedom must have absolute authority (ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐτεξουσίῳν τι) and that if you hear one man saying to another—in his heart of hearts and in his inmost feeling—"Master," you are to set down that man as "slave," even though he be a consul with twelve lictors going before him, Ἄλλ' ἂν ἀκούσης λέγοντος ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους "κύριε," καὶ δώδεκα ῥάβδοι προάγωσι, λέγε δοῦλον.

⁵ Mk xv. 6, 8

Mt. xxvii. 15

Lk. om.

κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέ-
λευεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμιον
ὃν παρηγοῦντο... καὶ
ἀναβὰς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο
αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐποίει
αὐτοῖς.

κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν εἰώθει
ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀπολύειν ἓνα
τῷ ὄχλῳ δέσμιον ὃν
ἠθέλων.

Jn xviii. 39 ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἓνα ἓνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν [ἐν] τῷ πάσχα.

For Mk xv. 6—15 and the parallel texts, see below, p. 554.

off." Matthew says "The Governor was in the habit of releasing one [man] to the multitude, whom[soever] they would." This is not the same thing. For it implies that Pilate did this as Governor, and that the Governor before Pilate had done the same. But there is no proof of this. And Mark indicates that it was a custom of Pilate's own making, for he says "The multitude came up [to Pilate] and began to ask him to do"—not, according to precedent, or law, or ancient custom handed down from past Governors, but—"even as he used to do for them¹."

There is no evidence of any such custom of release under Roman rule. Origen, by suggesting that such remissions are allowed by conquering nations to the conquered for a short time, and "only till the yoke is firmly imposed," implies that he could find no Roman precedent for it². Jerome offers no explanation. Luke (in the correct text) omits all reference to it. It is therefore a case that calls for Johannine Intervention.

John intervenes dramatically by making Pilate mention this "custom" to "the Jews." Only he calls it not "custom" but their "*familiar practice*, or, *way*³." In reality it is Pilate's "*way*"—one of the tricks by which he kept the multitude in good humour during the critical time of Passover. He had encouraged them to "come up and beg off" a criminal. But he throws the main responsibility on them: "It is a *way* you have, that I should release to you one [prisoner] during the Passover." This means "It is your way, or perhaps I should say it is my way, since I have fallen in with it."

This exhibits Pilate in a very undignified aspect. But it is probably the true aspect. Luke, the historian, knew the practice of Roman law and government and rejected all mention of such a practice as recognised by a Roman Governor. But he

¹ In Mk xv. 8, SS has "And the people exclaimed (*ἀναβοήσας*) and began to ask that he should do [something] for them," *k*, "tota turba rogabat illum quot faciebat in singulis diebus festis ut dimitteret unū custodiam"; *a* and inferior Gk MSS ins. *ἀεὶ* before *ἐποίησεν*.

² Origen (on Mt. xxvii. 15) gives no precedent except the intervention of Israel with Saul (1 S. xiv. 45) to save Jonathan's life

³ *Συνήθεια*, in N.T. elsewhere only in 1 Cor. viii. 7, xi. 16 (in bad sense).

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was no dramatist and did not know Pilate. The words here imputed to Pilate were, not improbably, uttered just as they stand. Whether uttered or not, they explain the facts. And it is an instance of Johannine Intervention¹.

§ 5. *Barabbas*²

Mark and Matthew here break their narrative of pending facts to describe a pre-existing fact, namely, that there had

¹ [Lk. xxiii. 17] (W. H. om.) placed by D after Lk. xxiii. 19, has *ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς ἓνα*. John's view includes a protest against the notion that there was any *ἀνάγκη*.

² Mk xv. 6—15
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvii. 15—26
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiii. 13—25
(R.V.)

(6) Now at the (or, a) feast he used to release unto them one prisoner, whom they asked of him.

(15) Now at the (or, a) feast the governor was wont to release unto the multitude one prisoner, whom they would.

(7) And there was one called Barabbas, [lying] bound with them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder.

(16) And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas.

(8) And the multitude went up and began to ask him [to do] as he was wont to do unto them.

(9) And Pilate answered them, saying, Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?

(10) For he perceived that for envy the chief priests had delivered him up.

(17) When therefore they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?

(18) For he knew that for envy they had delivered him up.

(19) And while he was sitting on the judgment-seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou

(13) And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

(14) And said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:

(15) No, nor yet Herod: for he sent

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been lying in prison for some time a man called Barabbas,

Mk xv. 6—15
(R.V.) *contd.*

(11) But the chief priests stirred up the multitude, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them.

(12) And Pilate again answered and said unto them, What then shall I do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews?

(13) And they cried out again, Crucify him.

(14) And Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out exceedingly, Crucify him.

(15) And Pilate, wishing to content the multitude, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.

Mt. xxvii. 15—26
(R.V.) *contd.*

nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

(20) Now the chief priests and the elders persuaded the multitudes that they should ask for Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.

(21) But the governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? And they said, Barabbas.

(22) Pilate saith unto them, What then shall I do unto Jesus which is called Christ? They all say, Let him be crucified.

(23) And he said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out exceedingly, saying, Let him be crucified.

(24) So when Pilate saw that he prevailed nothing, but rather that a tumult was arising, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of

Lk. xxiii. 13—25
(R.V.) *contd.*

him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him.

(16) I will therefore chastise him, and release him.

[(17) *Many anc. auth. insert* Now he must needs release unto them at the feast one [prisoner]. *Others add the same words after ver. 19.*]

(18) But they cried out all together, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:

(19) One who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.

(20) And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus;

(21) But they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him.

(22) And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and release him.

(23) But they were instant with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their voices prevailed.

(24) And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done.

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whose full name was probably Jesus Barabbas¹. This man

Mt. xxvii. 15—26
(R.V.) *contd.*

this righteous man
(*some anc. auth.* of
this blood): see ye
[to it].

(25) And all the
people answered and
said, His blood [be]
on us, and on our
children.

(26) Then released
he unto them Barab-
bas: but Jesus he
scourged and deliver-
ed to be crucified.

Lk. xxiii. 13—25
(R.V.) *contd.*

(25) And he re-
leased him that for
insurrection and mur-
der had been cast in-
to prison, whom they
asked for; but Jesus
he delivered up to
their will.

Jn xviii. 39—40, xix. 6, 15—16 (R.V.): (xviii. 39) But ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the passover: will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews? (40) They cried out therefore again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber.

(xix. 6) When therefore the chief priests and the officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify [him], crucify [him]. Pilate saith unto them, Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find no crime in him.... (15) They therefore cried out, Away with [him], away with [him], crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. (16) Then therefore he delivered him unto them to be crucified.

¹ Mk xv. 7

ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος
Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στα-
σιαστῶν δεδεμένος οἵ-
τινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον
πεποιήκεισαν.

Mt. xxvii. 16

εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον
ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον Βα-
ραββᾶν.

Lk. xxiii. 18 b—19

Αἶρε τοῦτον, ἀπό-
λυσον δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Βα-
ραββᾶν· ὅστις ἦν διὰ
στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον
βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ.

In Mt. xxvii. 16, SS has "And there had been imprisoned by them one well-known man whose name was Jesus Bar Abba; he was lying in prison because of evil [deeds] that he had done, and he had committed murder."

Origen, on Mt. xxvii. 16—18, quotes Pilate's question with "*Jesus Barabbas*," but adds, "In many copies it is not found that Barabbas was also called Jesus—and perhaps rightly, *that the name of Jesus may not belong to a sinner*." This thought would doubtless induce many scribes to omit "Jesus" before Barabbas. But the sense appears to be improved by the insertion. For other evidence of this reading

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the Jews put forward as their candidate for the customary release, asking for Jesus who was called Barabbas, instead of that Jesus whom they accused (according to Luke) of calling Himself "Christos"—literally "anointed," but explained by the accusers as "king." Apparently, there had been a recent insurrection so fresh in men's minds that they called it "*the* insurrection"; and this man, says Mark, was "lying bound along with *the* insurrectionists who in *the* insurrection had committed murder." Matthew drops all this, perhaps as being obsolete and forgotten. Luke drops "*the*," but retains the rest of the Marcan tradition in view of the impending inconsistency of Pilate, in pardoning Barabbas, a rebel and shedder of blood, while executing Jesus, who was innocent on both these counts. The Lucan result is somewhat tame in its termination: "Away with this man, but release for us Barabbas—who by reason of some insurrection that had befallen in the city and [by reason of] murder, had been cast into prison."

John drops the reference to "insurrection" and "murder" which Mark and Luke have in common. He also makes no mention of a verbal antithesis between "Jesus Barabbas" and "Jesus the Christ, or, King." But he suggests a spiritual antithesis between the two by a short but pregnant addition: "Now Barabbas was a *robber*¹." For this he has prepared the

see Nicholson's *Gospel according to the Hebrews* p. 141. W.H., who reject it, did not know of SS.

Matthew's peculiar use of *ἐπίσημος* may be connected with "*Jesus Barabbas*." *Ἐπίσημος* is used of conspicuous excellence (as always in Goodspeed) except where very special context requires the opposite meaning. This is the only instance of it in N.T. (except Rom. xvi. 7). But it is used technically about the name "*Jesus*" by Irenaeus (referring to Valentinian doctrine), who says i. 14. 4 Ἰησοῦς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπίσημον ὄνομα (see *Notes* 2942* (i) l). This suggests that scribes, "in order that the name of '*Jesus*' might not belong to a sinner," substituted for it "*Episēmos*."

In canon. LXX, *ἐπίσημος* occurs only in Gen. xxx. 42 "stronger," particip. of קשׁר. In Gen. xxx. 41, Aq. renders this same Heb. "bound," καταδεδμεένος. Elsewhere it is used of those "bound together in conspiracy" (Gesen. 905). I cannot explain why LXX renders it once by *ἐπίσημος*, but the fact seems worth noting.

¹ Jn xviii. 40 Μὴ τοῦτον ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαραββᾶν· ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαραββᾶς ληστής.

way in previous words of Jesus: "All that came before me are *thieves and robbers*¹." The Synoptists, too, have prepared for it in words of Jesus accusing the Jews of converting the Temple into "a den of *robbers*²." Both in Greek and in Hebrew there is a natural antithesis between a "robber" and a "king." The "robbers" mentioned by Jesus are, in Hebrew, "breakers" as distinct from makers. A "robber," in Greek, is a "spoiler and ravager" as distinct from a hereditary ruler. The "robber" breaks up all peace and order to gratify his own greedy and disorderly desires. Demosthenes means this when he warns the Athenians that they are suffering Philip of Macedon to "grow up in the midst of Hellas, *robber* of the Hellenes³."

It is perhaps because of the antithesis between "Jesus *Barabbas*" and "Jesus called *king*" that Mark represents Pilate as saying to the Jews "Will ye that I release unto you *the King of the Jews?*" and again "What then shall I do to *him whom ye call the King of the Jews?*" Matthew alters this in both cases, and Luke departs from it altogether⁴. John, on the other hand, admits that Pilate spoke thus, but explains, and, after a fashion, justifies it. The Jews, he says, expressly told Pilate to alter "*the King of the Jews,*" saying "Write not '*the King of the Jews,*' but that he said '*I am King of the Jews.*'" But Pilate persisted in his error, replying "What I have written I have written⁵."

All the Evangelists but Matthew introduce the popular rebel thus, with the article, as "the [great] *Barabbas*."

¹ Jn x. 8, on which see *Joh. Gr.* 2361—2, 2798 d.

² Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46 quoting Jerem. vii. 11 פְּרָצִים on which see Gesen. 829, shewing that the radical meaning is "break violently," "rend in pieces" etc., hence applied also to murderers and (Is. xxxv. 9) "wild beasts."

³ Demosth. 140, *Philipp.* iv. 34 τοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐγγὺς οὕτως ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι αὐξανόμενου ληστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

⁴ Mk xv. 9 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Mt. xxvii. 17 Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, Mk xv. 12 ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Mt. xxvii. 22 Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν. In Mk, W.H. bracket ὃν. B omits it, perhaps taking λέγετε parenthetically "What (say ye)?" and several authorities omit ὃν λέγετε. But these alterations seem to be corruptions for the sake of removing the objection that Pilate is saying what is palpably false.

⁵ Jn xix. 21—2.

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The meaning of this is apparently mystical. The Jews had, in reality, rejected their true Saviour and King, Jesus, the Prince of Peace, and had preferred a false saviour and king, Jesus Barabbas, the "robber." Pilate unconsciously records this fact. It is against his own interest and dignity that he, a Roman Judge, should give the name of "king" to a Pretender. When he had said to the Jews "Shall I crucify your king?" they replied "We have no king but Caesar¹." Pilate, then, ought to have altered the title as the Jews suggested. But, while flightily indulging himself in a jest at the expense of the hypocrites whom he felt obliged to conciliate, Pilate writes the real truth although he does not know it, instead of the Jewish falsehood. John does not justify Pilate in writing what he writes; but he justifies Providence, so to speak, in making him write it.

§ 6. *The scourging of Jesus*²

The "scourging" of Jesus—described by Mark and Matthew uniquely as "flagellation"—is omitted by the parallel Luke.

¹ Jn xix. 15.

² Mk xv. 15

ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος βου-
λόμενος τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ
ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ἀπέλυσεν
αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, καὶ
παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν
φραγελλώσας ἵνα σταυ-
ρωθῇ.

Mt. xxvii. 26

τότε ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς
τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ
Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας
παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυ-
ρωθῇ.

Lk. xxiii. 24—25

καὶ Πειλᾶτος ἐπέ-
κρινεν γενέσθαι τὸ
αἶτημα αὐτῶν· ἀπέλυσεν
δὲ τὸν διὰ στάσιν καὶ
φόνον βεβλημένον εἰς
φυλακὴν ὃν ἡτοῦντο, τὸν
δὲ Ἰησοῦν παρέδωκεν τῷ
θελήματι αὐτῶν.

Jn xix. 1 Τότε οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ Πειλᾶτος τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐμαστίγωνσεν.

Jn xix. 15—16 ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς Οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλεία εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα. τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.

Mark and Matthew do not say to whom Jesus was "delivered over." Literally, it would be to the soldiers whose task it was to perform the execution. But Luke says it was "to the will (τῷ θελήματι)" of those previously described as (xxiii. 13) "*the chief priests and the rulers and the people*." John implies that it was "*the chief priests*" alone who cried "We have no king but Caesar" and it was *to them* that Jesus was delivered over. This agrees with a free interpretation of Mk xv. 11, Mt. xxvii. 20, which says that "*the chief priests*" (Mt. adds "the elders") were the instigators of the multitude. Luke omitted this passage of Mk-Mt. Perhaps Luke

In Roman practice it usually occurred, as Mark and Matthew place it, immediately before execution¹. John places a "scourging," called by the usual Greek term, much earlier. The Johannine scourging is certainly not described by John as a preliminary to execution, and seems rather to have been intended, together with the crown and purple, as an appeal to the contemptuous pity of the multitude. John mentions no other subsequent scourging.

This raises a question about the meaning of a Lucan phrase "*having chastised*," which is the Lucan equivalent for "flagellating" or "scourging." Luke represents Pilate as saying twice about Jesus "*Having therefore chastised him* I will release him²." It follows in both cases a statement that Pilate has "*found nothing worthy (or, no cause) of death*" in the accused³. But Pilate has previously made a fuller statement of acquittal than this, "*I find no cause [of condemnation] in this man*⁴." It is possible, therefore, that Pilate means "At first I said 'Not guilty on *any* charge'; now I say 'Not guilty on *any capital* charge.' He may possibly have been guilty of some small offence. I will therefore merely chastise him and then let him go." But, on the other hand, Pilate's meaning may be, "Having already given him chastisement, a sufficient punishment for

interpreted Mk xv. 15 as meaning that Pilate "desired to satisfy the multitude" by *delivering Jesus to them for execution*, as well as by releasing Barabbas. But more probably Mark's meaning is that Pilate delivered over Jesus for execution in the usual way, that is, to the soldiers. The multitude went off, rejoicing, with Barabbas; the chief priests and their officers and other followers stayed to view the crucifixion.

Mk xv. 15 βουλόμενος invites comparison with Lk. xxiii. 20 θέλων. Pilate would have "*liked (θέλων)*" to "release" Jesus, but he "*desired (βουλόμενος)*," and finally made up his mind, to "satisfy the multitude."

¹ On the Roman practice of scourging before execution see Swete quoting Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 14. 9, v. 11. 1, Lucian *reviv.* ad init. ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεσκολοπίσθαι δοκεῖ αὐτὸν νῆ Δία μαστιγωθέντα γε πρότερον.

² Lk. xxiii. 16, 22 παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

³ Lk. xxiii. 15 καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ, xxiii. 22 οὐδὲν αἴτιον θανάτου εἶρον ἐν αὐτῷ.

⁴ Lk. xxiii. 4 οὐδὲν εὕρισκω αἴτιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ.

any minor offence against discretion and order, I will now let him go."

Such a scourging would seem to be irregular. But in the Acts we find Paul on one occasion tied up for scourging, not as being guilty, but only with the view of ascertaining guilt or innocence¹. Pilate's whole conduct was flighty and irregular, and the "chastisement" may have been an instance of his irregularities. In any case John seems to have in view the anticlimax in the three Lucan declarations, and the drop from perfect to imperfect acquittal. John says, in effect, "There was no such anticlimax. Pilate did not begin by saying 'Not guilty,' and then say 'Not guilty on a capital charge.' Three times over Pilate repeated, in effect, 'I find *no guilt* in him².'"

According to this view, Mark has placed the "flagellation" in the order in which it would have come if the regular Roman practice had been followed. Luke has expressed himself ambiguously as to the time of the punishment, but has given the impression that it was of a milder kind than "flagellation." John has recognised that it was earlier than Mark supposed, and that it was an undignified freak by which Pilate hoped to get Jesus off while keeping the Jews in good humour. But John also recognised that this freak fulfilled the will of Providence. The fulfilment was lost in the Marcan word "flagellation." But John substitutes "*scourge*." Thereby he suggests the words of Isaiah in LXX "I gave my back to *scourges*³."

Luke and John both omit statements of Mark about Pilate's motives—"He began to understand [Matthew, knew] that through envy the chief priests had delivered him up," and "Pilate, desiring to satisfy the multitude⁴." Also John omits Luke's description of Pilate as "wishing to release Jesus⁵."

¹ Acts xxii. 25—9, "The chief captain also was afraid when he knew"—not "that he was uncondemned," but—"that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."

² Jn xviii. 38 ἐγὼ οὐδὲμίαν ἐύρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν, slightly varied in xix. 4, 6, see *Joh. Gr.* 2553 d.

³ Is. l. 6 (LXX) τὸν νῶτόν μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας.

⁴ Mk xv. 10, Mt. xxvii. 18, Mk xv. 15.

⁵ Lk. xxiii. 20; see above, p. 559, n. 2 *ad fin.*

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John's omissions are dramatic, like his omission of the Mark-Matthew tradition that the chief priests persuaded the multitude to ask for the release of Barabbas¹. He does not contradict all these Synoptic statements. But he prefers to convey their truth to us by shewing us the characters on the stage and leaving us to infer their motives from their actions and words.

There is one important Johannine detail not to be found in any of the Synoptists: "When Pilate heard this"—namely, the charge of the Jews that Jesus "made himself the Son of God"—"he was the more afraid²." This implies that he had been to some extent afraid before. Opinions will vary as to the historical truth of this. It was of course to be expected that later Christian accounts of the acts of Pilate should represent the Roman Governor as shewing occasional respect for Jesus—and even fear—by details of word and deed that cannot be accepted as true. And in Matthew's Gospel, the story of Pilate's wife's vision and of his consequent action is justifiably doubted by many. Yet to many also, and those not credulous students, it will seem that such a one as Pilate sitting in judgment on such a one as Jesus, could not but feel some occasional touches of doubt and fear as to the verdict to be pronounced, and the person on whom he was to pronounce it.

¹ Mk xv. 11, Mt. xxvii. 20.

² Jn xix. 8.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MOCKING AND THE CRUCIFIXION

[Mark xv. 16—37]

§ I. *The "purple" or "scarlet," and the "crown"*¹

THE "mocking" of Jesus by "the soldiers," called expressly by Matthew, and implied to be by Mark, "the soldiers of the

¹
Mk xv. 16—20
(R.V.)

(16) And the soldiers led him away within the court, which is the *Praetorium* (*or*, palace); and they call together the whole band (*or*, cohort).

(17) And they clothe him with purple, and plaiting a crown of thorns, they put it on him.

(18) And they began to salute him, Hail, King of the Jews!

(19) And they smote his head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him.

(20) And when they had mocked him, they took off from him the purple, and put on him his garments. And they lead him out to crucify him.

Mt. xxvii. 27—31
(R.V.)

(27) Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the palace (*lit.* *Praetorium*) and gathered unto him the whole band (*or*, cohort).

(28) And they stripped (*some anc. auth. read* clothed) him, and put on him a scarlet robe.

(29) And they plaited a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand; and they kneeled down before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews!

(30) And they spat upon him, and took the reed and smote him on the head.

(31) And when they had mocked him, they took off from him the robe, and put on him his garments, and led him away to crucify him.

Lk. om., but comp.
xxiii. 11—12, 26
(R.V.)

(11) And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous apparel sent him back to Pilate.

(12) And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

(26) And when they led him away, ..

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governor," is omitted by Luke, who has in its place a "mocking" by Herod "with his armed-men." The latter, though brief, has one detail in common with Mark and Matthew, namely, a reference to clothing. This is variously expressed¹. In Mark, "they clothe him with purple²"; in Matthew, "they stripped him and put round him a scarlet³ *chlamys* (or, military

Jn xix. 1—3, 16 (R.V.) (1) Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him. (2) And the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and arrayed him in a purple garment; (3) and they came unto him, and said, Hail, King of the Jews! and they struck him with their hands (or, with rods)... (16) Then therefore he delivered him unto them to be crucified.

¹ Mk xv. 17

καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν
αὐτὸν πορφύραν καὶ
περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέ-
ξαντες ἀκανθίνον στέ-
φανον.

Mt. xxvii. 28—29 a

καὶ ἐκδύσαντες
(marg. ἐνδύσαντες) αὐ-
τὸν χλαμίδα κοκκίνην
περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ, καὶ
πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ
ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ
τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ.

Lk. xxiii. 11

ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν
(marg. + καὶ) ὁ Ἡρώδης
σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας
περιβαλὼν ἐσθήτα λαμ-
πρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν
τῷ Πιλάτῳ.

Mk περιτιθέασιν, "put round," differs from Mt. ἐπέθηκαν "put on." Barnabas § 7 uses both words (see p. 567, n. 1) in describing the scapegoat with its *scarlet* as the type of Christ. Comp. Lev. xvi. 21 "put them upon (ἐπιθήσει) the head of the goat," and see p. 569, n. 2 on the connection between Lev. xvi. 21 and Is. i. 18 "sins...scarlet."

Jn xix. 2 καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν.

² Mk xv. 17, 20 πορφύραν. Used in Gospels elsewhere only in Lk. xvi. 19 "purple and fine linen," about the clothing of Dives. If Mark's word conveyed that meaning to Luke he would naturally not use it here. But Mark probably uses it to mean "imperial purple." (1) The context favours this; (2) *porphyrā* or *porphirā* is recognised by Krauss (p. 435) as a Hebraized word meaning in abundant instances "imperial purple" and hardly ever mere "purple [colour]"; (3) comp. Lucan *Phars.* vii. 228 "omnis Latio quae servit *purpurea* ferro"; (4) Plutarch *Mor.* 184 E προσφερομένης τῆς πορφύρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος and *ib.* 790 B (where it is connected with "diadem") τὸ μὲν διάδημα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, ἱμάτιον δ' ἀναλαβόντα καὶ καμπύλην, shew its technical use in Greek.

³ Mt. xxvii. 28 κοκκίνην. A "scarlet tunic (χιτὼν κόκκινος)" is said by Plutarch *Vit.* 182 E (*Fab.* 15) to have been suspended over a Roman General's tent as the signal for action. Epict. iii. 22. 10, iv. 11. 34 speaks of "wearing scarlet" as implying fine clothes. But it is not alleged as used for imperial or royal clothing.

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cloak)¹"; in Luke, Herod "throws round him fine raiment"—a vague expression and ambiguously used so as to leave the reader in doubt whether this "fine raiment" is, or is not, still worn by Jesus when sent back to Pilate². In John—who agrees partly with Mark but rather more with Matthew—the soldiers "threw round him a purple cloak (*or, robe*)."³ This takes place before the sentence to death. Pilate, bringing Jesus out thus clothed, says "Behold, I bring him out to you that ye may know that I find no crime in him³." Then he says "Behold, the man!" This appears to be an instance of Johannine irony. By "the man" Pilate means "the poor man," or "this harmless creature, who fancies himself a king." But God, speaking through Pilate, means "The ideal Man," "The Man made in my image and after my likeness⁴."

The "crown of thorns," mentioned by Mark and Matthew in R.V. and omitted by Luke, is, in fact, described by Mark as

In LXX it is mostly represented by *תולעה* (Gesen. 1069 *a*, worm, coccus ilicis) with or without *שני* "scarlet" (Gesen. 1040 *b*). In Is. i. 18 "Though your sins be as *scarlet* (*שנים*, LXX *φοινικοῦν*) they shall be white like snow, though they be red (*יארמים*) like the [*scarlet*] worm (Heb. *תולע*, Targ. *זהורית* *bright*, or *crimson*, LXX *κόκκινον*) they shall be as wool (*ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ*)," *תולע* is uniquely rendered "crimson."

¹ Mt. xxvii. 28 *χλαμύδα*. *Χλαμύς* does not occur in LXX except 2 Macc. xii. 35 of a military cloak. But in 1 S. xxiv. 5 *מעיל* (Gesen. 591 *b*) LXX *διπλοῖδος*, Sym. has *χλαμύδος*, Theod. *ἱματίου*, Aq. ? *ἐνδύματος*. SS omits *ἐκδύσαντες* and has "they clothed him (? *ἐνδυσαντες* for *εκδυσαντες*) with garments of scarlet and of purple." By the *χλαμύς* the soldiers *actually* extemporised an imperial robe, but *typically* (Mt.) they signified the "scarlet" on the scapegoat; see p. 567.

² In Lk. xxiii. 11 if the writer intended to describe three acts we should have expected *καὶ* to be repeated before *περιβαλὼν*. The omission of it indicates that Lk. punctuated thus: *Ἐξουθενήσας δὲ... καὶ ἐμπαΐσας—περιβαλὼν... λαμπράν—ἀνέπεμψεν*, i.e. "having mocked him by clothing him in fine apparel." *Ἐσθῆς λαμπρά* is used (Steph. *Thes.* v. 86) in Plut. *Μορ.* 144 D of white or light-coloured clothing as distinct from *φοινκίδας* "red clothing," and in Polyb. x. 4. 8 and x. 5. 1, and elsewhere, of the whitened toga of candidates for office. But it also means "fine clothing" in general. Delitzsch renders *λαμπράν* by *זהורית*, "bright" or "crimson," which (Levy i. 516) is "often" used of the scarlet on the scapegoat.

³ Jn xix. 2—4.

⁴ Jn xix. 5. See *Joh. Gr.* 1960.

565 (Mark xv. 16—20)

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"an *acanthine* crown" and by Matthew as "from *acanthai*." In Greek literature, *stephanos*, "crown," does not denote royalty. That would be denoted by "diadem." But in LXX *stephanos* occasionally means "royal crown," and here the context indicates that it is thus intended, though extemporised from thorns¹.

There is also an unusual sense in Mark's word "*acanthine*." It is used by Herodotus and Strabo to mean "made out of the *acantha*," said to be a thorny kind of acacia². Herodotus uses "*acanthine*" about a mast made from this tree, and Strabo about cloths made from the inner bark of the *acantha*—which, however, Strabo declares to be not a tree but a low shrub³.

Barnabas mentions "the scarlet robe⁴" round Christ's body

¹ *Στέφανος* is used of a royal crown, *הַטֵּרֶץ*, in 2 S. xii. 30, parall. 1 Chr. xx. 2, and Ezek. xxi. 26, comp. Esth. viii. 15. In 2 S. i. 10 נִזְר, LXX has τὸ βασιλῆιον, Aq. ἀφόρισμα, Sym. and Theod. διάδημα. In N.T. διάδημα occurs only in Rev. xii. 3, xiii. 1, xix. 12, of the "diadems," first of the Dragon, or Beast, and then of the Faithful and True, while *στέφανος* is used in Rev. of the "crowns" of elders, and martyrs, and others, in heaven. Also in the Epistles *στέφανος* is used of the saint's crown, and sometimes with the Greek metaphor of the crown of an athlete.

The correct Greek word, missing in Mark's brief narrative, is supplied in a description by Philo of an Alexandrian crowd paying mock homage to an idiot as if he were king and putting on his head a "biblos-leaf *instead of a diadem*," and "throwing a rug round him instead of a chlamys" (ii. 522) ἦν τις μεμνηὼς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς... Συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου, καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκῆπτρου βραχὺ τι παπύρου τμήμα... ἀναδιδόασιν. Mark's context makes the meaning of *στέφανος*, royal crown, clear to English readers; but Greeks, including Luke, may have found it obscure.

Philo says that the man *διεκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα*, "had been *decked to [resemble] a king*." If we assume a tradition that Pilate "brought out Jesus *decked to [resemble] a king*," this might be taken to mean "Pilate sent Jesus *decked [out in fine clothing] to king [Herod]*."

² See L. and S.

³ See Steph. *Thes.* ἀκάνθινος quoting Herod. ii. 96, Strabo i. 3 (p. 175).

⁴ Barn. vii. 9 "Since they shall see Him then, in the [great] Day, having the scarlet robe (τὸν ποδῆρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον) round His body (*lit.* round the flesh, περὶ τὴν σάρκα)." In N.T. ποδῆρης occurs only in Rev. i. 13. In the Pentateuch (LXX) it occurs only five times, all in Exod., and all about the High Priest's clothing.

just after "the scarlet wool put round his [the scapegoat's] head¹." *He is assuming a detail, not scriptural but often mentioned in Jewish tradition—that a scarlet band placed round the scapegoat's head typified the sins of Israel, and was miraculously made white on the day of Atonement*². He does not mention the "crown of thorns," but he suggests it by asking why they place "the wool in the midst of the thorns³," after describing the goat as "the accursed [one] crowned⁴." Later Christian writers accepted "scarlet" as the sign of sin, from which Christ's blood redeemed us, but they shrank from the type of the scarlet on the scapegoat, preferring the "scarlet line in the window" of Rahab. Barnabas, however, guides us to a different and perhaps earlier type, according to which Christ, wearing "the chlamys," was not wearing a king's "purple" robe but the scapegoat's "scarlet" thread.

We pass to traditions about judging, such as "They clothed Him with purple and seated Him on a seat of judgment saying, *Judge justly, King of Israel*⁵"; and Justin Martyr's illustration of the Passion from Isaiah (LXX) "*They ask of me now judgment*⁶."

¹ Barn. vii. 8 καὶ περιβέτε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ... ἄγει ὁ βασιλεύων τὸν τράγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἔριον καὶ ἐπιτίθῃσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον ῥαχία, where see Harnack's note on ρῖϗ "hill-ridge," "back-bone" = ῥαχία, which the writer combines with the thought of ἄκανθα.

² See below, p. 569, n. 2.

³ Barn. vii. 11 τί δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἔριον μέσον τῶν ἀκανθῶν τιθέασιν; τύπος ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θέμενος. The Latin renders θέμενος passively, "being appointed." But the middle ("having appointed," as in Barn. vi. 10, ix. 9) makes sense if we read θεμένου and suppose that Jesus or Joshua "appointed" the sign. This is suggested by Justin M. *Tryph.* § 111 "The sign of (Josh. ii. 18) the scarlet thread which the spies sent by Jesus, son of Nun, gave in Jericho to Rahab the harlot"—that is, Jesus "appointed" it through his agents. Rahab's thread is similarly typified by Clem. Rom. § 12, Iren. iv. 20. 12 etc. Even in N.T., a tradition, not based on O.T., about a purifying "scarlet" is found in Heb. ix. 19 "scarlet wool" (see p. 605, n. 2).

⁴ Barn. vii. 9 τὸν ἐπικατάρατον ἐστεφανωμένον.

⁵ *Evangel. Petr.* § 3 perhaps alluding to Is. lviii. 2 (LXX).

⁶ Justin M. *Apol.* § 35 quoting Is. lviii. 2 (LXX).

The Johannine tradition that Pilate "brought Jesus out and sat on a judgment-seat" might theoretically mean "*seated him on a judgment-seat*¹." Almost certainly it does not mean this, but it might be so taken in a confusion of traditions about the "judging" of the Messiah. And the following facts shew that there was a confusion of some kind, by which Mark has been led into an error that has been only partially rectified by Matthew and Luke. To understand this, we must go back to the earlier mocking where the mockers covered Christ's eyes with a bandage (not His body with a chlamys) and smote Him, saying to Him "Prophecy²."

Isaiah had prophesied—concerning the Messiah, the "shoot out of the stock of Jesse"—"He shall *not judge after the sight of his eyes*³." The Talmud says that this prophecy was applied to the false Messiah Bar Cochba, early in the second century, by the Rabbis, who declared that if he had been the true Messiah, he ought to have been able to judge by some sixth sense which they called "smelling⁴." Bar Cochba, being misled by slander, and killing his own uncle on a false accusation, was denounced by the Rabbis as an impostor because he could not judge justly⁵. Mark's original, having this Messianic tradition in view, represents Christ's tormentors as bandaging His eyes and striking Him, and then saying, in effect, "Judge thou, not according to the sight of thine eyes, but according

¹ Jn xix. 13 ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος. Against this view (which has found modern support) see Westcott. Jn's meaning may be illustrated by Acts xxiii. 3 "*Sittest thou to judge me* according to the law and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" Pilate formally "*seated himself*" to judge, and then allowed himself to be deterred from "judging" by popular outcry. Chrys. rightly explains it thus.

² Mk xiv. 65, Mt. xxvi. 67—8, Lk. xxii. 63—4.

³ Is. xi. 1, 3.

⁴ *Sanhedr.* 93 b.

⁵ Derenbourg p. 433, quoting *Gittin* 57 a etc. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* § 31) speaks of Bar Cochba, as the leader of the Jews in their recent revolt, and of the cruel punishments that he inflicted on Christians. It is probable, therefore, that he would be aware of the failure to "judge justly" alleged by the Rabbis as a reason for their condemnation of him.

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to truth, as a Seer, O Messiah, if thou art Messiah. Who is the offender? Who smote thee?" Mark misled his readers in two ways. First, he substituted "Prophecy" for "Pronounce judgment as a Seer, or as the Messiah¹." Secondly, he omitted "Who is it that smote thee?" Matthew and Luke restore the omitted question. But both of them retain the word "Prophecy." And Matthew alone restores the word "Christ," *i.e.* Messiah, which gives the clue to the meaning of the whole passage.

It seems likely that Jesus was regarded, in early Christian accounts of the Passion, as being mocked in several aspects:—1st, as the Suffering Messiah, or "Christ," 2nd, as a crowned "King," 3rd, and less clearly, as a Judge, 4th, and obscurely, as the Scapegoat, the Bearer of the Scarlet, which typified the sins of mankind. Luke alone omits the "crown." Matthew alone retains the "scarlet" as well as the "Christ²."

The later mock-homage here is combined in Mark and Matthew with insolent blows. Matthew places the latter after the former. Mark intersperses the insolence between the acts of homage. John follows Matthew in his (probably) correct arrangement. Mark says "They began to salute him [with the words] Hail, King of the Jews"; Matthew, "They mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews"; John, "They *kept coming* to him, and

¹ On Mt. xxvi. 68 *προφήτευσον*, Wetstein quotes Aristot. *Rhet.* 17 about Epimenides who "*spoke-as-a-seer* (*ἐμμαντεύετο*) not about the future but about things past and yet obscure." But neither he nor Steph. *Thes.* gives an instance of *προφητεύειν* thus used. Comp., however, the use of the noun in 1 S. ix. 9 "He that is now called a *Prophet* was beforetime called a *Seer*," and Jn iv. 19 "I perceive that thou art a *prophet*" (where no prediction, but only insight, is implied).

² The Mishna of *Sabb.* 86 *a* quotes Is. i. 18 in answer to the question "Whence [does it follow] that one binds to the scapegoat (comp. Lev. xvi. 21) *a strip of scarlet wool?*" Tertullian, like Barnabas, accepts the scapegoat as a type of Christ, *Adv. Jud.* § 14 "The one of them [the goats] surrounded with *scarlet*, amid cursing and universal spitting, and tearing and piercing, was cast away by the People outside the City into perdition." Few other early writers, if any, adopt this bold illustration, but the "cursing" may be illustrated by Gal. iii. 13 "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having *become a curse for us.*"

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kept saying, Hail, King of the Jews." What John means by "*kept coming*" may be gathered from Philo's description (above quoted) of the Alexandrian crowd and their idiot king. Philo says that, while some acted as his guards to right and left, others "*kept approaching*—some as if to salute him, others as if to plead some cause, others as if to make representations about matters of public importance¹."

Here, again, Luke's omission of Marcan details may be explained by the fact that they exhibit Jesus in the aspect of the derided King. Another reason may be that Mark is extremely obscure. Who could guess that the Marcan tradition "*smote his head with a reed*" meant, as Matthew explains it, in effect, "*smote his head with a reed, which they took from him, after first placing it in his hand as a royal sceptre*"? But still the main reason for Luke's omission is probably that he has apparently confused some tradition that Pilate (1) "*caused Jesus to come forth arrayed to [resemble] a king*" with a tradition that Pilate (2) "*caused Jesus to go forth to king [Herod]*"². John does not add Matthew's detail about the "*reed*" placed like a sceptre "*in his right hand.*" Perhaps he felt that it implied in Jesus a participation in this act of insult, or perhaps that it detracted from the dignity and from the prophetic aspect of the crowning of Jesus with the crown of thorns. In any case, as Mark does not insert it, John's omission is not a breach of the rule of Johannine Intervention.

§ 2. *The carrying of the Cross*³

Mark and Matthew say that the soldiers constrained Simon

¹ Philo ii. 522 Εἶθ' ἕτεροι προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικάσόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων.

² See above, p. 566, n. 1 *ad fin.*

³ Mk xv. 21—5
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvii. 32—6
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiii. 26, 32—4
(R.V.)

(21) And they compel (*lit. impress*) one passing by, Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, the father of Alexander and

(32) And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled (*lit. impressed*) to go [with them], that he

(26) . . . they laid hold upon one Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, and laid on him the cross, to bear it after Jesus.

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of Cyrene to "*take up the cross*¹" of Jesus, using the same phrase as that assigned to Jesus Himself by the Synoptists in

Mk xv. 21—5
(R.V.) *contd.*

Rufus, to go [with them], that he might bear his cross.

(22) And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.

(23) And they offered him wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not.

(24) And they crucify him, and part his garments among them, casting lots upon them, what each should take.

(25) And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.

Mt. xxvii. 32—6
(R.V.) *contd.*

might bear his cross.

(33) And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, The place of a skull,

(34) They gave him wine to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted it, he would not drink.

(35) And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments among them, casting lots:

(36) And they sat and watched him there.

Lk. xxiii. 26, 32—4
(R.V.) *contd.*

(32) And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

(33) And when they came unto the place which is called The skull (*Lat.* Calvary), there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand and the other on the left.

(34) And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do [*Some anc. auth. omit And...do*]. And parting his garments among them, they cast lots.

Jn xix. 17—18, 23—4 (R.V.) (17) They took Jesus therefore: and he went out, bearing the cross for himself, unto the place called The place of a skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha: (18) where they crucified him, and with him two others, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst... (23) The soldiers therefore, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also the coat (*or*, tunic): now the coat (*or*, tunic) was without seam, woven from the top throughout. (24) They said therefore one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith... and upon my vesture did they cast lots (Ps. xxii. 18).

¹ Mk xv. 21

καὶ ἀγαρεύουσιν
παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα
Κυρηναῖον ἐρχόμενον
ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ρού-
φου, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν
αὐτοῦ.

Mt. xxvii. 32

Ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ εὐ-
ρον ἄνθρωπον Κυρηναῖον
ὀνόματι Σίμωνα· τοῦτον
ἠγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν
σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ.

Lk. xxiii. 26

καὶ ὡς ἀπήγαγον
αὐτόν, ἐπιλαβόμενοι Σί-
μωνα τινα Κυρηναῖον ἐρ-
χόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ ἐπέ-
θηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν
φέρειν ὅπισθεν τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ.

the precept "Let him *take up his cross* and follow me¹." Luke substitutes the word "*bear*," "*bring*," or "*carry*." "Bear" he presumably intends the reader to distinguish from "*take up*"—"bear" being used literally, but "*take up*" metaphorically of "*taking up*" a new way of life. Another word—applied to heavy burdens—meaning "*lift* (or, *carry*)," *bastāzein*, is used by Luke in the Double Tradition, where Matthew has "Whosoever does not *receive his cross*," but Luke "Whosoever does not *carry his own cross*²." These distinctions point back to Isaiah, "Surely he hath *borne* (or, *taken up*) our griefs and *carried* our sorrows³." Here the LXX mistranslates the second of the verbs, but Matthew quotes it with *bastāzein*, the word used by Aquila in a closely following verse "he shall *carry* their iniquities."

Luke's expression "They put on him [*i.e.* on Simon] the cross to *bear* behind Jesus" might be interpreted as meaning that Jesus and Simon bore the cross together, Simon bearing the hinder part of it; and this view is favoured by a very ancient Latin MS of Mark which has "And *they carry it* [*i.e.* the Cross] to Golgotha⁴." The Greek is ambiguous, and might mean "they carry him," *i.e.* Jesus, or "they carry it," *i.e.* the Cross. But the Latin could mean only the latter, and it would mean that the two, together, carried their burden all the way to Golgotha.

¹ Mk viii. 34, Mt. xvi. 24, ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, to which Lk. ix. 23 adds καθ' ἡμέραν, which indicates the metaphorical nature of the act as part of a new "daily" life.

² Mt. x. 38 Lk. xiv. 27
...ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου. ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου.

³ Is. liii. 4, quoted in Mt. viii. 17. "Bear" is נָשָׂא, "carry" is כָּבַשׁ. In Is. liii. 11 "carry (כָּבַשׁ) their iniquities," LXX has ἀνοίσει, Aq. βαστάσει, Theod. ὑπήνεγκεν, Sym. ὑπενέγκει. Comp. Epict. ii. 9. 22 "as though a man that could not *take up* (ἀραι) ten pounds wanted to *lift* (or, *carry*) (βαστάζειν) the stone of Ajax" (where perhaps the pres. inf. indicates that a continuous "carrying," not "lifting," is meant).

⁴ Mk xv. 21—2 (κ) "Et adpraehendunt transeuntē quendam cyrinaeum cui fuit nomen simon uenientem de uilla sua fuit autem nomen (sic) alexandri et rufi et fa[ciunt] eum cru[cem baiu]lare et ferunt *illam* in culgotham locum."

John intervenes in such a way as to shew that there was no partnership of this kind. Using the word *bastāzein* adopted by Aquila in Isaiah's description of the Suffering Servant, he says emphatically "And *carrying the cross for himself* he went forth to the place called Place of a Skull¹." This may mean—but, if it does, a great deal has to be supplied—"He went forth [from Jerusalem] carrying the cross for Himself [and afterwards, when He could bear it no longer, came, with Simon bearing it behind Him] to the place of crucifixion²." And this explanation satisfies Jerome³. Origen treats the question rather more fully as being complicated by details⁴. In any case John seems to bar the way to any interpretation of Luke that might imply a joint bearing of the Cross.

John's omission of "Simon the Cyrenian" hardly needs explanation in view of his general omission of Synoptic names and terms that ceased to interest the Christian Churches toward the end of the first century. But there was a special reason for this omission. As early as the reign of Hadrian, the heretic Basilides taught that Simon was substituted for Jesus not only

¹ Jn xix. 17 καὶ βαστάζων αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον. Some MSS have αὐτου or εαυτου, but B has αὐτω and the Latin codd. *sibi*. I do not know another such instance in N.T. of what Alford here calls the "dativus commodi." It is doubtless intended to be very emphatic. Nonnus has "Jesus Himself having His own cross (σταυρὸν ἔχων ἐὼν αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς)."

² Εἰς might sometimes perhaps be used so as to include the meaning of "toward," i.e. πρὸς and ἐπὶ, as well as "to," see *Proclam.* pp. 372, 377 (and comp. *Son* 3623 d), but the Johannine context hardly justifies it here.

³ In his comment on Matthew, Jerome says "Hoc intelligendum est quod egrediens de praetorio Jesus ipse portaverit crucem suam, postea obvium habuerint Simonem, cui portandam crucem imposuerint." He adds that, symbolically, "Crucem Jesu suscipiunt nationes, et peregrinus obediens portat ignominiam Salvatoris."

⁴ Origen (on Mt. xxvii. 32, Lomm. v. 42—3) asks whether those who placed the Cross on Jesus (1) placed it on Him at first before they seized Simon, or (2) seized Simon [at first] on their exit [and made him carry the Cross], but afterwards, on reaching the place of crucifixion, "placed it on Him Himself that He Himself might carry it (imposuerunt crucem ei ipsi ut ipse eam portaret)."

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under the burden of the Cross, but on the Cross, so that Simon was crucified while Jesus looked on and laughed¹. Such Gnostic legends may have existed apart from, and before, Basilides, as parts of the Gnostic reluctance to accept what Paul calls "the scandal of the cross²." John might well omit a Marcan tradition, however true, that had given rise to such a legend.

A word may be added about Mark's mention of Simon as "the father of Alexander and Rufus." Apparently he defines them thus because Alexander and Rufus would be known to his readers. Pseudo-Jerome's commentary on Mark says that Simon is "commemorated by *the merits of his sons* who were disciples." He adds the metaphor of *a sweet fruit-tree springing from a bitter root*, apparently meaning that Simon, the father, did *not* become a disciple. Now Paul, writing to the Romans, says "Salute Rufus, the chosen (*or* elect) in the Lord, and his mother and mine"; and Origen, who justly remarks that Paul does not make idle differences in his salutations, says "I believe that Paul knew him to be of the number, not of the 'many' who are [merely] 'called,' but of the 'few' who are 'elected⁶.'" Polycarp speaks of Ignatius, Zosimus, *and Rufus*, as conspicuous martyrs⁴. Not improbably this was the Marcan Rufus. But in any case Mark and Paul may be mentioning the same man—Mark speaking of the father of the two sons in early days as a witness of the Crucifixion, Paul speaking of one of the two sons afterwards as "the elect." If so, Matthew and Luke

¹ Iren. i. 24. 4 "Quapropter neque passum eum, sed Simonem quendam Cyrenaeum angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo: et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Jesus: et ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, et stantem irrisisse eos." The passage is quoted by Epiphanius.

² Gal. v. 11.

³ See Origen's *Comm.* on Rom. xvi. 13, comp. Mt. xxii. 14.

⁴ Polyc. *Epist. Philipp.* § 9 on which Lightf. says "The Rufus of Polycarp is possibly the same who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 13, and this latter again may with some degree of probability be identified with the son of Simon the Cyrenian and brother of Alexander (Mark xv. 21); but the name is not rare."

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might shrink from perpetuating the early Marcan phrase in which the elect and the non-elect were mentioned together.

§ 3. "Wine mingled-with-myrrh," in Mark¹

The parallel Matthew mentions "wine mixed together with gall." The parallêl Luke mentions no offer of wine. Mark's meaning was probably misunderstood. The offer of "myrrhized wine," as a narcotic, is said in the Talmud to have been a customary act of kindness to prisoners about to be executed². This, not being understood, led Matthew to seek an emendation of Mark by taking the Hebrew or Aramaic *môr*, myrrh, as indicating some form of *mar*, "bitterness," and then by taking this as meaning "gall"³. By this means the act might seem to fulfil the Psalmist's description of his sufferings "They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink"⁴.

¹ Mk xv. 23

Mt. xxvii. 34

Lk. om.

καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ
ἑσμυρτισμένον οἶνον, ὃς
δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν.

ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν
οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγ-
μένον· καὶ γευσάμενος
οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πιεῖν.

On ὃς δὲ, of which (thus used) Steph. *Thes.* gives no instance, see *Joh. Gr.* 2380 *b* quoting Jn v. 11 and Job xxii. 18 (LXX), Tob. v. 13. It emphasizes "he on his part," antithetical to "they [on their part] making the usual offer" of a narcotic. Matthew, missing the meaning—that it was "offered" (imperf.), not "given" (aor.)—emphasizes the "tasting" of the gift and then the "refusal to drink."

² See *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xxvii. 34 quoting *Sanhedr.* 43 *a* "To those that were to be executed they gave a grain of *myrrh* infused in wine to drink, that their understanding might be disturbed" (that is, that they might lose their senses); "as it is said, 'Give strong drink to them that are ready to die, and wine to those that are of a sorrowful heart' etc. And the tradition is, That some women of quality in Jerusalem allowed this freely of their own cost" etc.

³ See *Levy Ch.* ii. 18 *a* quoting *Exod.* xxx. 23 מֵר "myrrh," Targ. var. מִרָּא, מִרָּא, מִרָּא, מִרָּא, *ib.* ii. 33 בִּמְרָא (מִרָּא) "myrrhized wine" in *Deut.* xxix. 6 "strong-drink (שִׁכָּר)." This resembles (*ib.* ii. 64 *b*) מִרָּא *Deut.* xxxii. 33 (Onk.) מִרָּא, or מִרָּתָא, "gall" = Heb. חֲמָה "poison."

⁴ *Ps.* lxi. 21. "Gall," Heb. רָאֵשׁ, is in Targ. "the gall (מִרָּית) of the heads of asps."

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John mentions no offer of a narcotic, and his silence may be regarded as, in some sense, a failure of the rule of Johannine Intervention. But it must be borne in mind that another offer of vinegar, or wine, made later on to Jesus just before His death, is recorded by Mark and Matthew, but not by Luke, who simply mentions an offer of "vinegar" by the soldiers as one of many acts of "mocking" some time before the death¹. Now this offer will be found to be fully described by John, with additional detail indicating that Jesus Himself asked for it "that the scripture might be accomplished²." We do not know what may have been John's reason for not intervening in a direct way to explain the first offer—that of the "myrrhized wine"; but we do know that he intervened as to the second offer, in order to shew that this at all events was an act, not of insult, but of kindness.

§ 4. "Casting lots" for Christ's garments³

In a Greek competition by lot, the "lot" is mostly a tablet or pebble marked with each competitor's name. The lots are

¹ Mk xv. 36 (Mt. xxvii. 48) δραμὼν δέ τις (Mt. εἰς) to which the only correspondance in Lk. is xxiii. 36 προσφέροντες.

² Jn xix. 28—30.

<p>³ Mk xv. 24 καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐ- τὸν καὶ διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ τίς τί ἄρῃ.</p>	<p>Mt. xxvii. 35 σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐ- τὸν διεμέρισαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ βάλλοντες (marg. βαλόντες) κλῆ- ρον.</p>	<p>Lk. xxiii. 34 ὁ διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλῆρον.</p>
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Jn xix. 23—24 οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται ὅτε ἐσταύρωσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησαν τέσσερα μέρη, ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ μέρος, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτὼν ἄραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου· εἶπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται· ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ "Διεμέρισαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον."

John (λάχωμεν) is here combining the rendering of Sym. (ἐλάγχανον) with other renderings of Ps. xxii. 18 (Walton) "Divident (יחלקו) vestimenta mea (בגדיו) sibi ipsis, et super vestem meam (לבושי) projicient (יפילו) sortem (גורל)," where R.V. has the present tense twice, and pl. "lots" ("they *part*...and upon my vesture *do they cast lots*"); Field, for "*do they cast lots*," has "*sortiti sunt*," LXX ἔβαλον κλῆρον, Aq. βαλοῦσι κλῆρον, Sym. ἐλάγχανον.

cast into a vessel, and the owner of the one that is first drawn out or shaken out is successful. In such a competition it would be natural to speak of "casting *lots*" rather than "casting a *lot*" (though the latter phrase might sometimes be used about the casting *out* of the decisive single lot as well as about the casting *in* of the competitive plural lots¹). Hebrew Scripture mentions "casting a (or, *the*) *lot*" in several cases where LXX has "casting *lots*."²

All the Synoptists say that the soldiers "divided his garments" and that they "cast a lot." This apparently means that they divided the garments into heaps, and then determined by lot the order of preference. The competitors, in this case, might draw out tablets inscribed, not with their names, but with the numbers "one," "two," etc. indicating the order of choice. Mark perhaps felt that this use of the lot—to determine *precedence*—was not very clearly expressed by the phrase "casting a lot"—since the latter applied better to the single lot that determined *success* for a single competitor. He therefore adds "upon *them* (neut.)," *i.e.* for the garments, not for the competitors. Then, to make it clear that one competitor is not to take all the garments, he adds "*to see who should take what.*" Matthew and Luke perhaps failed to see the purpose of this addition. At all events they omit it. Luke also perhaps substitutes "*lots*" for "*lot*."³

¹ See Steph. *Thes.* κλήρος.

² See Mandelk. נורל sing. in Is. xxxiv. 17, Joel iii. 3, Ob. 11, Nahum iii. 10, where LXX has pl. κλήρους. The Engl. "cast" in "cast lots" is represented most freq. by the causative of "fall," נפל, but also by טול, ידר, ירה, שלך, all of which mean throwing, shooting etc. In Prov. xvi. 33 "the lot is cast (טול) into the lap," LXX ἐπέρχεται completely misrenders. In Lev. xvi. 8 נתן, lit. "give" or "appoint" (R.V. "cast"), LXX has ἐπιθήσει. In Josh. xviii. 6 ירה, R.V. "cast," LXX has "bring out (ἐξοίσω)."

³ In Lk. xxiii. 34, Tisch. reads κλήρους. SS and Curet. have "drew-[lots]," so that they afford no evidence as to the noun. The temptation to substitute κλήρον (as in Mk, Mt., Jn, and LXX Ps. xxii. 18) would be very strong. In Mk xv. 24, SS has פסא "lot(s)," as a separate noun; and (in view of Jn xix. 23 χιτών) it may be worth noting that (Gesen. 821 a) פס "flat [of the foot, or of the hand]" is used

John intervenes to explain how it came to pass that a lot of some kind was required, and to shew that Mark was wrong in supposing that it was used merely to determine order of choice. The "dividing," he says, referred only to the outer garment, which, being divisible into equal parts without injury, needed no use of the lot; but the inner garment would have been spoiled by rending, and the soldiers determined that this should be a prize by itself. The prize-winner was to be determined by lot. Thus the soldiers fulfilled the Psalmist's words "They divided my garments among them, and on my vesture did they cast a lot." The Greek of "*garments*" and "*vesture*" is similar and might be expressed by "*vestments*" and "*vesture*." John says, in effect: "Mark should have said 'They *divided his vestments* and *cast a lot on his vesture* [not, *on them*] *to see who should take it* [not, *to see who should take what*]¹."

While representing the Roman soldiers as thus fulfilling exactly the two clauses of the Psalm, John tells us what they said, "Let us not tear that, but draw-lots for it whose it shall be." The Greek for "draw-[lots]" is very rarely thus used, and never in the LXX². But Symmachus uses it in the Psalm from which John is quoting. It is perhaps vernacular Greek. And by it the scene is brought more clearly before us as John wishes us to see it—detached from the Synoptic tradition:—"Here are these Gentiles, quite ignorant of the Scripture, and thinking only of their perquisites. 'Let us draw lots,' they say, 'for this piece of cloth which it is a pity to spoil.' They are quite unconscious that they are fulfilling what the Messiah said centuries ago 'On my vesture did they cast a lot.' Yet they are fulfilling it."

in the phrase "robe (*χιτών*) of flats" to mean (Gen. xxxvii. 3, etc., 2 S. xiii. 18, 19) "a robe reaching to the feet" (comp. Rev. i. 13 *ποδήρη*).

¹ This would give *διεμερισαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν τίς ἄρῃ*. It would be an easy error to suppose that *τὸν ἱματισμὸν* meant *τὰ ἱμάτια* i.e. *αὐτά*. Then the sense would require the addition of *τί* after *τίς*.

² *Λαγχάνω* occurs in Demosth. pp. 510—11 (*Argum.*) about the chorēgi "drawing lots" for the best flute-players. In LXX it occurs only in 1 S. xiv. 47 (לכד), Wisd. viii. 19, 3 Macc. vi. 1, which do not illustrate Jn.

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It is John's primary object to suggest this thought to the reader. To correct Mark's error, and to shew how it arose, is a secondary object, but still another reason for intervening.

§ 5. "*It was the third hour,*" in Mark¹

There is a difficulty in reconciling the Marcan "*third hour*" with the Johannine text "It was about the *sixth hour*, and he [*i.e.* Pilate] saith to the Jews, Behold, your King." The Arabic Diatessaron, which accepts the Johannine "*sixth hour*," rejects the Marcan "*third hour*." Various early explanations have been offered, none of which are quite satisfactory². Probably none will be found that can vindicate Mark from the charge of obscurity or inexactness, for, were it otherwise, Matthew and Luke would not have deviated from him. But the following considerations indicate that early Christian traditions would lay mystical stress on three different hours of the day in con-

¹ Between the (Mk, Mt., Lk.) casting of the lots and the mention of the (Mk, Lk.) "superscription (ἐπιγραφή)" (Mt. αἰτία), where Luke inserts his description of the mocking of Jesus on the Cross, Mark and Matthew have (Mk xv. 25) ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, (Mt. xxvii. 36) καὶ καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ—corresponding to which Luke has nothing. See Swete on variations in Mk's text, or in renderings of it, and on early attempts to reconcile it with Jn xix. 14—16 ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἑκτη. καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις... ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς Οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλεία εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα, τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. Nonnus takes "*sixth*" in Jn as referring to the day of the week, and inserts "*third hour*," Ἐκτη δ' ἦν ἐνέπουσι προσάββατος ἔτρεχεν ἡὼς· ἦν δὲ τιταινομένη τριτάτη θανατηφόρος ὥρη.

It is somewhat surprising that no scribe has altered Mk so as to give the meaning "It was the third hour (*i.e.* three hours had passed) since they had crucified him"; for the alterations of καὶ to ὅτε in some MSS, and of ἐσταύρωσαν to ἐφύλασσον in D and k (custodiebant), shew that a difficulty was felt. But if an interval of hours had been meant the pl. would naturally be used, as in Acts v. 7 ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ὥρων τριῶν διάστημα, where Delitzsch has "there was as from three hours (במשלש שעות)."

² See Swete *ad loc.*, who quotes, *inter alia*, August. Cons. iii. 42 "intelligitur ergo fuisse hora tertia cum clamaverunt Judaei ut Dominus crucifigeretur, et veracissime demonstratur tunc eos crucifixisse quando clamaverunt."

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nection with the Crucifixion, namely, the third, the sixth, and the ninth, and that Mark alone has retained one of the earliest of these traditions, namely, that which mentioned the third hour.

Maimonides says "The great Sanhedrin sat from the morning daily sacrifice until the afternoon daily sacrifice," that is to say, from the third hour till the ninth hour¹. It follows that the third hour was the earliest possible time when the Sanhedrin could present to Pilate their verdict of guilty. "The three hours that come first" is a Talmudic expression for the time preceding that of the morning sacrifice². A trace of this Jewish rule about the sitting of the Sanhedrin may perhaps be seen in a Greek scholium on "the third hour" in Mark: "Some say that this [evangelist, Mark,] having in mind (*or*, mentioning) the verdict of [the Council of] the people [of the Jews] said that during this hour Jesus had been crucified [virtually] by the people; for it was the third hour [they say] when the people condemned Him to be crucified, [I mean the people] of the Jews [as distinct from Pilate]. But the rest have made mention of the sixth [hour], in which, having received the verdict [uttered] by Pilate, He is crucified by the soldiers; in agreement with which the rest of the evangelists have said [what they have severally said³]."

¹ See *Hov. Heb.* on Mk xv. 25.

² See *Hov. Heb.* ib. quoting *Sanhedr.* 105 *b* which says—on Is. xxvi. 20 "until the wrath be overpast"—"When is He wroth? In the first three hours [of the day]." This would be the period before the morning sacrifice.

³ See Cramer on Mk xv. 25 *τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι τὴν μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπόφασιν αὗτος ἐπιμνησθεὶς εἶπε ταύτην (sic) ὥραν ἐσταυρῶσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ· τρίτη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν ὅτε ὁ λαὸς αὐτὸν κατέκρινε σταυρωθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἐμνήσθησαν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἀπόφασιν λαβὼν σταυροῦται ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ᾧ καὶ συμφάνως οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν ἔφασαν.*

This appears to be a version, and a truer one, of some tradition that is at the bottom of Augustine's explanation quoted above. It supposes the real Jewish verdict to have been pronounced by the Sanhedrin, not by the packed multitude of their officials. Pseudo-Jerome on Mk has a fanciful comment on the third, the sixth, and

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In accordance with a hypothesis based on these two traditions, we should have to suppose that in the earliest days of the Church among Jewish Christians a stress was laid, not retained in later times, on the Crucifixion as including the morning as well as the evening sacrifice, so that Mark's brief and obscure words were in fact of the nature of a parenthesis, inserted after a narration of the literal fact, intended to call attention to its spiritual meaning: "So they crucify Him, casting lots on His garments.—And now the third hour, the hour of the morning sacrifice, had come and gone; and the verdict of the Jewish people on their Saviour had been recorded and executed; and the period of agony on the Cross was at hand, beginning from the sixth hour. Concerning this the Psalmist says that in this hour a destruction, or demon, ravageth and that 'whoso dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High' shall be delivered from it¹. But the contest will not end till the hour of release, the ninth hour, the hour of the evening sacrifice. It was in the sixth hour that the darkness of destruction began,

the ninth, hour, alluding to the three classes of fruitfulness mentioned in the Parable of the Sower: "A tricesimo namque fructu Marcus ascendit ad centesimum, id est, a tertia hora crucis usque ad tertiam resurrectionis post tres dies. Tricesimus fructus est in cruce, sexagesimus in inferno, centesimus in Paradiso." The writer's instinct led him at all events to perceive that there was a symbolical meaning latent, and perhaps intended by very early evangelists, in the mention of the three hours.

¹ Ps. xci. 6 "from the *destruction* (קטב) that wasteth (ישור) at noonday," LXX ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινού, Aq. "from the biting that devils it at noon (ἀπὸ δηγμοῦ δαιμονίζοντος μεσημβρίας)," Sym. οὐ [?] οὐ] συγκύρημα δαιμονιώδες μεσημβρίας, Targ. "from the troop of *demons* (שידין) that lay waste at noon." The form ישור (Gesen. 994 a) from שרר, "devastate," resembles the Heb. שר, Aram. שירא (Deut. xxxii. 17 δαυμόνιον). Ps. xci. 13 "thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder" would naturally be regarded by Christians as referring, in particular, to Christ (as by Irenaeus iii. 23. 7, and Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 24). This might lead them to regard the earlier verses, Ps. xci. 1—6 "Whoso dwelleth... noonday," as also referring to the Messiah. But it must be confessed that the reference might not generally be accepted, and that the use made of this Psalm by Satan, in Mt. iv. 6, Lk. iv. 10—11, might discredit the reference.

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but the way had been prepared for it by the third hour. It was all one act, one sacrifice."

John, who omits the Synoptic "darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour," mentions "the sixth hour" in a different context, "It was the Preparation for the Passover, it was *about the sixth hour*¹." This might well mean "a little before the sixth hour." And it was then that Pilate, after making his last attempt to save Jesus, yielded Him up to the chief priests, who cried "We have no king but Caesar," upon which Pilate "delivered him unto them to be crucified²." When the Jews thus rejected their true King, they brought down—so Christians believed—destruction on their nation. "It was noon," a Christian might say, "and there fell upon the Jews, as it is written in the Psalms, *'the destruction that wasteth at noonday.'*"

This precise phrase "It was about the sixth hour" occurs in only one other passage of the New Testament, and that is where Jesus is described as "wearied" near the well of Jacob, and where, in spite of thirst and weariness, He gains a spiritual triumph in Samaria³. We have seen that a connection between this hour (that is to say, noon) and a spiritual enemy, is suggested by a passage quoted above from the Psalms, as interpreted by the LXX and the other Greek translators and Jewish tradition, which render "the destruction that layeth waste" as "the mischance and the demon" or "the demons that lay waste⁴." Part of the Psalm is quoted in the Gospels as uttered by Satan to Jesus in the Temptation—"He shall give his angels charge over thee⁵." Another part "Thou shalt not be afraid...for the destruction (or demon) that wasteth at noonday" might seem equally applicable, though not in Satan's sense⁶. This

¹ Jn xix. 14.

² Jn xix. 15—16.

³ Jn iv. 6 ὅρα ἦν ὃς ἔταη (closely approached in Lk. xxiii. 44). See *Son 3476 a* "In Jn (iv. 6 foll., xi. 35, xix. 28) when Jesus is *wearied*, or *weeps*, or *thirsts*, it is then that His redemptive power is best revealed." Comp. Acts x. 9 "about the sixth hour."

⁴ See above, p. 581, n. 1.

⁵ Ps. xci. 11 quoted in Mt. iv. 6, Lk. iv. 10.

⁶ Rashi on Ps. xci. 6 says that רבר and קטב are "the names of two demons," and the latter, *Keteb*, "lays waste at noon." *Tehill.*

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word rendered demon, or destruction, is mentioned again in Hosea "O death, where is thy *destruction*¹?" words quoted by Paul in illustration of Christ's triumph over death. These facts shew that first-century Jewish traditions concerning "*the sixth hour*" might be moulded by Christians to express their belief that in the sixth hour their Messiah was assailed on the Cross by the Destruction of Sheol, and that the contest endured from the sixth hour to the ninth, the hour of the evening sacrifice, when the Saviour triumphed over death by dying, though sinless, for the sins of the world.

§ 6. *The Superscription on the Cross*²

Mark and Luke here mention "superscription" in connection with "King of the Jews"; and Mark calls it "*the ad loc.* gives a long description of the appearance of this demon. Jerome argues diffusely against the objective existence of such a demon, but his argument indicates that many of his readers believed in its existence. Levy iv. 278 *b* gives copious descriptions of the *Keteb* from Midrash, though none from the Talmuds. The belief in *Keteb* was probably more prevalent among the unlearned than in learned circles.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 55 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; LXX ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ᾗδῃ; Hos. xiii. 14 Heb. "Where [is] thy destruction (*keteb*), O Sheol?" Those who rendered the sentence thus interrogatively, and who believed in the existence of a *keteb*, or demon, with a separate existence, would say that he was one of the pain-bringing ministers of Death, appropriately called "sting" by LXX (and by Aquila "bitings" (δηγμοί)).

² Mk xv. 26—32
(R.V.)

(26) And the superscription of his accusation was written over, THE KING OF THE JEWS.

(27) And with him they crucify two robbers; one on his right hand, and one on his left.

[Many anc. auth. ins. ver. 28 And the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith,

Mt. xxvii. 37—44
(R.V.)

(37) And they set up over his head his accusation written, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

(38) Then are there crucified with him two robbers, one on the right hand, and one on the left.

Lk. xxiii. 32, 35—40
(R.V.)

(32) And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

(35) And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also scoffed at him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if this is the Christ of God, his chosen.

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superscription of his [alleged] crime," implying that a superscription stating the nature of the crime was usually super-

Mk xv. 26—32
(R.V.) *contd.*

And he was reckoned with transgressors.]

(29) And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying, Ha! thou that destroyest the temple (*or*, sanctuary), and buildest it in three days,

(30) save thyself, and come down from the cross.

(31) In like manner also the chief priests mocking [him] among themselves with the scribes said, He saved others, himself he cannot save (*or*, can he not save himself?).

(32) Let the Christ, the King of Israel, now come down from the cross, that we may see and believe.

And they that were crucified with him reproached him.

Mt. xxvii. 37—44
(R.V.) *contd.*

(39) And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads,

(40) and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple (*or*, sanctuary), and buildest it in three days, save thyself: if thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross.

(41) In like manner also the chief priests mocking [him], with the scribes and elders, said,

(42) He saved others; himself he cannot save (*or*, can he not save himself?). He is the King of Israel; let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe on him.

(43) He trusteth on God; let him deliver him now, if he desireth him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

(44) And the robbers also that were crucified with him cast upon him the same reproach.

Lk. xxiii. 32, 35—40 (R.V.) *contd.*

(36) And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, offering him vinegar,

(37) and saying, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself.

(38) And there was also a superscription over him, **THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.**

(39) And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us.

(40) But the other...

Jn xix. 18—22 (R.V.) (18) Where they crucified him, and with him two others, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst. (19) And Pilate wrote a title also, and put it on the cross. And there was written, **JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS.** (20) This title therefore read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city (*or*, for the place of the city where Jesus was crucified was nigh at hand): and it was written in

scribed on the cross of any crucified criminal, and that “*the superscription*” in this case was “*the King of the Jews*¹.” Obviously this is not strictly correct; for no “crime” is here “stated.” It is not even clearly implied, as would have been the case had the superscription been “Thief,” or “Murderer.” It is, strictly speaking, merely a *title*—“King of the Jews.”

Luke explains matters by rearrangement and perhaps by a “this,” implying contempt. He tells us, first, that “the soldiers also mocked him...saying, If thou art *the King of the Jews*, save thyself.” Then he adds “And there was *also* a superscription over him, *The King of the Jews! This [man]!* or, *The King of the Jews [is] this [man]!*” This is perhaps a compromise between (1) exclamation, and (2) ironical statement—repeating, without an “if,” what the soldiers had just said with an “if.” “It was not”—Luke seems to say—“‘*the [official] superscription of the crime,*’ as Mark says. ‘*Crime*’ should not have been mentioned here. It was mere mockery.”

Matthew, on the other hand, while not mentioning the Marcan “superscription,” follows Mark in mentioning “his [alleged] *crime*,” and expands Mark’s title into a statement apparently using “the” to mean “the [would-be],” or “the [pretended],” thus:—“This is (*emph.*) Jesus, the [pretended] King of the Jews².”

Hebrew, [and] in Latin, [and] in Greek. (21) The chief priests of the Jews therefore said to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but, that he said, I am King of the Jews. (22) Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

¹ Mk xv. 26

καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ
τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
γεγραμμένη Ο ΒΑΣΙ-
ΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ.

Mt. xxvii. 37

καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω
τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν
αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμ-
μένην ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ.

Lk. xxiii. 38

ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ
ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΟΥ-
ΤΟΣ.

Jn xix. 19 ἔγραφεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πειλᾶτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον ΙΗΣΟΥΣ Ο ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ.

² Comp. *Evang. Petr.* § 3 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν Κύριον...λέγοντες Δικαίως κρίνε, βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ...καὶ ἄλλοι...ἕτεροι...καὶ τινες...λέγοντες...τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. (§ 4) Καὶ ἤνεγκον...καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν...καὶ ὅτε

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John intervenes, in the first place against all the Synoptists, by defining—what they left undefined—the source of the superscription. It was the extraordinary caprice of Pilate himself, he says, and of Pilate obstinately persistent against the remonstrances of the Jews.

In the second place John intervenes, as to the “crime” mentioned by Mark and Matthew. Here, so far as negation is concerned, he intervenes against them and in favour of Luke. In Luke, Pilate thrice says, in effect, that he finds in Jesus “*nothing criminal*”; in John, Pilate thrice says (using the Mark-Matthew word) “*no crime*”¹.

In the third place John intervenes as to the Mark-Luke word, “superscription.” Matthew paraphrases this by the phrase “written above his head.” John substitutes a Greek word *titlos*, derived from the Latin *titulus*, “title,” and not alleged in the Thesaurus to have been used by any previous author². Now *titulus* is sometimes, though rarely, applied to a *statement*, such as “He uttered treason,” “He claimed to be king,” and then it means a charge or accusation; but it is much more often used, like “title” in English, to mean the title of a book, or the title of a king, prince, or nobleman³.

ᾠρθωσαν τὸν σταῦρον ἐπέγραψαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. This neglects the distinction between “the King of the Jews” and “the King of Israel.” It also leaves undefined (ἐπέγραψαν “they [*i.e.* the men] superscribed”) the writers of the superscription. For we cannot infer that ἐπέγραψαν points back so far as οἱ δὲ λαβόντες. This indefiniteness pervades all the Synoptists—Mk. “*there was the superscription...superscribed*,” Mt. “*they set up...written*,” Lk. “*there was also a superscription*.”

¹ Jn xviii. 38, xix. 4, 6, comp. Lk. xxiii. 4, 14, 22. See above, p. 561.

² See Steph. *Thes. Oxf. Conc.* gives τίτλος Je. xxi. 4, Aq., Sm., Th., but only in two codd. “vitiose pro τοίχον.” *Evang. Nic.* A § 10 has ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος...εἰς τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ...—καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι—ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. This seems to assert that the Jews said “*He is king of the Jews*.” But perhaps the writer follows Matthew as to the words of the αἰτία “*He is [according to his assertion] king...*” and inserts, parenthetically, “this was what the Jews said against Him.”

³ Lewis and Short give, as an instance of the placard of a crime

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This word, without any statement of fact—and without any mention of “accusation”—John uses to describe what Pilate himself wrote (“Now Pilate wrote *a title*”) and placed on the cross. And the “title” describes Jesus first as “the Nazoraean,” and then as “The King of the Jews.”

Here some mention must be made of the term “Nazoraean¹.” This must not be assumed to be identical with “from Nazareth,” the phrase used by Philip in the beginning of the Fourth Gospel². “From Nazareth,” if expressed in an adjective, might be “Nazarene,” or “Nazaraean,” or “Nazarite.” But it could not rightly be “Nazoraean.” For “Nazoraean” John has prepared the way by representing it as an appellation twice accepted by Jesus Himself (“I am he”) when He asks the soldiers “Whom seek ye?” and they reply “Jesus the Nazoraean³.” “Nazoraean” in the New Testament is almost always used honorifically. It is the title given by Christians to their Leader, or repeated by their enemies in the sense “Jesus [whom these heretics call] the Nazoraean.” Matthew says that Jesus came to live “in Nazareth,” in order that the saying of “the prophets” might be fulfilled “He shall be called a Nazoraean⁴.” Jerome explains this in two ways. It might

or charge, Suet. *Domit.* § 10 “Patrem familias...canibus objecit, cum hoc *titulo*,” where the next words convey the charge “Impie locutus parmularius.” There is also *ib. Calig.* § 32 “*praecedente titulo* qui causam poenae indicaret.” Far more numerous however are the instances where “titulus” is used honorifically. If John had intended to convey merely the meaning “placard of accusation,” he could have retained the Mark-Matthew *airia* (retained in *Evang. Nic.* A § 10).

¹ See *Beginning* pp. 326—50, on “Nazarene and Nazoraean.”

² Jn i. 45.

³ Jn xviii. 5, 7.

⁴ Mt. ii. 23. Jerome begins his comment by remarking that Matthew—by saying “prophets” (pl.)—“ostendit se non verba de Scripturis sumpsisse, sed sensum.” Then he adds “(1) Nazaraeus sanctus interpretatur. Sanctum autem Dominum futurum, omnis Scriptura commemorat. (2) Possumus et aliter dicere, quod etiam eisdem verbis juxta Hebraicam veritatem in Esaia (xi. 1) scriptum sit: Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et Nazaraeus de radice ejus conscendet.” Jerome never transliterates the Greek Ναζωραῖος correctly as “Nazoraesus.”

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mean "holy," from Nazîr, a Nazirite (miscalled Nazarite), that is, one consecrated to God. Origen takes this view of the word¹. But Jerome also says it might mean "Branch," "*Nêtzer*," fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy "A branch (*nêtzer*) from his [Jesse's] roots shall bear fruit." John appears to take this view. Pilate adopts the appellation of Jesus given to Him officially by the soldiers who arrested Him. Doubtless Pilate does not trouble himself as to its meaning. Perhaps Pilate thought it meant the same thing as "Nazarene" or "from Nazareth." But it meant "a scion of the royal house of David," whose advent was proclaimed by the Prophets.

On the whole, John may be fairly said to intervene in favour of Mark and against Luke. "Mark was right," he seems to say, "in regarding the superscription as official; Luke was wrong in regarding it as mere mockery on the part of the executioners. It was mockery indeed, but it was Pilate's mockery. The Jews declared that it was erroneous, and Pilate himself, in a sober mood, and not under the influence of some strange excitement, would not have written it. Yet he refused to alter it, saying, 'What I have written I have written.' Just as, before, when speaking to Jesus, he claimed to do what he liked, right or wrong ('I have authority to crucify thee'), so now, when speaking to the Jews, he claims to write what he likes, true or false. 'I have written' is his only argument, as if he could make falsehood true. As it happened, he had written truth. But it was not of his own writing. The mysterious Wheel of Providence had lifted him into a place where he accomplished a divine purpose, but he had been only the fly upon the Wheel²."

¹ See Origen on Mt. xxi. 11 (Lomm. iv. 58) ἔλεγον· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας· ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν προφητευθέντα ὅτι ὁ Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται, ὁ κυρίως θεῷ ἀεὶ ἀνακείμενος.

There is a v.r. Ναζαράιος here, as also in Origen *Comm. Matth. x. 16* quoting Mt. ii. 23.

² Origen, on Mt. xxvii. 37, says "Since no other cause for His death could be found, . . . let this alone [say they] be held [to be one] (? haec sola habeatur)—'He was King of the Jews.' *About which cause* (de qua) He [*i.e.* Christ] spake [through David] saying [Ps.

§ 7. *The mocking of Christ on the Cross*

The mocking that immediately follows the Crucifixion,—variously expressed by the Synoptists but identical in the words “Save thyself”—is omitted by John¹. In Mark and Matthew, it contains the words “thou that destroyest, or, he that destroyeth, the temple.” John has explained at the beginning of his Gospel that Jesus did, in some sense, actually speak about the destruction of the Temple (“destroy this temple”)². Luke rejects the words here, as he does elsewhere when Mark describes the false charge³. John, who has intervened before, does not intervene again.

There are also Synoptic differences as to the classes that utter these reproaches. The first class is, in Mark and Matthew,

ii. 6] ‘*But I have been appointed king by Him [i.e. by God] upon Zion His holy hill.*’” The Hebrew has “Yet have I installed (נִסְכַּחְתִּי) *my king* upon *my* holy hill of Zion. “Install,” נִסַּךְ, is used elsewhere only in Prov. viii. 23 “I [i.e. Wisdom] *was installed* from everlasting.”

This Psalm is the only place in Scripture (Mandelk. 686) where “*my king*” is used, not by men to God, but by God addressing some one other than Himself. “*My king*” means God’s ideal king, and the words would signify, according to Origen, “I have crowned my Son—sent down to mankind to be their King in my name—with the crown of the Cross.” The “begetting” of this King, predicted in Ps. ii. 7 (“This day have I begotten thee”) might be said to be visibly manifested on earth at the time of Christ’s baptism, and the “installing,” or crowning, to have taken place in the Crucifixion followed by the Ascension. Some would say “in the Ascension alone.” But John habitually regards the Crucifixion itself as a “lifting up,” or preliminary Ascension.

¹ Mk xv. 29—32, Mt. xxvii. 39—43, Lk. xxiii. 35—7. Comp. Ps. xxii. 7 where LXX has Πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεῖλεσιν (Heb. shoot out the lip), ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν. Lk. has ἐκμυκτηρίζειν corresponding to Mk-Mt. κινεῖν κεφαλὴν. Comp. Justin Mart. *Apol.* § 38 Σταυρωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς λέγοντες, Ὁ νεκροῦς ἀνεγείρας [i.e. He that raised up Lazarus] ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτόν. Whereas the Psalm has σωσάτω and ῥυσάσθω with αὐτόν “let God save him,” the Gospels all have “save” with “himself” or “thyself.” John omits this. Matthew alone has added the Psalmist’s version (xxvii. 43 ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν).

² Jn ii. 19.

³ Mk xiv. 58, see above, p. 513 foll.

"the passers by"; but in Luke "the people" who "stand beholding" and apparently acquiescing in the mockery of the rulers¹. The second class is, in Mark and Matthew, "chief priests" and "scribes" (to which Matthew adds "elders"); but in Luke, "the rulers" (to which he adds "and also the soldiers").

In Hebrew, "pass by" is easily confused, and is actually once confused by LXX, with "stand²." Further, in Hebrew, there is no one word for "soldier³." Delitzsch represents it here by the Biblical phrase "men of the service, *or* host." But the Hebrew "service, *or* host," is applied sometimes to the "service" of the Levites in the Temple; and the Aramaic equivalent is also similarly applied⁴.

Luke may very well have been led by a Hebrew or Aramaic expression of this kind to infer that the phrase referred to "*the men on service*," that is, the soldiers. Then, consistently, he would be led on to alter "King of Israel"—an expression that Gentiles would not use—into "King of *the Jews*." Further, he would be led to transfer to these military mockers the offering of "vinegar" (the drink of the soldiers on guard) placed by

¹ Lk. xxiii. 35 "And the people stood beholding; and (*lit.* but) the rulers *also* mocked (ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες)"—in view of Ps. xxii. 7 (LXX) οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με—probably implies that "the people" mocked (though passively) and "the rulers *also*" mocked (but actively). This is quite compatible with the fact that "the people" afterwards mourned Lk. xxiii. 48 θεωρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα.

² Josh. viii. 33 "stood (עמד)" LXX παρεπορεύοντο, leg. as עבר. Also, in Aramaic, עמד might be confused with עם "people," followed by ך, the relative.

³ Στρατιώτης occurs in canon. LXX only in 2 S. xxiii. 8 (v.r.) Heb. "slain."

⁴ "Host" = צבא (Gesen. 839 a "of Levites in sacred places," 8 times in Numb.). The Palest. Syr. has חיל (which is the regular Aram. equiv. of צבא (Brederek, p. 97)). In Heb. (Gesen. 298—9), חיל means "strength, efficiency, wealth, army." It is rendered "army" more than 50 times in A.V. Walton renders Jer. Targ. on Numb. iv. 23 "omnem qui procedit ad bellum (לחילא חילא) ut exequatur ministerium..." where Onk. has the same Aramaic but Walton "ad ministrandum per turmas suas."

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Mark and Matthew at a later stage, and connected by them with "some" that were "standing [on guard] by" the Cross, but without any mention of mockery.

John intervenes on this point of mockery, against Luke. He agrees with all the Synoptists that the vinegar was the drink of the soldiers on guard¹; but he does not agree with Luke in connecting it with any act of definite mockery. Mark and Matthew leave us in doubt as to the motive that dictated the offering and the words "Let us see whether Elias cometh." John, omitting those words, gives us the impression that the offering was dictated by natural humanity.

§ 8. "Crucified-with," in Mark, Matthew, and John²

Luke avoids the expression "crucified," and "crucified-with," as applied to the robbers, or malefactors, who suffered death with Jesus; he substitutes in the first place "to be put to death³," and afterwards "hanged⁴." The word "crucify-with" is not alleged to occur earlier than the New Testament⁵. In the

¹ See p. 602, n. 2 and n. 5.

² Mk xv. 27, 32 b

(27) καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστές,
ἓνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἓνα
ἐξ ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ....

(32 b) καὶ οἱ συνε-
σταυρωμένοι σὺν αὐτῷ
ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν.

Mt. xxvii. 38, 44

(38) τότε σταυ-
ροῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ δύο
λησταί, εἰς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ
εἰς ἐξ ἐναντίων....

(44) τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ
οἱ λησταὶ οἱ συνσταυρω-
θέντες σὺν αὐτῷ ὠνεί-
διζον αὐτόν.

Lk. xxiii. 32,
39—42

(32) ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ
ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο σὺν
αὐτῷ ἀνααιρεθῆναι....

(39) εἰς δὲ τῶν
κρεμασθέντων κακούρ-
γων ἐβλασφήμει αὐτόν
Οὐχὶ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός;
σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς.

(40) ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ
ὁ ἕτερος ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτῷ
ἔφη... (42)... μνησθητί
μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν σου.

Jn xix. 18—32 (18) ὅπου αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους δύο ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.... (32)... καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατέαξαν τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συνσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ.

³ Lk. xxiii. 32 "put to death," ἀναίρω, a word used in Lk. and Acts twenty-one times and only two or three times in rest of N.T.

⁴ Lk. xxiii. 39 "hanged (κρεμασθέντων)," i.e. crucified, comp. Gal. iii. 13, quoting Deut. xxi. 23 κρεμάνεος ἐπὶ ξύλου, "that hangeth on a tree," as referring to Christ, and Acts v. 30, x. 39.

⁵ See Steph. *Thes.* on συσταυρόω. It is not in Goodspeed.

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Gospels, it occurs only in non-Lucan descriptions of the Crucifixion¹. Outside the Gospels, in the New Testament, it occurs twice:—in a Pauline description of our old humanity as having been “*crucified-with*” Jesus, and in the saying “I am *crucified-with* Christ².” It is not surprising that Luke, who may have heard the Apostle dictating the letters in which these expressions occur, disliked using this novel word, stamped with a spiritual meaning, in a non-spiritual and literal sense—and this too about “malefactors.” While altering this word, he made other alterations in the context³. He had apparently found a tradition that justified him in believing that only one of these two malefactors “blasphemed” Christ, whereas Mark and Matthew say that both of them “reproached” Him. Luke says that “the other” malefactor rebuked the first, and appealed to Jesus to “remember” him when He came into His Kingdom. This indicates something of the nature of a conversion on the cross, so that “the other”—but not both—might be said to have experienced “crucifixion with” Christ in the Pauline sense⁴.

There is a great difference between this view and that of Mark and Matthew. Origen and Jerome attempt to reconcile the two by saying that at first both malefactors blasphemed, but after the advent of the darkness one of them repented; but Origen is clearly dissatisfied with this⁵.

¹ Mk xv. 32, Mt. xxvii. 44, Jn xix. 32.

² Rom. vi. 6, Gal. ii. 20.

³ Lk. xxiii. 32 ἦγοντο δὲ καὶ ἑτεροὶ κακοῦργοι δύο implies that the two malefactors formed part of the procession to Golgotha. The other Gospels do not imply this. Luke inserts ἑτεροὶ to signify that, although these belonged to the same procession, they were “[of a] different [type]”—*real* malefactors (Lk. xxiii. 41 “we indeed justly”). But a hasty reader might take the meaning to be “*two other malefactors*.” John (xix. 18) uses ἄλλους δύο “two others,” without inserting “malefactors” or “robbers.”

⁴ There is a strange combination of Mk ονειδίζω, Lk. εἰς δέ, and Jn’s *crucifragium* in *Evang. Petr.* § 4 εἰς δέ τις τῶν κακούργων ἐκείνων ὠνειδίσεν αὐτοὺς λέγων Ἡμεῖς διὰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν· οὗτος δὲ σωτὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί ἡδίκησεν ὑμᾶς; καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσαν ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ, ὅπως βασανιζόμενος ἀποθάνοι.

⁵ Jerome on Mt. xxvii. 44 says that the penitent believed “*after the earthquake (terra commota)*,” forgetting that the earthquake itself

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We might suppose that a fourth historian of the Crucifixion, if he knew the facts, would either reconcile the two views as above, or support one against the other. Perhaps John did not feel that he knew enough about the facts to adopt either of these courses. At all events he takes a course of his own. For though retaining the Mark-Matthew word describing the two that were "crucified-together," or "companions in crucifixion," he mentions no "blaspheming" or "reproach" from either or both of them. He also avoids the terms "right" and "left," which might seem to differentiate Christ's companions (like the sheep and the goats in Matthew placed on the right and the left) as penitent and impenitent. Also, he does not describe the two either as "robbers" or as "malefactors," but says merely that, when Jesus came to Golgotha, "they crucified him, and with him *two others*, on this side and on that side, and, *in the midst*, Jesus."

"*In the midst*" is used both in the Old and in the New Testament to represent the central Principle of Good, the Lord—as the source of righteousness, purity, and redemption,—and hence the Son of God as representing that Principle¹.

came *after Christ's death*. This is irreconcilable with the Lucan story, which makes the penitent believe *before Christ's death*. Origen does not fall quite into this error. But he suggests that the penitent may have been convinced (1) by "the miracles *that he heard* to have been done by Him" (? referring to Mk xv. 31 "He saved others [*i.e.* Lazarus]"), (2) by the unwonted darkness, (3) he puts forward a suggestion, made earlier in his commentary on John, that the two malefactors in John were different from the two in the Synoptists. Origen's suggestion that the penitent had recently "*heard*" of Christ's "miracles" may be illustrated by Justin M. *Apol.* § 38 quoted above, p. 589, n. 1, ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεγείρας ἑνὸς αὐτῶν.

¹ See *Joh. Voc.* 1793—7 on "in the midst." To the instances there given add Exod. viii. 22 "to the end that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, *in the midst* of the earth." Here Onk. has "that I, the Lord, *do rule in the midst* of the earth," and LXX paraphrases "*in the midst*" as ὁ κύριος, v.r. ὁ θεός, meaning the central Principle or Ruler. On Jn i. 26 "in the midst of you," Origen (*Comm. Joann.* ii. 29) illustrates from the fact that "the heart" is "in the midst of the body," so that it means "the Logos is among you, unrecognised" (see *Son* 3362 (i)—(v)). Origen's illustration would apply to the

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Here Jesus is described as "in the midst" of two "others," and later on it is said, almost ambiguously, "There came therefore the soldiers and of the first [man] they broke-in-pieces the legs and of the other that was crucified-with him¹." Here "with him" might mean "with the first [man]." But possibly—and, some will say, more probably—it means "with Jesus²."

There is perhaps present in John's mind a partnership, as well as a contrast, between Jesus and His two companions, "crucified-with" Him, yet not crucified in the same way. They are sinners, and their bones must needs be "broken" like those of penitent David³. But Jesus is the Sinless One, the Paschal

stream of blood and water that flowed from Christ's "side" and might be regarded as flowing from His "heart."

¹ Jn xix. 32.

■ Chrys. briefly paraphrases this as τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατέαξαν τὰ σκέλη, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔτι, omitting "the other that was crucified with him." Nonnus also omits "that was crucified with him," but devotes more than four lines to the different methods of "breaking" applied to the "gentle (μελιχίου)" one and the "night-lurker (νυκτιλόχου)." They perhaps regarded the clause as meaning "the second malefactor that was crucified along with the first malefactor"—at the same time with Jesus. Westcott's explanation is "The first...the other, starting perhaps from the two sides at which they had been stationed." But why mention this detail? Perhaps because there would have been a sense of bathos in mentioning Jesus as the second of those crucified and then in passing to the third. What happened to Jesus forms a climax. Perhaps the Evangelist regarded this as a natural or even providential climax.

³ Ps. li. 8 "that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice." The Midrash and Talmuds (so far as I have seen) make no comment of importance on passages where "the breaking of the bones" is regarded as God's chastisement by the penitents, David, Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 13) and Israel (Lam. iii. 4). On Ps. li. 8, Rashi simply adds "quando mihi iratus fuisti." On Is. xxxviii. 13, Rashi says "posui me ipsum...ut perferrem castigationes...et memet roboravi tanquam leo ut sustinerem," making Hezekiah like the "lion." And so Targ., "Rugiebam...sicut leo,...qui...confringit...sic confringuntur...omnia ossa mea." This is extremely obscure. See *Mechill.* on Exod. xii. 46 giving a technical meaning to "bone," and comp. Jer. Targ. "a bone of him shall not be broken for the sake of eating that which is within it." Jewish tradition seems to throw no light on the Johannine passage.

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Lamb, of which "not a bone is to be broken." For Jesus, instead of the "breaking," there follows a piercing of the side, and an outflow of blood and water, a "fountain for sin and uncleanness¹." About such a fountain the Psalmist would be supposed by Christians to have written "Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow; make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice²."

The impression left on us by the Johannine narrative is vague as to the conduct of the Synoptic "robbers" or "transgressors," but suggestive as to the sinful world which they represent. Whether one or both of them blasphemed and repented, we are not told. But whereas Luke, at this point, inserts words of Jesus peculiar to his Gospel, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise³," and (a little earlier) according to some authorities, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do⁴," John inserts no such words, but something mystically corresponding to them in the vision of the blood and water that issue from the side of Jesus on the Cross. This concludes the scene, and makes the conclusion, not one of judgment, discriminating between those on the right and those on the left, but one of redemption flowing forth to all.

§ 9. "My God," in Mark and Matthew⁵

The phrase "*my God*," *Eli*, here quoted from the twenty-second Psalm, represents the possessive form of *El*, "strong

¹ Jn xix. 34, Zech. xiii. 1.

² Ps. li. 7 foll.

³ Lk. xxiii. 43.

⁴ [Lk. xxiii. 34.]

⁵ Mk xv. 33—7
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvii. 45—50
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiii. 44—5,
(?) 36 (R.V.)

(33) And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land (*or*, earth) until the ninth hour.

(45) Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land (*or*, earth) until the ninth hour.

(44) And it was now about the sixth hour, and a darkness came over the whole land (*or*, earth) until the ninth hour,

(34) And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?* which is, being interpreted, My God, my

(46) And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* that is, My God, my God, why

(45) The sun[’s light] failing,...

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one." It occurs for the first time in the Song of Moses "This is *my God* and I will praise him," where Jewish tradition explains "*this*" as though the little children of Israel saw, and pointed to, their divine Deliverer: "From their mothers' breasts even the children have *given signs with their fingers* unto the fathers and have said to them '*This is our God, or, our Father...¹*.'" Elsewhere, with one exception, *Eli* occurs only in the Psalms, and in almost every case implies "my own Strong-One," "my

Mk xv. 33—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

God, why hast thou forsaken (*or*, why didst thou forsake) me?

(35) And some of them that stood by, when they heard it, said, Behold, he calleth Elijah.

(36) And one ran, and filling a sponge full of vinegar, put it on a reed, and gave him to drink, saying, Let be; let us see whether Elijah cometh to take him down.

(37) And Jesus uttered a loud voice, and gave up the ghost.

Mt. xxvii. 45—50
(R.V.) *contd.*

hast thou forsaken (*or*, why didst thou forsake) me?

(47) And some of them that stood there, when they heard it, said, This man calleth Elijah.

(48) And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

(49) And the rest said, Let be; let us see whether Elijah cometh to save him.

[*Many anc. auth. add*
And another took a spear and pierced his side, and there came out water and blood.]

(50) And Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and yielded up his spirit.

Lk. xxiii. 44—5
(?) 36 (R.V.) *contd.*

Compare:—
(36) And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, offering him vinegar.

Jn xix. 28—30 (R.V.) (28) After this, Jesus, knowing that all things are now finished, that the scripture might be accomplished, saith, I thirst. (29) There was set there a vessel full of vinegar: so they put a sponge full of the vinegar upon hyssop, and brought it to his mouth. (30) When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up his spirit.

¹ Exod. xv. 2, see Targ. Jer. I "our God" and Jer. II "our Father."

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own Champion, or, Protector¹." There is a quasi-contradiction in the title "My Protector" and the immediately following words "why hast thou forsaken me?" But the latter part of the Psalm implies that there is no real contradiction, for the Psalmist passes from prayer to thanksgiving: "Save me from the lion's mouth, yea, . . . thou hast answered me," and continues in the same tone to the end².

Perhaps the difficulty of making Gentile readers understand the connection in the Jewish mind between the cry "Why hast thou forsaken me?" and the *thought* "But thou hast not really forsaken me, yea, *thou hast answered me*," has caused Luke to omit the quotation. Perhaps also Luke felt that "*my God*," if unexplained, would convey to Greeks the same notion as is conveyed in the bitter satire of Isaiah on the man who fashions a piece of wood "and prayeth unto it and saith, Deliver me, for thou art *my god*³." At all events Luke has omitted it, as well as all that follows, arising out of a confusion between "Eli" and "Elias." As regards the latter—the Elias episode—we need not expect John to intervene, since allusions to "Elias" are recognised as exceptions to the Rule of Intervention⁴; but as regards the former, the phrase "*my God*," here assigned to Jesus by Mark and Matthew, and the saying "why hast thou forsaken me?" we can plead no such exception, and have to ask whether there is any Johannine equivalent.

Origen helps us to find one by connecting the words in the Song of Moses "This is *my God*" with the words of Jesus to Mary Magdalene after His resurrection. Jewish tradition about the former said that "a maidservant on the shore of the Red Sea saw that which was not seen by Ezekiel or any of the prophets⁵"; and John tells us that Mary Magdalene was the first to see the risen Saviour, who said to her "Go unto my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your

¹ Mandelk. p. 86 gives Ps. xviii. 3, xxii. 2, II, lxiii. 2, lxviii. 25, lxxxix. 27, cii. 25, cxviii. 28, cxl. 7 (Hebrew numbers), and Is. xlv. 17.

² Ps. xxii. 21—31.

³ Is. xlv. 17.

⁴ See *Beginning* pp. 68—71.

⁵ See *Mechilta* on Exod. xv. 2, quoting Rabbi Eliezer.

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Father, and *my God* and your God¹." When uttering the words, "my God and your God," Jesus is not to be regarded as letting Himself down (so to speak) to the level of His disciples as sons of Man, but rather as raising them up to His own level as Son of God².

§ 10. "Why hast thou forsaken me?" in Mark and Matthew³

Luke omits this, but has, a little later, the words "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," where Mark and

¹ Jn xx. 17.

² Origen says (*Hom. Genes. i. 13*, *Lomm. viii. 123—4*) "Apostoli se ad ejus [*i.e.* Christi] similitudinem reformarunt in tantum ut ipse de iis diceret (Jn xx. 17) '*Vado...et ad Deum vestrum.*' Ipse vero jam petierat patrem pro discipulis suis, ut iis similitudo pristina"—that is, the "pristine similitude" to the archetypal Man, made in the image of God—"redderetur, cum dixit (Jn xvii. 21—2) '*Pater, da, ut sicut ego et tu unum sumus, ita et isti in nobis unum sint.*'" In another passage (*Hom. Exod. vi. 2*) Origen connects the words in John ("my God and your God") with the words in Exodus "This is *my God*." He sees nothing in this that is inconsistent with the doctrine of the divinity of the Son. "Father" does not, "God" does—for those to whom God has been revealed—imply perfection. We are therefore taught to look forward to a time when we shall see that it is even better to be able to say from the heart, "*my God*" than to say "*my Father*." See *Son 3578 a—g*, *Light 3717 c—d*.

³ Mk xv. 34

Mt. xxvii. 46

Lk. xxiii. 45

καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ
ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ
μεγάλῃ Ἐλωὶ ἔλωὶ λαμὰ
σαβαχθανεὶ; ὃ ἐστιν με-
θερμηνεύμενον Ὁ θεὸς
μου [ὁ θεός μου], εἰς τί
ἐγκατέλιπές με;

περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην
ὥραν ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων
Ἐλωὶ ἔλωὶ λεμὰ σαβαχ-
θανεὶ; τοῦτ' ἐστιν Θεέ
μου θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με
ἐγκατέλιπες;

τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλεί-
ποντος.

In Mk, D has *ἡλει ἡλει λαμα ζαφθανει...εις τι ωνιδισας με*; *Ζαφθανει* is an attempt to transliterate the Heb. עזב "forsake." Of this the Aram. is שָׁבַח, transliterated in most MSS as *σαβαχθανει*, but in B by *ζαβαφθανει* (not *ζαβαχθανει*). In D, *ὠνειδισας* is explained by some (see Dalman *Words* p. 54, quoting Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, 107) from a confusion of עזב with זעה (*ζαφθανει*) meaning *αἰτιάσθαι* or *θυμῶμαι*. The LXX of Ps. xxii. 1 inserts *πρόσχω μοι* before *ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με*; *Προσέχω* in LXX = (more than 20 times) קָשַׁב, and it looks as though the LXX has confused שָׁבַח

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Matthew (followed by Luke) say merely "uttered (*or*, cried with) a loud voice"; corresponding to these—the penultimate and the ultimate utterance of Jesus in the Synoptists—John has (1) "I thirst," (2) "It is finished¹." Can we say that in both these cases, or in either, John intervenes? Leaving the

with קשׁ and inserted a rendering of the latter in the text. If so, it adds one more instance, and a very early one, of the confusion between Heb. and Aramaic in interpreting this passage.

As regards the difference between ηλει and ελωι it must be noted that, although the Heb. "El" is, as a rule (Brederek p. 3 b), rendered by Onkelos into a longer form in Aram., yet in the Targ. on Ps. xxii. 1 the Heb. "El" is preserved.

As to ἀνείδισας, the objection to its origination from ἤνι is that the latter means (Gesen. 277 a) "to storm against," but not "to reproach." But it may have arisen from a paraphrase of "*forsake*," as meaning "*forsake [a babe]*," "*bring a babe into the world and desert it*." Some, who did not like to admit that Jesus said "why hast thou forsaken?" found it easier to suppose that Jesus said—as Origen declares that He did in the person of Jeremiah (xv. 10)—"O mother, *why didst thou bring me forth?*" Origen (Lomm. xv. 260 foll.) interprets this as uttered by the human nature of Christ. In Sir. xliii. 17, ἀνείδισεν—Heb. הִיָּה, which = ὠδίνειν (9 times)—is an error for (A) ὠδίνησεν. So here, some may have regarded the cry as an appeal to the Mother, the Holy Spirit or Wisdom (Origen on Jerem. xv. 10 ὡς τίνα με ἔτεκες;) meaning (Lomm. xv. 263) "I have come down, I came to the earth, I gave myself to corruption, I bore a human body, what hath been achieved for (*or*, by) men that is worthy of those [sufferings]?" This interprets Jeremiah as saying, in effect, εἰς τί ὠδίνησάς με; Origen, however, does not, in his context, expressly quote Mk xv. 34 or parall., but only mentions (Mk xiv. 34, Mt. xxvi. 38) περιδυσπος and (Jn xii. 27, xiii. 21) τετάρακται. Jerome follows Origen in his interpretation of Jerem. xv. 10, and Origen says "Some one before my time" has noted that the prophet's words are addressed to "the Mother of prophets," that is, "the Wisdom of God."

If ἀν(ε)ίδισας in D is a corruption of ὠδίνησας, which is itself a paraphrase ("Why didst thou *bring me forth and desert me?*") we have here a tradition—like others quoted by Origen and Jerome from *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*—in which Jesus regards the Holy Spirit as His Mother (Son 3430 a—b, referring to Origen Hom. Jerem. xv. 4 and Jerome on Mic. vii. 6).

¹ Mk xv. 37, Mt. xxvii. 50, Lk. xxiii. 46, Jn xix. 28, 30.

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second till we come to it in its order, we shall deal here only with the first, the quotation from the twenty-second Psalm, "Why hast thou forsaken me?"

It has been pointed out above that, if we regard the quotation as meaning that Jesus applied to Himself the Psalm as a whole, the meaning then would be felt by Jews to be very different from that of the initial passionate complaint with which the Psalm opens, but that it would be hard to convey this feeling to Greeks. Now, it must be added that Aquila renders the first verse of the Psalm "O my Strong One, my Strong One¹, why hast thou forsaken me?" and the Gospel of Peter gives the utterance of Jesus as "O my Strength, O [my] Strength, thou hast abandoned me²." This leads us to reflect that if Jesus was regarded as having in mind, not merely the first verse of the Psalm but the substance of the Psalm as a whole, then some other passage in the same Psalm, to the same effect but rather clearer to Greek readers, describing the Psalmist as deserted by the "strength" or "power" of God, might be used by John to indicate a sense of temporary weakness and abandonment—a craving, or thirst, for a departing presence of God. Such a passage is found in the description of the last pang felt by the Sufferer before He descends to the grave: "My *strength* is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death³."

Justin Martyr and Tertullian apply this verse to the silence of Christ before His judges⁴, Jerome applies it to the silence of the Apostles (recreants for the moment)—whom he presumably regards here as being signified by Christ's body⁵.

¹ Ps. xxii. 1 Aq. ἰσχυρέ μου, ἰσχυρέ μου.

² *Evang. Petr.* § 5 καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνεβόησε λέγων, Ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με.

³ Ps. xxii. 15. The word for "strength" here (כֶּחֶץ, ἰσχύς) is not the same as in verse 1 (אֵל). Another word occurs in *ib.* 19 "O thou my succour (A.V. *strength*) (אֵלֹות), haste thee to help me," explained by Rashi as identical, in meaning, with כֶּחֶץ.

⁴ See above, p. 550, and add Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 42 concerning Christ's silence before Herod (Lk. xxiii. 8—9).

⁵ Jerome on Ps. xxii. 15.

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But it seems more fitly applicable to the spiritual "drying up," or "thirst," caused by a sense of absence from the Father and of longing to be present with Him. The passionate and thirsting appeal for nearness and union accords with the passion of other passages in the Psalms where the too distant Helper is called "my God" by the Psalmist in the cry "O God, thou art *my God* . . . my soul *thirsteth* for thee, my flesh longeth for thee¹," and again, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God," followed by the confession "O *my God*, my soul is cast down within me²." In view of these and other reiterations in what may be called the Psalm of Thirst, it is not unreasonable to believe that the Johannine "*I thirst*" might correspond to the Mark-Matthew tradition "Why hast thou forsaken me?"

John has before prepared the way for such an interpretation by representing Jesus as beginning His Gospel in Samaria by being "wearied," and by saying "Give me to drink³." That was physical thirst. But the words serve as a preface to His doctrine about the spiritual or "living water," which He gave to others to drink. Now the time has come when, on the Cross, the Giver of "the living water" is Himself to feel life ebbing away, and the "water" "drying up" and leaving Him unable to give it to others or to feel it in Himself. This the Gospel expresses by "*I thirst*." The words that Jesus actually uttered were (doubtless) as Mark (followed by Matthew) has recorded them. But they were obscure for Greek readers, and Luke omitted them. All Christians, while thankful for the Marcan record, may nevertheless believe that John has helped us to apprehend what Jesus actually meant. Comprehend it we cannot. "Forsake" is only a metaphor. "Thirst" is only a metaphor. But the two together help us to apprehend more of the incomprehensible than we could have apprehended from either record taken by itself.

¹ Ps. lxiii. 1.

² Ps. xlii. 1, 6, 11, xliii. 4—5, comp. Mk xiv. 34 where Jesus apparently quotes from these Psalms.

³ Jn iv. 7.

§ II. "Elijah," in Mark and Matthew

"Elijah" is not mentioned at this point by Luke or John, and, as has been pointed out above, their silence is according to rule¹. But although the parallel Luke does not mention Elijah, that is, *Helias*, as "forsaking," it does mention "the sun," that is, *Helios*, as "failing." It may have occurred to Luke that heathen soldiers² would know nothing about Elijah, but would be familiar with the very similar Greek word for "sun³." The sun-god (Syrians and Greeks would say) might naturally be appealed to in time of trouble⁴. It was just at this time that a darkness had come over the land, lasting for three hours. At the end of this period, if Jesus appealed to *Heli*, meaning "my God," it would be very natural that Syrian soldiers should think it referred to *Helios*, the sun-god, addressed vocatively as *Helie*, or to some other god or angel called "Heli" quite distinct from Him to whom Jesus actually appealed.

If this was Luke's view, then, though Mark and Matthew may have been right in imputing to the soldiers on guard some misunderstanding, they were wrong (in his opinion) as to the kind of misunderstanding. This, and perhaps also some discrepancies between Mark and Matthew as to the subsequent action of those who offered vinegar⁵, and some difficulty in

¹ See above, p. 597, referring to *Beginning* pp. 68—70.

² Though they are not called "soldiers" here (Mk xv. 35 *παρεστηκότων*, Mt. xxvii. 47 *ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων*) they are so called in Mk xv. 16, Mt. xxvii. 27 (where Mt. adds *τοῦ ἡγεμόνος*), and Mk and Mt. clearly mean here Pilate's "[soldiers] on guard."

³ Comp. Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* (1002—3) which comments on Ps. xix. 4, mentioning the sun, along with Mt. xxvii. 46. It seems to say that Ps. xix. 4 *ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο* is equiv. to *ἐν τῷ θεῷ*, "as in the Gospel Eli, Eli, [is used] instead of 'My God, my God.'" And comp. Levy i. 84 *b* mentioning אֱלִיּוֹן, a Hebraized form of *ἥλιος*, from *Exod.* v. sect. 15, Wü. p. 106, as being a power too strong for Antiochus but not too strong for Mattathias and his sons.

⁴ Ajax, before death, calls on the sun, Sophocl. *Ajax* 845—6, using the vocative *ἥλιε*. This is also found in the *Odyssey* xii. 385 and in Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 3, *ib.* *Epigr.* l. 1 and *Fragm.* 775, l. 11.

⁵ In Mk xv. 35 *καὶ τινες τῶν παρεστηκότων*, W. H. marg. and Swete have *ἐστηκότων*. This, or *στηκόντων*, i.e. *στηκόντων*, "standing on

explaining whence the vinegar was obtained, led Luke to omit almost all the Mark-Matthew account of that offering¹, as well as the utterance that caused it—confining himself to the words “the sun failing.” John takes a different course. He gives the substance of the cry in the form “I thirst”—intelligible literally, if not spiritually, to all the world—and he enlarges on the subsequent offering of vinegar as an act prepared for by prophecy in the past and by circumstances at the moment².

§ 12. “*Reed*,” or “*hyssop*,” in Mark, Matthew and John³

Against the Johannine substitution of “hyssop” for “reed” the objection has been raised that the stalk of the hyssop is not

guard,” is, very probably, the true reading. No one except one of the soldiers would be allowed to touch the vinegar, *i.e.* the *posca* or sour wine that belonged to the soldiers, and to offer it to a sufferer on the cross. In Mt. xxvii. 47 *τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων*, prob. *ἐκεῖ* has been added to make sense by some scribe who did not see the force of “stand” meaning “stand [in one’s appointed station].” Comp. the LXX *μεσσάβ* or *μεσσάφ* “station,” in 1 S. xiv. 1, 11, where the translators have *ὑπόστασις*, *σύστημα*, *στάσις*, and *πλήθος*. For *στήκω* thus used, see 2 Thess. ii. 15. Possibly in 1 Thess. iii. 8, Philipp. i. 27, and even in Mk xi. 25, there is a touch of military metaphor, the Christian, when praying, being regarded as a soldier at his “post,” or “station.” See *Proclam.* p. 321 on *στατίων* in *Hermas Sim.* v. 1. 1—2. No instance of *στήκω* occurs in literary Greek or in Good-speed.

¹ Luke does indeed mention, perhaps by transposition, (xxiii. 36) an offering of “vinegar” by soldiers that “mocked” Jesus, but in this (see above, p. 590 foll.) he appears to be in error.

² “By circumstances,” because soldiers, on guard for several hours together, would naturally have some of their *ὄξος* at hand, and “by prophecy” because of Ps. lxix. 21 “they gave me vinegar to drink.”

³

Mk xv. 36 <i>a</i>	Mt. xxvii. 48	[Lk. om., but xxiii. 36]
δραμὼν δὲ τις γε- μίσας σπόγγον ὄξους περιθεὶς καλὰ μὲν ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν.	καὶ εὐθέως δραμὼν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ λαβὼν σπόγγον πλήσας τε ὄξους καὶ περιθεὶς κα- λὰ μὲν ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν.	ὄξος προσφέροντες αὐτῷ.

Jn xix. 29 σκευὸς ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν· σπόγγον οὖν μεστόν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσώψῃ περιθέντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι.

long enough for the purpose that John assigns to it. Hence it has been conjectured that "hyssop" (*hussop-os*) is an error for *hussos*, the Greek term for the Roman "*pilum*," or javelin. This is at first sight attractive. But *hussos* does not occur anywhere in Biblical or early Christian Greek¹. And, on reflection, does it seem likely that such a writer as John, in describing the Saviour's death, should introduce such a technical term as this, just before mentioning the "spear" with which His side was pierced—as though distinguishing between the two weapons? The Talmud distinguishes between different kinds of hyssop and tells us that some kinds are collected "for food," others "for wood²." It seems therefore quite possible

Nonnus mentions "reed," *κάλαμος* twice, and "hyssop" once—the latter only in the phrase "vinegar mingled with hyssop":—

ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ὄξους ἀκώσας
σπόγγον ὑποβρυχίων ἀδύτων βλάστημα θαλάσσης
πλήσας δριμυτάτοιο ποτοῦ καὶ διψάδος ἄλμης
ἰθυπόρου καλάμου παρὰ νείατον ἄκρον ἐρείσας
ᾧρεγεν ὑσσώπῳ κεκερασμένον ὄξος δλέθρου,
ἀντίδοτον βασιλῇ μελισταγέος νιφετοῖο
ἄρτου θεσπεσίου δι' ἡέρος ὑψόσε τείνων
ἄκρον ἀειρομένου καλάμου καὶ σπόγγον ἀλήτην.

Philo thrice mentions "hyssop" as a kind of "extra," in the food of the Therapeutae, (ii. 477) "They feed on nothing costly, but on inexpensive bread; and [its only] flavouring-adjunct (*ὄψον*) [is] salt which the gourmets [among them] make additionally savoury with hyssop (*ἅλς οὗς οἱ ἀβροδιαυτότατοι παραρτίουσιν ὑσσώπῳ*)," *ib.* 483 ἄρτος μὲν τροφή, προσόψημα δὲ ἅλς οἷς ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ὑσσωπος ἥδυσμα παραρτίεται διὰ τοὺς τρυφῶντας, *ib.* 484 ἄρτος ἐξυμωμένος μετὰ προσοψήματος ἁλῶν, οἷς ὑσσωπος ἀνάμεικται.

The *Diatessaron* combines Mt. with Jn, but omits "*hyssop*," thus: "One of them hasted and took a sponge, and filled it with that vinegar, and fastened it on a reed, and brought it near his mouth to give him drink."

In Jn, *a* omits "*sponge*," having "*Pelvis posita erat aceto plena: hysopo circumdantes optulerunt ori ejus*"; others have "stick" or "pole" instead of "hyssop"; *b* "*spongiam ergo plenam aceto perticae circumponentes*" (and simil. *Corb.*); *Brix.* has "*implentes spongiam aceto ysopo circumponentes...*"

¹ See *ὑσός* in Steph. *Thes.* It does not occur in Goodspeed.

² See Wetstein on Jn xix. 29 quoting Numb. xix. 18 (Jer. Targ.) "And let a man, a priest, who is clean, take three stalks of *hyssop*,

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that the stalk of the latter might be, or at all events, might be supposed by John to be, employed for the purpose of raising a sponge to Christ's lips.*

Another reason for believing that John here mentioned hyssop, is, that we find it mentioned not only by Barnabas in connection with Christ's Passion¹, but also in the Epistle to the Hebrews which adds "water and scarlet wool and hyssop" to a Biblical sprinkling with blood². In the Bible, hyssop is

bound together, and dip [them] in the water," and *Para* xi. 8—9, xii. 1 "Praeceptum de hyssopo est de tribus caulibus, in quibus tres sunt culmi. . . . Hyssopus brevis compensatur ope fili," and *Succa* 13 *a* where mention is made of hyssop among the "calami" and "surculi" used for constructing booths in the Feast of Tabernacles. The mention of a "hyssopus brevis" implies that another kind was "longa." The small twigs might be used to make a sponge, a long stem might be used as a stick. *Para* xi. 8 says "Hyssopus, qua conspersum est, legitima est ad leprosum purificandum, si collegerit eam in ligna; si collegerit eam in cibis, reproba est."

Confusion might arise, if the sponge was really a bunch of small hyssop-twigs used at the Passover for sprinkling, and if this was placed, or supposed to be placed, round the top of a long hyssop-stalk.

Philo's above quoted use of the expression "to flavour (*παραρύειν*) with hyssop (*ὑσσώπῳ*)" suggests that Nonnus (above quoted, *ὑσσώπῳ κεκερασμένον*, "mingled with hyssop") read, after *τοῦ ὄξους* in Jn xix. 29, *ὑσσώπῳ παραρτυθέντος* "flavoured with hyssop" instead of *ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες* "putting round hyssop." Comp. Coloss. iv. 6 "flavoured (*ἡρτυμένος*) with salt"; and Mk xv. 23 *ἐσμυρρυσμένον*, i.e. "myrrhized," or "flavoured with myrrh," parall. to Mt. xxvii. 34 *μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον*, "along with gall, mingled [therewith]."

¹ Barnabas uses the Mk-Mt.-Jn word *περιθεῖναι* in the same sentence with *ὑσσωπον* (neut.) thus § 8 *περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον . . . ἐπὶ ξύλον* (*ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον . . .*) καὶ τὸ ὑσσωπον, and twice mentions *ὑσσωπον* in the context, but the uncertainty of the text makes his meaning doubtful except to this extent that he certainly connects "hyssop" with the Passion. Heb. "sponge," סֻּגָּה (from Gk *σπόγγος*) means also (Levy iii. 564) a piece of wool used as a sponge.

² Heb. ix. 19 "When every commandment had been spoken by Moses . . . he took the blood of the calves and the goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop . . ." This refers to Exod. xxiv. 8, which makes no mention of anything except "blood." See above, p. 567, n. 3.

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first mentioned in the phrase "a bunch of hyssop" used for sprinkling the blood of the Paschal lamb¹. There Rashi says simply that "three stalks of the hyssop are called 'a bunch².'" But about the Levitical combination of "cedar wood, and scarlet [lit. *the scarlet worm*] and *hyssop*" in the purification of leprosy Rashi says that it indicates that the sufferer is to descend from his pride and become "as a worm and as hyssop³." Solomon's wisdom that extended "from the cedar to the hyssop" included, according to Rashi, the knowledge that the cure of leprosy requires the lowest as well as the highest of trees⁴. On the purification of the leper the *Prayers of the Jews* says "If the leper does not humble himself like 'hyssop' and esteem himself as the 'worm' he will not be cleansed by the 'hyssop' and by the 'scarlet wool,' and unless 'he pours out his heart like water' (Ps. xxii. 14, Lam. ii. 19) he will not be cleansed by the sprinkling of water...⁵."

Such a passage as this is instructive to Gentiles. It shews that Jewish Christians might discern, in Christ's acceptance of the offering conveyed to Him by the "hyssop," a sign that He "humbled himself and became obedient unto death, yea, the death of the cross⁶." And a Jewish Christian poet might say that the Messiah, who was treated as a leper by His countrymen⁷, sent forth from the Cross a purification of leprosy—so that the "cedar" was contributed by His cross⁸, the "water"

¹ Exod. xii. 21—2 "...and kill the passover. And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel...with the blood...."

² "Tres caules (קלחין) (see Lev. iv. 308 shoot, stalk, stem, stump, trunk) vocantur אונדה i.e. fasciculus."

³ Rashi on Lev. xiv. 4.

⁴ Rashi on 1 K. iv. 33, "nempe, quod leprosus mundandus esset per arborem maxime excelsam et per arborem maxime humilem." Cedars (Ps. lxxx. 10) along with mountains and stars (Gesen. 42 b) are said to be "of God (El)," i.e. mighty.

⁵ Quoted by Breithaupt on Lev. xiv. 4 from "libro *Precum Jud.* dict. part. 3. p. 15 princ." On the "scarlet" see above, p. 567, n. 3.

⁶ Philipp. ii. 8.

⁷ See *Proclam.* p. 250.

⁸ Comp. Gal. iii. 13 "hanged on a tree (ξύλον)" as one of many

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and the "blood" by His body, the "scarlet" by His chlamys; and the "hyssop," though not entirely His, was yet in some sense His, since He accepted it from sinners in order to give it back to them in His atonement for their sins¹.

§ 13. *Christ's last utterance*²

According to all the Synoptists, Jesus uttered "a loud voice" just before His death. But Mark might be supposed

instances of the Greek word that means "wood," used also to mean "tree," and used with allusion to the Cross.

¹ It has been noted that the first Biblical mention of "hyssop" is in Exod. xii. 22 "Ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood [of the Paschal lamb] that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood..." Since Jesus is called in the Fourth Gospel both "the Lamb of God" and "the Door," we might have expected the early Fathers to find in the Johannine "hyssop" an allusion to this passage. But I have not met with an instance. Goodspeed gives ὑσσωπον only in connection with (Barn. § 8) the Red Heifer and (Clem. Rom. § 18) Ps. li. 7 "Purge me with hyssop," but not with any allusion to Exod. xii. 22. Rashi, on Ps. li. 7, refers to the cleansing of leprosy (*i.e.* with the blood of the Red Heifer)—but not to the striking of the door posts with the blood of the Paschal lamb.

² Mk xv. 37

Mt. xxvii. 50

Lk. xxiii. 46

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀφείς
φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐξέ-
πνευσεν.

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν
κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ
μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν
Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου
παρτίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά
μου· τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν
ἐξέπνευσεν.

Jn xix. 30 ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Τετέλεσται, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

Here ἀφίημι is used in Mk with φωνήν but in Mt. with πνεῦμα. In LXX, ἀφίημι occurs (1) about death in Gen. xxxv. 18 ἐν τῷ ἀφίεναι (נָפַח) αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν "when she was *causing-to-go-forth* her soul," and in Judg. ii. 21 "the nations that Joshua left *and died* (נָפַח)," LXX καὶ ἀφῆκε (so Tromm., but text perhaps influenced by ἀφείναι in context). But it occurs also (2) about utterance in Gen. xlv. 2 "and he *gave forth* his voice in weeping (R.V. txt wept aloud)" ἀφῆκε φωνὴν μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ. The Heb. "give" (Gesen. 679 b) often means "utter," mostly with acc. "voice," but sometimes with "in voice" (Jerem. xii. 8, Ps. xlv. 6, lxviii. 33) so that Gk might vary between ἐν φωνῇ (or, φωνῇ) and φωνήν. A Greek, finding the phrase "He uttered in a voice" might naturally be disposed to ask "uttered

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(wrongly) to mean "Having uttered a loud voice [namely, Eli, Eli, as I have described above]"; Matthew, by inserting "again," guards against such a supposition: "Having *again* cried out with a loud voice"; Luke supplies—almost identically with a passage from the Psalms¹—the words uttered in the cry: "Having (*lit.*) voiced with a loud voice, Jesus said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

This quotation from the Psalms occurs in the Jewish Prayer Book at this day². It is almost the last utterance of a pious Jew approaching his end. But it is not quite the last. The last is devoted to the glory of God³. And it would seem more in accordance with all the Gospels that Christ's last utterance of all should refer, not to His own "spirit" but to the work that He came to do and had now done. Nevertheless Luke may very naturally have felt justified in inserting the quotation here. He has previously omitted the appeal "Eli, Eli" from Jesus on the Cross. If Luke knew that there was some utterance from the Cross, taken from a verse in one of the Psalms but supposed to express more than that one verse, and addressed to God, he might select this verse—in accordance with the tradition practised already perhaps by pious Jews and expressed in the Petrine Epistle: "Let them that suffer according to the will of God *commit their souls* in well-doing unto a faithful Creator⁴."

John also—although he does not use the Lucan verb "commend"—does in effect describe Jesus, on the night before the Crucifixion, as repeatedly commending, committing, or entrust-

what?" Moreover, in Hebrew, the phrases "one voice," "loud voice," "great voice" are sometimes (Gesen. 877 *a*) used adverbially for "with one voice," "in a loud voice" etc. And these facts might raise doubts, as to the passage under consideration, whether the original contemplated merely "*a loud voice*" or some articulate words uttered "*in a loud voice*."

¹ Ps. xxxi. 5 εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, Sym. παρέθην πνεῦμά μου. Lk. prefixes Πάτερ.

² *Jewish Prayer Book* ed. Singer p. 317.

³ *Ib.* "The Lord reigneth...the Lord is one." These words are to be said "when the end is approaching."

⁴ 1 Pet. iv. 19. Comp. Acts vii. 59.

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ing, something to God. But it is not His own "spirit." It is the Church, which He has built up, "having accomplished the work"—so He, the Son, says to the Father—"which thou hast given me to do¹." The Church, in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus habitually describes as "that which thou gavest me" or "the men whom thou gavest me²." The Father gave them as a trust, or committed them, to the Son; the Son, on the eve of the Crucifixion, commits them to the Father: "While I was with them I kept them...but now I come to thee...I make request that thou shouldest keep them from the evil [one]³."

According to John, then, the words of Jesus about "commending" have, in effect, already been uttered, and he now records, as the last utterance of all, "It is ended, or, finished." If we ask "What is finished?" John refers us to the preceding statement, that Jesus said this "knowing that all things are now finished⁴." By "all things" is meant all the work that was to be accomplished by the Logos in the flesh, the sowing of the seed of the Church. Such an utterance would accord with the tenor of the Johannine Gospel, but what relation has it, if any, to the tradition in Mark and Matthew? Or must we regard it as separate and independent?

In Mark and Matthew, the words describing the Saviour's death vary between "breathed-forth," and "emitted the breath (*or*, spirit)"; and "emit"—that is, "cause to go forth"—is applied by Mark to the "voice." Now "*emit*" in Aramaic may mean "*finish*⁵." In Ezra, an Aramaic form of the Hebrew "*go-forth*" is used in the phrase "they *finished* the Temple," where LXX has the word here used by John in "it is finished⁶."

¹ Jn xvii. 4.

² Jn xvii. 6, and see *Joh. Gr.* 2740—4.

³ Jn xvii. 12—15.

⁴ The perf. τετέλεσται means "are now, in effect, ended." It is not true—except to the eye that can see the effect in the cause. But it expresses the truth better than the present or aorist or even the pluperfect would have expressed it. It might be called "a prophetic perfect."

⁵ See Levy *Ch.* ii. 476 on שׁוּב from Heb. שׁוּב.

⁶ Ezr. vi. 15. Levy *Ch.* ib. quotes Targ. on 2 Chr. viii. 16 as using the same word about the finishing of the Temple.

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Also the Hebrew phrase "the soul *went forth*," or "the spirit *went forth*," is used to mean "he *expired*¹." Hence, "He cried out with a loud voice *It is finished*," might be taken, by a translator into Greek, as meaning "He cried out with a loud voice *and expired*"—or *vice versa*.

Another point to be noted is that Luke himself has recorded, as one of the later sayings of Jesus, "That which is concerning me *hath an end*"—preceded by a sentence that uses the Johannine verb "be finished," or, "find its end": "This that is written must *find its end* [i.e. *fulfilment*] in me [namely], And he was reckoned with transgressors²" This has no parallel in Mark and Matthew. Luke may have here combined two traditions of Christ's utterances about "*the end*," doing his best to place them correctly, but leaving it open—and we may almost say suggestively open—to a later evangelist to place them in a different order and in a different context.

Lastly, if there was an early Christian tradition that Jesus the Son of David toward the close of His life on earth uttered some saying indicating that "that which concerned Him" was "ended," it is hardly possible that it should not occur to some of the Evangelists to think of the conclusion of the Second Book of the Psalms, which is also the conclusion of David's prophecy about the ideal King of righteousness, whom "all nations" were to serve, and whose name was to "endure for ever³." Here the LXX, translating an ambiguous Hebrew word, has, in effect, "The hymns (Heb. prayers) of David the son of Jesse *are finished [and exhausted]*"; but R. Meir, playing on the Hebrew, said that "finished" meant totality or completion⁴. Aquila has the exact Johannine word, "finished [and completed]," and the other translators render similarly⁵.

¹ Gesen. 423 *a* quoting Gen. xxxv. 18 (ἀφιέναι an error of act. for passive, or for ἐξελεθῆναι) and Ps. cxlvi. 4. See also *Notes* 2938—9 on ἐξελεθῆναι, "depart," used for "die."

² Lk. xxii. 37 τέλος ἔχει preceded by (ib.) δὲ τελεσθῆναι.

³ Ps. lxxii. 11, 17. The Psalm is entitled the Psalm of Solomon.

⁴ Ps. lxxii. 20 "are ended (כלו)," LXX ἐξέλιπον, R. Meir (*Pesach.* 117 *a*) said that "all (כל) these" was to be read instead of "are ended."

⁵ See Origen (Lomm. xi. 366) who says that LXX does not express

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In view of these facts we may reasonably conclude that the charge of being "non-historical" applies more forcibly to the Lucan tradition ("I commend my spirit") than to the Johannine tradition ("it is finished"). The former is the kind of saying that any pious evangelist might supply to fill a supposed gap in such an expression as "He uttered [...] crying in a loud voice." But the latter may possibly be based—though this cannot be proved—on an original latent in Mark.

§ 14. *Christ's death*¹

The word, literally "breathed-out," which Mark, followed by Luke, here uses to describe Christ's death, does not occur in LXX. But it is very frequent in Aristotle, who uses it to describe "ex[s]piration" as opposed to "respiration"—that is, "breathing out [into the air]" as opposed to "breathing in, or, back, into the lungs²." Hence it is used absolutely, of final "ex[s]piration," or death, in literary Greek of all periods³. The noun used by Aristotle to denote "breath" is *pneuma*⁴, and Matthew here uses that word, with "dismissed," instead of Mark's "breathed-out." An educated Greek might naturally take "dismissed his *pneuma*" to mean "sent forth [finally] his breath," or "expired." But *pneuma* is hardly ever used in the New Testament except to mean "spirit" (or, very rarely, "wind"⁵). Perhaps Luke felt that Greek readers might need

the Heb., which is rendered by Aquila ἐτελέσθησαν, by Symmachus ἐπετελέσθησαν, and by "the fifth edition" ἀνεκεφαλαιώθησαν. He adds that many things in the Psalm apply to Christ alone.

¹ Mk xv. 37 ἐξέπνευσεν (sim. Lk. xxiii. 46), Mt. xxvii. 50 ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, Jn xix. 30 κλῖνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

² Comp. Aristot. *De Vit. et Mort.* § 2 ἐν τῷ ἀναπνεῖν καὶ ἐκπνεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν. Bonitz's Index gives many other antithetical instances.

³ See Steph. *Thes.* quoting Soph. *Ajax* 1026, and Plutarch *Mor.* 597 F τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπασάμενος ἅμα ἰλεως ἐξέπνευσε.

⁴ Πνεῦμα in Bonitz's *Index Aristot.*, meaning "breath," occupies nearly two columns; meaning "wind," about a third of a column; it never means "spirit." Πνοή, "breath," occurs in Bonitz only twice, in the statement that "plants have [a kind of] breath," and in the poetical form πνοή, "Zeus is the breath [so to speak] of all things."

⁵ In Jn iii. 8 (*Joh. Voc.* 1655), πνεῦμα appears to mean "wind,"

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to have it made clear to them here that *pneuma* did not mean "breath"; at all events he does make it clear by adding that Jesus said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my *pneuma*, i.e. *spirit*."

It should be noted that Mark, and Mark alone, repeats "breathed-out" later on ("seeing that he *breathed-out* thus") as though this in itself—perhaps because of the rapidity of the death, not usual in cases of crucifixion—were a sign to the centurion on guard that Jesus was "God's son¹." This will be discussed in its place, but meantime we are led to ask whether there were any ancient Jewish traditions about the death of the righteous, of such a nature as to illustrate the Marcan language.

It will be found that in the Hebrew Scripture a word meaning "expire," and sometimes rendered in our English Versions "give up the ghost," is used to describe the deaths of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob². It is also applied to the death of Ishmael, and hence the Rabbis argued that Ishmael must have repented before he died, because "the word is not used except about the righteous³." This is not quite accurate. But it is worthy of note that in these four instances Onkelos renders the Hebrew by an Aramaic word signifying "*draw oneself forth*," although elsewhere he renders it by the word that in Hebrew and Aramaic alike means "*die*⁴." Thus the Scripture says about living

but, if so, it plays on the double meaning of the Greek, and this would be the only instance in N.T. "Breath" occurs in N.T. (A.V.) only once, Acts xvii. 25 πνοή. But comp. Rev. xiii. 15 R.V. "to give *breath* (πνεῦμα) (A.V. *life*) unto the image."

¹ Mk xv. 39 ὁδὼν... ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευσεν. The parall. Mt. and Lk. differ. See p. 616 foll.

² Gen. xxv. 8, xxxv. 29, xlix. 33, ἐκλείπειν, see p. 613, n. 2.

³ Gen. xxv. 17, on which Rashi says "Non dicitur גויעה, exspiratio, nisi de justis," but see below, p. 614.

⁴ See Brederick p. 21. Onkelos renders גויע by מות in Gen. vi. 17, vii. 21 etc., but by נגר ithpe. in Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29, xlix. 33. Levy iii. 332 b gives נגר ithpe. as "sterben, verscheiden"—quoting Pes. 50 a and Baba Bathr. 10 b "he was sick and *departed* (אתנניר or אינניר)"—and compares Heb. הלך and Aram. אול. In Gen. xv. 2 "I go (הלך)" Jer. Targ. supplies "*from the world*," but Onk. does not. See Gesen. 234 a quoting Ps. xxxix. 13 "before I go [*my way*] (הלך)

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things before the deluge, "Everything that is in the earth shall *expire*," and about Abraham, "Abraham *expired*, and died in a good old age, . . . and was gathered to his people," but Onkelos has "*shall die*" in the former passage and "*drew-himself-forth*" in the latter¹.

These facts suggest that the basis of Mark's text was some Hebrew tradition about "*expiring*," or "*breathing forth*," corresponding to an Aramaic tradition about "*drawing-himself-forth*," or "*departing*," and that this was variously applied to the breathing forth of a "voice," or the drawing forth of the "soul" or "spirit." But this is not at all certain. What is certain is that the earliest traditions about Christ's death, both Semitic and Greek, would be carefully worded so as to avoid anything that suggested an involuntary "dying"—which both in Greek and Hebrew often means "being killed²." One expression open to an evangelist would be that in which the death of Stephen, the first martyr, is described, "he fell asleep³." This cannot be at once set aside on the ground that Jesus was not supposed to have fallen asleep, since it was believed that He "went and preached to the spirits that were in prison⁴." For the Epistle to the Corinthians recognises Christ Himself

and am no more." Comp. Mk xiv. 21, Mt. xxvi. 24 "the Son of Man goeth [*his way*] (ὁπάγει), even as it is written," parall. Lk. xxii. 22 πορεύεται, see above, p. 407, n. 4.

¹ Gen. vi. 17, xxv. 8.

² See Notes 2938—9, on the Gk "go forth," *i.e.* die, and add Philo's comment on the LXX words ἐκλείπειν and προστίθεται, "to be added," applied to the three Patriarchs:—(i. 164) Abraham (Gen. xxv. 8) "having '*utterly-left*' (ἐκλείπων) mortal things, is '*added*' to the people of God (Heb. 'to his people')." Jacob (Gen. xlix. 33) "is '*added*' to the better (τῷ βελτίονι) because he has '*utterly-left*' (ἐξέλιπε) the worse." Isaac (Gen. xxxv. 29) "himself, too, '*utterly-leaves*' (ἐκλείπει) so much of the bodily element as has been woven into the texture of the soul, and he is '*added*' . . . not, like the other two, to his '*people*' but to his '*race*' (γένει) . . . for '*race*' is but one, the highest, but '*people*' is the name of more than one (πλειόνων)."

³ Acts vii. 60 ἐκομήθη. Steph. *Thes.* describes this use (apart from poetic metaphor) as Christian. But it should have added LXX in the phrase (1 K. ii. 10 etc.) "*slept* (ἐκομήθη) with his fathers."

⁴ 1 Pet. iii. 19.

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as "the firstfruits of them that have fallen-asleep¹." Yet it must be confessed that the phrase would not be quite free from objection in view of the Psalmist's saying "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep²."

The Johannine method of meeting this objection has been explained in the *Johannine Grammar*³. John represents Jesus not exactly as "sleeping" but as "laying his head to rest," and he leaves us to ask the question, "Where and where alone could the Son of God 'lay his head to rest'?" and to answer it from the beginning of his Gospel, "Only 'in the bosom of the Father⁴'"—the home in heaven, whence the Son had come down to earth. This may be illustrated from a passage in the Talmud where some Rabbis object that it is inaccurate to say that the word "expire" is used only about the righteous, for it is used also about the sinners before the Deluge⁵. The answer is, that "expire," when used about the Patriarchs, is supplemented by "gathered," that is, gathered "to one's fathers⁶."

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 20 Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

² Ps. cxxi. 4.

³ *Joh. Gr.* 2644 (i) quoting Origen on Mt. xxvii. 50: "If we have understood the meaning of '*bending the head*' (*inclinare caput*)... let us be urgent so to keep our own lives that in our departure we too may be able...to deliver up our spirit even as Jesus, who *bent the head and took His departure in the act of resting it as it were on the lap of the Father who could cherish it and strengthen it in His bosom* (*sicut Jesus, qui inclinavit caput et quasi supra Patris gremium illud repausans exiit, qui poterat illud in sinu suo favere et confortare*)."
And he proceeds to repeat "*inclinasse caput super gremium Patris*," and "*inclinare caput super gremium Dei*." See Jn xix. 30.

⁴ Jn i. 18 ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. See *Joh. Gr.* 2308—9 explaining εἰς as implying that the Son "is Mediator and Interpreter penetrating from earth *into* (εἰς) the deepest secrets of God in heaven, —where He IS...." We may add that εἰς, as used there, implies a prophecy of return "*to*" the bosom of God, fulfilled in the death on the Cross.

⁵ Gen. vi. 17, vii. 21.

⁶ See Levy i. 314 on גּוֹיְעָה, quoting *Baba Bathra* 16 b, "Every death about which the word גּוֹיְעָה is used denotes the death of the righteous, but only then when וַיִּסָּפֵף ('and was gathered') is added in the context."

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We have seen that Philo, after his fashion, calls attention to this supplementary clause¹.

Not content with this metaphor, John supplements the traditions of Matthew and Luke about Christ's "spirit." Matthew says that Jesus "dismissed" it; Luke says that Jesus "commended" it to the Father. John says that Jesus "delivered it up." Very much is expressed in this novel Johannine use of a word connected elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel almost entirely with the "delivering up" of Jesus by Judas². John does not even say to whom the spirit was "delivered up." He leads us back to the thought of the Suffering Servant of the Lord about whom the LXX repeatedly uses the Synoptic "deliver up" to indicate that the Sufferer was "delivered up by the Lord" for the transgressions of sinners³. John seems here to express the union of the Father with the Son in this "delivering up." It was the act of the Son for the sake of mankind, but it was also the act of the Son to the Father, in accordance with the Father's will, so that it might be said to be the joint act of the Father and the Son, their sacrifice for the salvation of a sinful world⁴.

¹ See above, p. 613, n. 2.

² In Jn vi. 64—xviii. 5 παραδίδωμι (8 times) refers to the act of Judas and in xviii. 30—xix. 16 to the action of the Jews and of Pilate.

³ Is. liii. 6 Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, ib. 12 παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ. . . διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.

⁴ Comp. Rom. viii. 32 "He that spared not his own Son but *delivered him up* for us all," Gal. ii. 20 "The Son of God, who... *delivered himself up* for me," Eph. v. 2, 25 "*delivered himself up*."

CHAPTER XV

THE BURIAL

[Mark xv. 38—47]

§ I. The "rending" of "the veil"¹

THE Synoptic word for veil, *catapetasma*, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament except in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

¹ Mk xv. 38—9
(R.V.)

(38) And the veil of the temple (*or*, sanctuary) was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.

(39) And when the centurion, which stood by over against him, saw that he so gave up the ghost (*many anc. auth.* so cried out, and gave up the ghost), he said, Truly this man was the Son (*or*, a son) of God.

Mt. xxvii. 51—4
(R.V.)

(51) And behold, the veil of the temple (*or*, sanctuary) was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent;

(52) And the tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised;

(53) And coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many.

(54) Now the centurion, and they that were with him watching Jesus, when they saw the earthquake, and the things that were done, feared exceedingly, saying, Truly this was the Son (*or*, a son) of God.

Lk. xxiii. 45 *b*—47
(R.V.)

(45) ...and the veil of the temple (*or*, sanctuary) was rent in the midst.

(46) And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said (*or*, And Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said) Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said this, he gave up the ghost.

(47) And when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man.

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There the context speaks of Christian hope as "an anchor of the soul, [a hope] both sure and steadfast and entering into that which is within *the veil*; whither as a forerunner Jesus entered for us, having become a high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek¹." This assumes that the reader knows what "the veil" meant. It is a word not used in literary Greek, but frequent in LXX, meaning the veil that divides the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place². When it is first mentioned, Rashi says that the Hebrew denotes something that "separates king from people"; its radical meaning is "breaking," and there it may indicate an abrupt "breaking off³."

Mk xv. 38—9

Καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα
τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο
ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω.
Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ
παρεστηκὼς ἐξ ἐναντίας
αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευ-
σεν εἶπεν Ἀληθῶς οὗτος
ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν.

Mt. xxvii. 51, 54

Καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ καταπέ-
τασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη
[ἀπ'] ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω
εἰς δύο, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσεισθη,
καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν.
.....
Ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ
οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τηροῦντες
τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδόντες τὸν
σεισμὸν καὶ τὰ γινόμενα
ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα, λέ-
γοντες Ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς
ἦν οὗτος.

Lk. xxiii. 45 b, 47

... ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ
καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ
μέσον.

.....
Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης
τὸ γινόμενον ἐδόξαζεν τὸν
θεὸν λέγων Ὁντως ὁ
ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος
ἦν.

In Mk, many authorities have "*so cried* and gave up the ghost," adding some form of *κράζας*. *Diatess.* omits Mk, giving merely Mt., which implies that the centurion was moved, not by Christ's manner of death, but by the signs that accompanied it. Some interpreters of Mk (see Cramer on Mk p. 441) explain "seeing" as referring to the rapidity of the death (*ταχέως ἀποπνεύσαντα ἰδόντες, οὐδ' ὑπομνηθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγκυλῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*), and so Origen (*Lomm. v. 73* on *parall. Mt.*). Lk. follows Mt. on this point, only condensing into a more indefinite τὸ γινόμενον the definiteness of Mt. (τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τὰ γινόμενα).

¹ Heb. vi. 19—20.

² Exod. xxvi. 31 etc. See *καταπέτασμα* in *Steph. Thes. Clem. Alex.* 665 calls it twice *παραπέτασμα* before giving it its LXX title, *καταπέτασμα*.

³ Exod. xxvi. 31, פִּרְכָּה. Rashi says that according to the Rabbis it means "rem quae separationem facit inter regem et populum (sive plebem)." That appears to mean between God and Israel. In Biblical Heb. (*Gesen. 827 b*) פִּרַךְ does not exist as a verb. But in N. Heb. it freq. means (*Levy iv. 114—5*) "*break in pieces*," "*crumble*"

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Referring to this veil, the Epistle to the Hebrews calls it "the second *veil*" ("after the second veil the tabernacle that is called the Holy of Holies¹"). This implies, though it does not declare, that there was also a first or outer veil separating the Holy place, which was reserved for priests, from the court of the people of Israel. This first or outer veil is represented by a Hebrew word meaning (Rashi says) "protection," and often, though by no means always, distinguished by LXX from *catapetasma*².

etc. In Exod. i. 13—14 "*rigour*, lit. *crushing service* (פרך)," Sota 11 b explains פרך ("*crushing* [*service*]") as so called because it "*crushes the body*" (and so Rashi takes it, although R. Elieser explained it differently by a play on the word). Thus it happens that Semitic traditions about the "*veil*" might be connected by verbal influences with traditions about "*rending*." And, in view of Matthew's addition about the "*rending*" of "*rocks*" and "*tombs*" in the neighbourhood, it is worth adding that the Greek περίχωρος "*neighbourhood*" is Hebraized in a form (פריכורין) that might suggest a connection with the Heb. פרך (see Krauss p. 489).

¹ Heb. ix. 3.

² In O.T. the "first" veil is called in A.V. a "hanging," in R.V. a "screen." See Rashi on Exod. xxvi. 36—7, and Gesen. 697 a on מסך as being a name given to each of three screens of the tabernacle: "a. at gate (שער) of court Exod. xxvii. 16 etc., b. at entrance (פתח) of tent Exod. xxvi. 36—7 etc., c. פרכת המסך, dividing off the Most Holy Place within the tent, Exod. xxxv. 12 etc." In LXX, מסך = κάλυμμα, ἐπικάλυμμα, κατακάλυμμα 8 times (Tromm.) but also καταπέτασμα 6 times. It sometimes means a secular "covering."

These facts suffice to shew that there might be a difficulty sometimes in distinguishing between the "first" veil and the "second." *Horae Hebraicae*, on Matthew (xxvii. 51)—after giving a minute description of the "*trouble* (τάραξις)" said to have been caused to the Rabbis by the differences (as to the "*veil*" or "*screen*") between the Tabernacle and the two Temples—adds "you will wonder, therefore, that Matthew doth not say καταπετάσματα, *veils*, in the plural; or perhaps you will think that only one of these two veils was rent." He concludes that the Evangelists were "not solicitous in explaining particulars," but "contented to have declared the thing itself." When the priest "went out amazed to the people, and should tell them, *The veil of the Temple is rent*, it would easily be understood of a passage broken into the Holy of Holies by some astonishing and miraculous rending of the hangings."

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The Epistle proceeds to say that Christ, "through his own blood, entered in once for all into the holy [place], having obtained eternal redemption¹," and mentions the *catapetasma* for the third time, thus: "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holy [place] by the blood of Jesus, by the way which he dedicated for us, a new and living way, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh, and [having] a great priest over the house of God...²." It will be observed that the writer, after once mentioning "the Holy of Holies" in full, mentions it thus no more. He appears to imply it when he says that Christ "entered in once for all into the holy [place]." This deserves attention. For an identification of the inner with the outer "holy place" might lead to an identification of the inner with the outer veil.

The symbolism of the rending of the veil is capable of various interpretations. Philo, who tells us that "the *catapetasma* and the so-called *calumma*" (that is, "the second or inmost veil and the first or outermost") were made of the same material³, elsewhere speaks of them both metaphorically, as a type of the obstacle or impediment to the attainment of truth presented by mere human "opinion," which is to be put aside by the perfect man⁴. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to regard the flesh of Christ as being a veil, or hiding, of the truth, and yet also a cleansing and sacrificial avenue through which we are lifted up to the truth. Jerome says "The veil of the Temple was rent and all the holy things

If the rending was regarded as miraculous it would naturally be described as (Mk xv. 38) "*from above* (ἀπ' ἄνωθεν)." This, if taken literally, might be supplemented by "*to the bottom*," ἕως κάτω. But a rent "*from top to bottom*" might be on one side of the curtain, a detail that would spoil the poetic conception of a complete and absolute revealing. Hence "*into two*" is added. This means "*into two equal parts*." But it does not say so. Luke skilfully expresses the whole of this by μέσος.

¹ Heb. ix. 12. "The holy [place]" is, literally, "the holy things," τὰ ἁγία, and so in x. 19.

² Heb. x. 19—21.

³ Philo ii. 148 ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τό τε καταπέτασμα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κάλυμμα κατεσκευάζετο.

⁴ Philo i. 270.

of the Law, which were formerly covered, were brought forth to view *and passed to the Gentiles*¹." This seems to be tinged with the Pauline metaphor about the breaking down of the "partition" between Jews and Gentiles². Tertullian takes a somewhat similar view, as though the "cherubim escaped" from the Jewish Temple through the rent in the "veil"; but elsewhere, in a different metaphor, he mentions, after the "rending," a transference of the water of life to the Gentiles from the "leaky" vessels of the Jews³. The Sibylline Books connect the rending of the veil with the cancelling of all "Law" with its "ordinances"⁴. The Hieronymian commentary

¹ Jerome on Mt. xxvii. 51, "Velum Templi scissum est, et omnia legis sacramenta, quae prius tegebantur, prodita sunt, atque ad gentium populum transierunt."

² Eph. ii. 13 foll. "But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, the law of commandments in *ordinances* (δόγματα)...". On the literal "wall of partition" between the Court of the Gentiles and that of the Jews see Wetstein on Mt. xxvii. 51 quoting Philo and Josephus.

³ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* (on Lk. xxiii. 45), alluding to Ezek. xi. 22—3, and adding (Is. i. 8) that they "left the daughter of Zion as a cottage in a vineyard..."; *ib. Adv. Jud.* § 13, after quoting Mt. xxvii. 51—2, goes on to allude to "broken cisterns—that is, synagogues for the [use of the] dispersions of the Gentiles—in which the Holy Spirit does not now abide."

Some confusion might arise as follows. The above-mentioned (p. 618, n. 2) word פרכת, "curtain" (Gesen. 827 *b* "that which habitually shuts off") is connected with N. Heb. פרך "*break in pieces*," and is quite distinct, in Old Hebrew, from פרק (Gesen. 830 *a*) Heb. "*tear apart*," "*separate*," "*take to pieces*." In Aram., פרק mostly means (Levy *Ch.* ii. 298—9) "*separate [by rescue]*," "*redeem*," but it is used in Onkelos Numb. i. 51, x. 17 (and comp. Levy iv. 137 *b*) about "*taking to pieces*" the Tabernacle and its contents (or Numb. iv. 5 the veil) in the wilderness, before proceeding on a new journey (where Heb. has "*take down*," a form of ירד). By the death of Jesus the old Tabernacle might seem to be "*taken to pieces*" in a special and more complete sense, not that it might proceed on a new journey, but that it might be replaced by a new Tabernacle.

⁴ *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 296—309 mentions confusedly (1) "prickings with a reed (νύξουσι καλάμῳ)," then (2) an explanation of κάλαμοι as

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on Mark says, more simply, "The veil of the Temple is rent, that is, heaven is opened¹."

Clement of Alexandria enlarges on the symbolical significance of the "covering" and the "veil" in the Tabernacle, but makes no mention anywhere of the "rending" in the Gospels². Origen, in his commentary on Matthew, recognises the difficulty of interpreting the details³. There, and elsewhere, he seems to take them as denoting in effect a "double sacrifice," apparently meaning the Incarnation and the Crucifixion⁴. He

"reeds shaken with the wind," then (3) a loosing of all Law that was given "in ordinances of men (*δόγμασιν ἀνθρώπων*)," then (4) a spreading out of the Saviour's hands and a measuring of the whole world, then (5) gall and vinegar, and then (6) the rending of the veil and darkness for three hours after noon—with this moral that it was no longer right to serve the Temple and the obscure Law, "now that the eternal Creator (*αἰθέτρον*) had come down on earth."

¹ This would naturally suggest the thought of Jesus as ascending through the "opened heaven." But that would be contrary to the belief that Jesus at once descended into Sheol, or Hades, to the spirits in prison. The above-quoted *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 296—309 is followed at once by "And He will come to Hades bringing a message of hope to all."

² Clem. Alex. 665 foll.

³ Origen on Mt. xxvii. 51 (Lomm. v. 66). Jesus Himself is described as being the "veil," but Origen refers for details of "the things within the veil" to what he has written elsewhere: "Quamdiu quidem Jesus non susceperat pro hominibus mortem, ipse exspectatio gentium constitutus, velum templi interiora templi velabat; oportet enim ea velari donec ille qui solus ea poterat revelare, manifesta faceret ea videre volentibus, ut per mortem Christi Jesu destruentis credentium mortem, qui liberati fuerint a morte, possint adspicere quae sunt intra velum. Quae autem fuerint illa, non est temporis hujus exponere, quoniam multam et difficilem interpretationem sunt habentia."

⁴ Origen *Comm. Rom.* vi. 7 (Lomm. vii. 34—5) "Nondum enim introierat in sancta non manufacta Christus, nec accesserat ad velamen interius, quod ad Hebraeos scribens Apostolus carnem Christi esse interpretatur: Ubi vero 'Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis,' a praesentia ejus Jerusalem terrena cum templo et altari, atque omnibus, quae ibi gerebantur, eversa est." Elsewhere Origen recognises dissent from Paul's interpretation of the veil: *Comm. Exod.* ix. 1 (Lomm. ix. 108—9) "Qui ergo velamen interioris

accepts the rending of the veil literally, and also Matthew's parallel account of the "rending" of the "rocks" and the resurrection of "many bodies" of saints; but he allegorizes both in spiritual senses¹.

Jerome adds, in his commentary on Matthew, that "in a [Hebrew] Gospel of which he has made frequent mention²," instead of "the veil of the temple," there is "the *lintel* of the temple." Now in versions of the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* there is mention of a "rending," not always of the veil, but of the "clothing" or "covering" of the Temple³. The Syriac for "the veil," *catapetasma*, both in the Old and in the New Testament, is "the *superficies, covering, or front, of the gate.*" The Syriac word for "surface," *aph*, means in Hebrew "nose" or "face," and the Diatessaron has "*the face of the door of the temple* (or, *the door of the temple*) was rent." Possibly the writer of the Hebrew Gospel may have interpreted this "*front*"

tabernaculi carnem Christi interpretatus est, sancta autem ipsum coelum, vel coelos, Dominum vero Christum pontificem, eumque dicit introiisse 'semel in sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa': ex his paucis sermonibus, si quis intelligere novit Pauli sensum, potest advertere, quantum nobis intelligentiae pelagus patefecerit. Sed qui satis amant literam legis Mosis, spiritum vero ejus refugiant, suspectum habent Apostolum Paulum interpretationes hujusmodi proferentem."

Origen uses the term "double sacrifice" in *Comm. Lev. i. 3* (Lomm. ix. 178—9) "Vis autem scire quia *duplex hostia* in eo fuit, conveniens terrestribus, et apta coelestibus? Apostolus ad Hebraeos scribens dicit 'per velamen, id est, carnem suam.' Et iterum interius velamen interpretatur coelum, quod penetravit Jesus, ut adistat nunc vultui Dei pro nobis, semper, inquit, vivens ad interpellandum pro his. Si ergo *duo* intelliguntur *velamina*, quae velut pontifex ingressus est Jesus, consequenter et *sacrificium duplex* intelligendum est, per quod et terrestria salvaverit et coelestia."

¹ Origen (Lomm. v. 68—9) allegorizes "the earth" as "all flesh," and "the rocks" as "the mystery of the prophets," and speaks of "the veil" as "velamen quod positum fuerat super cor eorum" (alluding to 2 Cor. iii. 13—16 "*a veil* (κάλυμμα) upon their heart," i.e. on the heart of the Jews).

² See *Son 3430 a*, comp. *3601 h*.

³ *Test. XII. Patr. Levi* § 10 καταπέτασμα, v.g. ἔνδυμα, *Benj.* § 9 ἀπλωμα.

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or “face” as meaning the “*lintel*.” But, if he did this, would he not have in mind the first Biblical mention of “*lintel*”—the only one in the Law—where the Israelite is instructed to “strike the *lintel*,” on the evening of the Passover, with the blood of the Paschal lamb?

At all events Christians, who believed Christ’s body to be the Temple of God enfolding His presence in the veil of the flesh, might naturally say that in the moment when He died, the Lamb of the Passover was slain, and the old Temple was “loosed” or destroyed on earth in order to give place to a new Temple in heaven. This they might say even before the actual destruction of the Temple. Much more might they say it afterwards. Jews also, after that destruction, might say concerning the Lord’s permission that His Temple should be destroyed, “He hath rent asunder His purple [veil]”²; but Christians would say it with emphasis on the purification that had gone forth to the world as a result of the “rending.”

Poetic descriptions of this “rending” of the “veil” might result in accounts of a literal “rending”—such as the parallel Matthew alone contains—of the rocks and tombs in the neighbourhood³. The parallel Matthew also inserts, in the best Greek MSS, just before Christ’s death, an account of a piercing (literally, “pricking”) of His side and an issue of water and blood⁴. This tradition, about “pricking” the side, is also

¹ Exod. xii. 22—3 “*lintel* (משקוף).”

² See Lam. ii. 17 “he hath accomplished (בצע, *lit.* broken, cut off) his word” explained by Midr. *ad loc.* and very freq. “he hath rent asunder his *Purple* (פורפורה),” a Hebraized form of πορφύρα. Since the “veil” of the Holy of Holies was woven of “purple,” and since, as Rashi says, it “separated King from people” (Jehovah from Israel), it is used here in a double sense. It happens also that פרר (Gesen. 830) means “split,” and that פרפר means (Levy iv. 131—2) “to be convulsed with death-spasms.” These verbal similarities would favour the repetition of this widely-spread Midrashic tradition of the “rending of the purple.”

³ See above, p. 617, n. 3 *ad fin.*

⁴ Mt. xxvii. 49 ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, placed by W. H. in double brackets.

found in the genuine text of John¹. It is almost certainly an interpolation in Matthew. But we must not assume that the inserters borrowed it from John. For the very rare word "prick" is also used in descriptions of the Passion in the Acts of John, and the Gospel of Peter²—and this in such a way as to suggest that it is not borrowed from the Fourth Gospel, but from some such source as that which in the Epistle of Barnabas has originated expressions about the "piercing" of the scape-goat³. Matthew's narrative at this point suggests the influence of poetry, describing a convulsion of nature on earth, corresponding to a darkening of the sun in heaven that made day like night, and somewhat resembling the portents predicted in a version of the Ezra Apocalypse: "Blood shall trickle forth from wood, and the stone utter its voice...and one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice; and the earth over wide regions shall open⁴."

Passing to the Fourth Gospel, we may infer from the facts alleged above that the Johannine piercing of the Saviour's body may correspond, not only as a chronological but also as a spiritual parallel, to the Synoptic rending of the veil. The Epistle to the Hebrews has taught us that the Synoptic "veil" is the Johannine "body." Both are "rent," or "pierced." Are we then to regard both as mere poetic descriptions of the letting loose of the purifying fountain of Redemption in Jesus?

Possibly we are. And this view is confirmed by the emphasis that John lays on the truth of what he himself witnessed in the stream of water and blood, as though to other bystanders it might not have been revealed as it was to him. But there is more to be said for the literal truth of the Johannine than for that of the Synoptic narrative. The "rending" of the "veil," if we think of it as the "rending" of "the purple,"

¹ Jn xix. 34 ἀλλ' εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

² *Paradosis* 1262, quoting *Act. Joann.* § 12 λόγχαις νύσσομαι καὶ καλάμοις, *Evang. Petr.* § 3 καλάμφ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν, and add *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 296 νύξουσι καλάμφ.

³ Barn. vii. 8 "pierce it (κατακεντήσατε)," see p. 569, n. 2.

⁴ Ezr. Apoc. v. 5—8 (ed. Box).

savours of Jewish poetry. The *crurifragium* or "breaking of the legs" does not. The latter—a prosaic and painful detail—explains several facts in a prosaic and historical way; and, in Christ's case, it is possible to accept the statement that the piercing was substituted for it, literally, without accepting literally and materially the exit of blood and water concerning which John adds: "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true; and He [*i.e.* the Lord] knoweth that he [*i.e.* the writer] saith true, that ye also may believe¹."

Metaphors in abundance have been mentioned in this discussion, but not yet the metaphor of Christ regarded as the water-bearing Rock: "They drank of a spiritual rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ²." This may bear on the Johannine tradition about blood and water. Concerning this rock the Psalms and Isaiah say thrice that, after the Lord "smote" or "opened," or "clave" it, the waters "gushed out³." Gesenius gives only these three passages as using the word "gush" in this sense⁴. Sometimes the word is used of an issue of blood, and hence Jewish poetic tradition about Moses bringing water from the rock, both in the Jerusalem Targum and also (repeatedly) in the Midrash, says that when Moses struck the rock, *there came out first drops of blood and afterwards a stream of water*⁵. Some trace of this tradition may perhaps be found in the tradition in Luke—whether it be non-Lucan, or a later Lucan insertion, or a part of the original Luke—about the "sweat that became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground⁶." Jerome, commenting on Isaiah ("clave the rock") not only quotes Paul as saying that the Rock was Christ but also adds that "its '*side*,' wounded

¹ Jn xix. 35. See *Joh. Gr.* 2383—4, 2731.

² I Cor. x. 4.

³ Ps. lxxviii. 20, cv. 41, Is. xlvi. 21.

⁴ Gesen. 264 b 211. But it is freq. in the phrase "flowing with milk and honey."

⁵ Numb. xx. 11, Jer. Targ., see also *Tehill.* ii. 15 on Ps. lxxviii. 20, ii. 126 on Ps. cv. 41, *Exod.* v. (on *Exod.* iii. 9) Wü. p. 47, comp. *Numb.* v. on *Numb.* xx. 11.

⁶ Lk. xxii. 44.

by the spear, flowed with water and blood, dedicating to us baptism and martyrdom¹."

Our conclusion must necessarily be very doubtful. For even historical facts may be expressed in such poetic and metaphorical language as to give the impression, wrongly, that there is nothing but metaphor at the bottom. But we may reasonably say that the Johannine account of the piercing of Christ's side is more likely to be true (so far as concerns the mere "piercing" apart from the vision of the outflow) than the rending of the veil described by the Synoptists, and far more likely than the rending of the rocks and the earthquake described by Matthew as being "seen" by the centurion, but not described by Mark and Luke—though they mention the centurion and also tell us what he "saw." The rejection of the miracles in Matthew, however, does not prevent a believer in Christ from accepting the belief that in the moment of Christ's death there was a great movement in the spiritual world, and a great fountain opened for the cleansing of the souls of mankind.

§ 2. "*From afar*"²

The Synoptists here all use the words "from afar" and "beholding," but differently. Luke, besides adding "*acquaintances*,"

¹ See Westcott on Jn xix. 34 (Patristic Explanation) giving, from very early writers, instances of a play on the Johannine *πλευρά*, side, and the first Biblical mention of *πλευρά*, Gen. ii. 21—2, *i.e.* rib, personified as Eve—very unprofitable except as shewing to what lengths unbridled imagination could lead poetic commentators.

² Mk xv. 40—41
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvii. 55—6
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiii. 48—9
(R.V.)

(40) And there were also women beholding from afar: among whom [were] both Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less (*lit.* little) and of Joses, and Salome;

(41) Who, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him; and many other

(55) And many women were there beholding from afar, which had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him:

(56) Among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.

(48) And all the multitudes that came together to this sight, when they beheld the things that were done, returned smiting their breasts.

(49) And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed with him from Galilee, stood afar off, seeing these things.

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who are "*standing*¹," also previously mentions "*multitudes*" (not "*women*") that came to "*behold*" the spectacle but went away in sorrow². The Lucan word, *gnōstos*, masculine, meaning "*acquaintance*," is very rare in the Greek Bible, but the Psalmist uses it in "*Thou hast put far from me mine acquaintance*," and "*I have become a fear to mine acquaintance*³." Apart from one Johannine passage, *gnōstos* occurs in the New Testament only in Luke's description of Joseph and Mary seeking the child Jesus among their "*kinsfolk and acquaintance*⁴."

Another passage in the Psalms more closely resembles Luke⁵. It mentions "*standing*" as well as "*afar off*," literally "*from afar*," and enumerates three classes of friends: "*My lovers and my friends stand opposite to my wound*⁶, and

Mk xv. 40—41
(R.V.) *contd.*

women which came
up with him unto
Jerusalem.

Jn xix. 25 (R.V.) But there were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the [wife] of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene.

¹ Mk xv. 40—41

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες
ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι,
ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγ-
δαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰα-
κώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ
Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ καὶ Σα-
λώμη, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γα-
λιλαίᾳ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ
καὶ διεκόνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἄλλαι πολλαὶ αἱ συνανα-
βᾶσαι αὐτῷ εἰς Ἱερο-
σόλυμα.

Mt. xxvii. 55—6

Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυ-
ναῖκες πολλαὶ ἀπὸ μα-
κρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, αἵτινες
ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ
ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας δια-
κονοῦσαι αὐτῷ· ἐν αἷς ἦν
Μαρία (marg. Μαριὰμ)
ἡ Μαγδαλινὴ καὶ Μαρία
ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ
Ἰωσήφ (marg. Ἰωσὴ)
μήτηρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν
νιῶν Ζεβεδαίου.

Lk. xxiii. 48—9

καὶ πάντες οἱ συν-
παραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ
τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεω-
ρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα,
τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέ-
στρεφον. Ἰστίκεισαν δὲ
πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ
ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ (marg.
+ αἱ) γυναῖκες αἱ συνα-
κολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ
τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ὁρῶσαι
ταῦτα.

On Mk xv. 40 δὲ καὶ, Mt. xxvii. 55 δὲ ἐκεῖ, see *Corrections* 506 a. Add Eccles. iii. 17 καὶ, v.r. ἐκεῖ, and see Schlatter on Jn ii. 1.

■ Θεωρεῖν, "*behold*," in LXX Ps. xxii. 7, xxxi. 11 suggests hostility, or recoil, in "*beholders*." Lk. does not follow Mk in applying it to "*women*." He applies it here to ὄχλοι and previously (xxiii. 35) to the λαός—the ὄχλοι as temporarily, the λαός (probably) as persistently, unsympathetic.

³ Ps. lxxxviii. 8, comp. 18, xxxi. 11, γνωστός.

⁴ Jn xviii. 15 γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, *ib.* 16 ὁ γνωστὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, Lk. ii. 44 τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γνωστοῖς. ⁵ Ps. xxxviii. 11.

⁶ See Field: "*Amici mei* (אַחַי) et sodales mei (וְרֵעֵי) e regione

my kinsmen *stood from afar*¹." The word here rendered "*kinsmen*" means literally "*those-near*." Rashi interprets it in a bad sense—"those who pretend to be near to me"². Symmachus renders "stand," in the first of the two clauses, by "withstood." This rather confirms Rashi's unfavourable view, since the two clauses are probably parallel in meaning. Jerome interprets the first clause as referring to the Jews ("stood against me") but adds "It may also be taken as referring to the disciples³."

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we find it saying, just before the mention of Christ's death, "Now there *were standing by*

(מנדר) plagae meae (נגע) stant (עמדו)," LXX οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου ἐξ ἐναντίας μου ἤγγισαν καὶ ἔστησαν, Sym. οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροί μου ἐξεναντίας ἐν τῇ πληγῇ μου ἀντέστησαν. The LXX has confused the noun נגע "wound" with the verb נגע "touch," "reach," "strike," which = ἐγγίζω (six times).

Those Christians who followed the Hebrew text might see, in "my wound," a prediction of the wound in Christ's side recorded by John alone.

¹ See Field: "Et propinqui mei (וקרובי) e longinquo (מרחק) consistunt (עמדו)," LXX καὶ οἱ ἔγγιστά μου μακρόθεν (Sym. μακρὰν) ἔστησαν. Field renders the perf. עמדו "have stood" by "consistunt," but the imperf. יעמדו by "stant."

Levy iv. 369—70 gives many instances of קרוב, "*a near relation*," and also of the use of the word to express an antithesis between "near" and "far."

² Rashi's comment on "propinqui" is "qui seipsos simulant esse mihi propinquos."

³ Jerome on Ps. xxxviii. 11 "Amici dicuntur Judaei propter Abraham. Proximi, eo quod ab eorum generatione assumpserit carnem, qui appropriaverunt ei, ut comprehenderetur. Amici mei et noti mei contra me steterunt. Potest et de discipulis accipi: qui in passione metu territi, a Domino recesserunt: in tantum ut etiam eum Petrus denegaret. Vel steterunt, causantes contra eum. '*Et qui juxta me erant de longe steterunt.*' Apostoli vel reliqui discipuli, de quibus ait Evangelista Cum autem apprehendissent eum, '*stabant omnes noti ejus a longe.*'"

Here "amici" is based on LXX φίλοι. "Propter Abraham" has in view Rom. ix. 3—7 "my *kinsmen after the flesh* . . . seed of Abraham." "Causantes contra eum" refers to Lk. xxiii. 10. "Evangelista" refers to Lk. xxiii. 49 but stops short at "noti ejus a longe" and does not add "et mulieres."

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the cross of Jesus his mother and the sister of his mother, Mary that [belonged] to Clopas and Mary Magdalene¹." This has to be considered along with the Marcan tradition "There were also women *from afar* beholding," and with the parallel Luke "Now there *were standing* all his acquaintance (masc.) from afar, and the women...seeing (fem.) these things." Why does not Luke write as clearly as Mark, and say clearly "There were standing from afar all his acquaintance and the women"? Why does he leave a loophole for supposing that there is a pause after "from afar," and a repetition of the verb without the adverb, so that the feminine "seeing" applies to the women alone ("and the women...[were also standing] seeing these things")? The Lucan sentence, in itself, as well as because of its departure from Mark's clear statement, leaves us under the impression that Luke is hampered by the Psalmist's Messianic description of "*kinsmen* standing from afar," which he limits to men. At all events Jerome's comment on the Psalm and his quotations from Luke indicate that he saw in Luke no sign that the "from afar" applied to women, though he saw a recondite application to Christ's nation (based on Rom. ix. 3 "for my brethren's sake, my *kinsmen* according to the flesh")².

¹ Jn xix. 25.

² The use of *ιστήκειν* (al. *ειστήκειν*) deserves attention. Luke thrice uses it in the context—and nowhere else in his Gospel—(1) about the chief priests and scribes (xxiii. 10) "accusing" Jesus, (2) about the people (*ib.* 35) "beholding" the Crucifixion, (3) about Christ's friends (*ib.* 49) who "stood from afar."

Mark never uses *ιστήκειν*. Matthew uses it twice, (1) of the multitude (xiii. 2) "standing on the beach" listening to Christ's teaching, (2) of Christ's mother and brethren (xii. 46) "standing (Mk iii. 31 *στήκοντες*) outside," *i.e.* outside the circle of the disciples. This second passage contains the words (xii. 49) "And stretching out his hand...he said, Behold, my mother, and my brethren."

John, who uses *ιστήκειν* several times with different shades of meaning, applies it (1) to the Lord's mother and the other women (xix. 25) standing near Christ's Cross, when He said "Woman, see, thy son!" (2) to Mary Magdalene (xx. 11) "standing by the tomb outside"—"outside," not in an unbelieving self-exclusion, but in affectionate despair. Perhaps John recognised that the Synoptic account of the mother and brethren of Jesus "standing outside" the

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Luke leaves unnamed all the women mentioned by Mark and Matthew, describing them simply as "*jointly-following* him from Galilee." He has recently described "daughters of Jerusalem" as "*following*" Him to the Cross¹. That "*following*" is perhaps contrasted (in his Gospel) with the "*joint-following*" from Galilee². The phrase "*from afar*" in Hebrew, and sometimes in LXX, may mean "from of old," as well as "from a distance³." Synoptic variations rather favour the view that some interpreted "*women from afar*" as meaning that they had come *all the way from Galilee*, or that they had been with Jesus "*from the beginning of the Gospel in Galilee*"—so that perhaps they ought not to have been described as "*beholding from afar*⁴."

circle of the disciples—apparently because they (Jn vii. 5) "did not believe on him"—needed to be supplemented by an account of the mother of Jesus "standing" near the Cross, with her adopted son, the beloved disciple.

¹ Lk. xxiii. 27—8 ἡκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γυναίκων... Θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλὴμ...

² Comp. Lk. xxiii. 55 κατακολουθήσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες αἰτίνας ἦσαν συνελλυθῦναι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας αὐτῷ. This suggests that Lk. xxiii. 49 συνακολουθῶσαι αὐτῷ is a condensation of (1) "coming up with him," (2) "following him," so that it means "those who had been continuously (pres. part.) accompanying Him and ministering to Him as His attendants during the whole of the protracted journey from Galilee and the North to Jerusalem."

³ Gesen. 935 *b* gives Is. xxii. 11, xxv. 1, 2 K. xix. 25 = Is. xxxvii. 26, 2 S. vii. 19 = 1 Chr. xvii. 17. Comp. also Jerem. xxxi. 3 R.V. txt "of old," R.V. marg. "from afar," Is. xlix. 1 "from far," διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ, Is. xxx. 27 "from far," LXX διὰ χρόνου, Q mg. μακρόθεν.

⁴ Mark mentions (1) "women from afar beholding," (2) select names, (3) how they "used to follow (ἡκολούθουν)" Jesus, and "used to minister (διακονοῦν)" to Him "when he was in Galilee," (4) "other women, many, that had come up with him to Jerusalem." Matthew alters Mark's order, and the tenses, and the sense: "Women, many, from afar beholding, who [had] followed (ἡκολούθησαν) Jesus from Galilee ministering (διακονοῦσαι) to him [during the journey]." Then he adds the select names (substituting for the Marcan "Salome" the phrase "the mother of the sons of Zebedee"). Luke substitutes a tradition mainly new but retains Mark's conclusion, ending with the statement that the women were "seeing these things."

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John appears to intervene partly for Luke as well as partly against him. The women that Luke leaves unnamed—as Luke also does later on in mentioning those who beheld the burial, deferring their names till their announcement of the Resurrection to the apostles—John names, though not apparently in complete agreement with Mark and Matthew. On the other hand, the loophole that Luke left for supposing that the women were *not standing far off*, John accepts and widens into the statement that they were “*standing by the side of the cross*¹.” But the question of Johannine Intervention is unimportant in this case as compared with the question of Johannine accuracy.

Of this there is much doubt. According to John, the Lord's mother was not only standing by the Cross but also addressed by Him, as the future mother of the beloved disciple: “Woman, see, thy son.” It is difficult to believe that such an event, if historical, could have been omitted by the earlier Evangelists. On the other hand it is difficult, if not impossible (at all events for the present writer), to believe that John invented the story.

But there are reasons for thinking that John was misled by very ancient tradition². (1) John's list of the women present, while not agreeing with the Mark-Matthew lists, leaves the reader in doubt whether the number of women is four or three;

It is probable that the early Church was influenced, in its interpretation of these and later passages about women “beholding” events concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus, by Is. xxvii. 11 “mulieres venientes accendent (מַאֲרוֹת) eas (אוֹתָהּ),” LXX γυναῖκες ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θέας δεῖτε. Here, after γυν. ἐρχ., Aq. has φωτίζουσιν αὐτήν, Sym. καὶ δηλοῦσαι αὐτήν, Theod. δηλοῦσαι αὐτῇ. Origen on Mt. xxvii. 55—6 quotes LXX about “mulieres quae aedificantur... a spectaculo (ἀπὸ θέας) Verbi”—after quoting it as “ad spectaculum” (? conf. with Lk. xxiii. 48 ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην)—and allegorizes Galilee. Jerome, on Is. xxvii. 11, connects the Hebrew text with Lk. xxiii. 28 (“daughters of Jerusalem”) but the LXX with Mt. xxviii. 9 (“juxta LXX de Maria dicitur Magdalene...”). He concludes thus: “These are pious expressions, but how they harmonize with the rest and how they fit in with the times of consummation of the world, it is difficult to explain.”

¹ Jn xix. 25.

² For these reasons see *Proclam.* pp. 117—20 on “Salome in Mark,” and pp. 120—24 on “Sons of peace.”

(2) this ambiguity is best explained as the result, not of carelessness, and still less of an intention to mystify readers, but of a desire to reproduce ancient tradition, which was itself ambiguous; (3) taking Mark's tradition as the most ancient, we find in Mark (and in Mark alone) the name Salome; (4) this name, in Old and New Hebrew, might be confused severally with "*my peace*" and with "*belonging to my mother*"; (5) Salome is generally accepted as being the mother of John the son of Zebedee; (6) hence John, the beloved disciple, being "the son of *Salome*," might be called, with a play on Salome's name, "the son *belonging to my mother*"; (7) a gloss of this kind might naturally be added to the list of women in Mark's tradition—"This meant (*or*, he said this¹) the son belonging to my mother"; (8) this would lead to the statement that "Jesus said, [behold] the son belonging to my mother," and that He said it to the women beholding His crucifixion.

Even if Jesus did not actually say to His mother from the Cross "See, thy son," we are justified in believing it to be probable that "the disciple from that hour took her to his own home²"; for, if that had not been the fact, the statement would have been manifestly open to contradiction in Christian circles. And this, if a fact, falls in with the view—in itself a probable one—that in the Galilaean Church there were plays on the name Salome, which Mark alone has preserved³.

¹ On "said," *i.e.* meant, see *Son* 3204, 3371 *e*, and *Notes* 2837 (iii) *a*, 2874 *f*.

² Jn xix. 27.

³ Mk iii. 34 and Mt. xii. 49 (Lk. viii. 21 differs) have preserved a tradition that Jesus said once to a multitude, concerning His disciples—"looking round" or "stretching forth his hand"—"See, my mother and my brethren." Early Christian traditions about Jesus on the Cross might naturally repeat a saying of this kind in connection with the Crucifixion when He "stretched out His hand and measured all things."

See *Orac. Sibyll.* i. 372 ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐκπετάσῃ χεῖρας καὶ πάντα μετρήσῃ, *rep. ib.* viii. 302 ἐκπετάσει δὲ χεῖρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει. What is the precise meaning, and what is the origin, of this "measuring"? Does it mean reducing to order? *Comp. Is.* xl. 11—12, where the picture of the shepherd "gathering the lambs in his arm" is followed

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John, alone of the Evangelists, never mentions Mary the mother of Jesus by the name of "Mary," but repeatedly calls her "*his mother*," or "*the mother*," or else, in the first mentions of her, "*the mother of Jesus*¹." This rather favours the view that he might insert in his Gospel traditions based on the similarity between "*Salome*" and "*belonging to my mother*"—and this more especially in connection with the name of the apostle John, whom also he never mentions by name, but often by periphrasis.

§ 3. *Joseph of Arimathaea*²

Mark tells us that, "*since it was the Preparation*," Joseph came to Pilate; and he alone adds that "*the Preparation*" was

by the question "Who hath *measured* the waters in the hollow of his hand?" *Μετρεῖν* occurs only five times in canon. LXX and once in Wisdom.

The extension of the arms on the Cross might be regarded as preparatory to "embracing," and Origen regards it thus when he contrasts the extension of hands by Jesus with the elevation of hands by Moses (on Exod. xvii. 11) "*Moses quidem elevat manus, non extendit; Jesus autem, qui universum orbem terrae exaltatus in cruce complexurus erat brachiis suis, dicit (Is. lxv. 2) 'Extendi manus meas...'*"

¹ Jn ii. 1, 3 "*the mother of Jesus*," ii. 5, 12 "*his mother*"; vi. 42 "*whose father and mother we know*," may be contrasted with Mk vi. 3 "*the carpenter the son of Mary*."

² Mk xv. 42—7
(R.V.)

Mt. xxvii. 57—61
(R.V.)

Lk. xxiii. 50—56
(R.V.)

(42) And when even was now come, because it was the Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath,

(43) There came Joseph of Arimathaea, a councillor of honourable estate, who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God; and he boldly went in unto Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus.

(44) And Pilate

(57) And when even was come, there came a rich man from Arimathaea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple:

(58) This man went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded it to be

(50) And behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, a good man and a righteous

(51) (He had not consented to their counsel and deed), [a man] of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews, who was looking for the kingdom of God:

(52) This man went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus.

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in other words "the day before the sabbath," or, as he calls it

Mk xv. 42—7
(R.V.) *contd.*

marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead (*many anc. auth. were already dead*).

(45) And when he learned it of the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph.

(46) And he bought a linen cloth, and taking him down, wound him in the linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of a rock; and he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb.

(47) And Mary Magdalene and Mary the [mother] of Jesus beheld where he was laid.

Mt. xxvii. 57—61
(R.V.) *contd.*

given up.

(59) And Joseph took the body, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth,

(60) And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb, and departed.

(61) And Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.

Lk. xxiii. 50—56
(R.V.) *contd.*

(53) And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb that was hewn in stone, where never man had yet lain.

(54) And it was the day of the Preparation, and the sabbath drew on (*lit. began to dawn*).

(55) And the women, which had come with him out of Galilee, followed after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid.

(56) And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments. And on the sabbath they rested according to the commandment.

Jn xix. 38—42 (R.V.) (38) And after these things Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, asked of Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave [him] leave. He came therefore, and took away his body. (39) And there came also Nicodemus, he who at the first came to him by night, bringing a mixture (*some anc. auth. a roll*) of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound [weight]. (40) So they took the body of Jesus, and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to bury. (41) Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new tomb wherein was never man yet laid. (42) There then because of the Jews' Preparation (for the tomb was nigh at hand) they laid Jesus.

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in one word, "*the prosabbath*¹." Matthew, apparently not understanding that the approach of the Preparation was the cause of

¹ Mk xv. 42 καὶ ἡδὴ ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάββατον. Mark alone uses the term προσάββατον. Levy iii. 691 b shews that in Heb. "*eve* (ערב) *of the sabbath*" was a freq. phrase and that in Aramaic ערובתא "*the eve*" was used by itself to mean "*the eve of the sabbath*," i.e. 3—6 P.M. on Friday. Προσάββατον occurs only once in LXX as representing Heb., and there as v.r., Ps. xcii. tit. "canticum carminis (Field) *in die sabbati*," LXX and Sym. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου (x τοῦ προσαββάτου). The Heb. is "*for the day* (ליום) (Targ. יומא על) *of the sabbath*." This might be taken as meaning not "*in die*" but "*in diem*," a song on the Friday evening for the coming Saturday. This might be called a song *on* (or, *of*) the prosabbath [*for the coming sabbath*] "canticum carminis prosabbati." But x has εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, substituting "*prosabbath*" for "*sabbath*." This is instructive as indicating a source of much possible confusion.

The LXX has προσαββάτον in Ps. xciii. tit. (with v.r. σαββάτου) no Heb., and in Judith viii. 6 "*save the eves of the sabbaths* (προσαββάτων) and the sabbaths, and *the eves of the new moons* [v.r. adds and the new moons], and the feasts..." but Syr. and Vulg. have merely "*sabbaths and new moons and feasts*." In Mk xv. 42, SS has merely "And it was *on the sabbath*"; k "Serum autem cum factum esset cene pure sabbati." Josephus gives a decree of Augustus releasing the Jews from answering as legal sureties (*Ant.* xvi. 6. 2) "*on the Sabbath, or the Preparation before it, from the ninth hour* (ἡ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης)." This indicates that the whole of the twenty-four hours preceding the Sabbath (or other Feast) might be called "Preparation," and that the immunity extended to only a part of it.

Προσάββατον does not occur in Goodspeed, not even in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* where (Lightf. p. 594) "the writers betray an eagerness to find parallels" between Polycarp's martyrdom and Christ's Passion. But "*Preparation*" and "*Great Sabbath*" occur as follows. The soldiers are described as going forth to arrest Polycarp (*Mart.* § 7) "*on the Preparation about supper-time* (τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν)," where Lightf. by a slip omits the italicised words in his translation. Then Polycarp prays (*ib.*) "for two hours," and (§ 8) they set Polycarp on an ass and brought him to the city "it being [by this time] *great sabbath* (ὁντος σαββάτου μεγάλου)." (Lightf. "it being a high sabbath.") Toward the conclusion it is said "The blessed Polycarp was martyred ... on a great sabbath at the eighth hour."

Nonnus paraphrases Jn xix. 14 "Now it was the Preparation of the passover" by "Ἐκτε δ' ἦν ἐνέπουσι προσάββατος (? -ον) ἔτρεχεν ἡώς, and

Joseph's immediate action, delays the mention of "Preparation" till after the entombment¹. So does Luke². Matthew and Luke, besides omitting the Marcan *prosabbath*, give no explanation of the term Preparation. John thrice mentions the "Preparation" at considerable intervals and explains its importance and its influence on the sequel, resulting in a hasty and temporary entombment³.

Mark is the only Synoptist that describes Joseph as having "dared," or "boldly made up his mind," when going to Pilate⁴.

Jn xix. 42 "because of the Jews' Preparation" by "Ὅτι παρ' Ἑβραίοισι φυλασσομένης δρόμον ὥρης Γέιτονα νύκτα φέρουσα προσάββατος ἔτρεχεν ἡὼς. This illustrates the Johannine intervention for Mark, since Nonnus uses Mark's unique word to shew that John, though not using the word, is, in effect, explaining it.

¹ Mt. xxvii. 62 τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν. This is a strange expression. He means "on the sabbath," but he does not mention σάββατον till xxviii. 1 ὃς δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. That, too, is curiously expressed.

² Lk. xxiii. 54 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν. Ἐπιφώσκειν does not occur in N.T. except here about the advent, in Mt., of μία σαββάτων, but in Lk., of σάββατον. *Evang. Petr.* § 2 represents Herod as saying to Pilate ἐπεὶ καὶ σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει (rep. *ib.* § 9). In LXX, ἐπιφώσκειν occurs (1) and ἐπιφάύσκειν (3), all in Job. It is a poetical word. In N.T., ἐπιφάύσκω occurs once in a Christian song quoted in Eph. v. 14 "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon (ἐπιφάύσει) thee." Neither word occurs in Goodspeed.

³ Jn xix. 14 ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, *ib.* 31 . . . ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν, ἵνα μὴ . . . ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου. This tells us that (1) the Preparation, or Eve, was the Eve of the Passover; (2) it was also the Eve of the Sabbath. There were therefore special reasons for the speedy entombment. Comp. xix. 42 ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, where "of the Jews" means, in effect, "owing to this Jewish custom which I have at some length tried to explain." In *Acts of John* § 12 ὅτε (MSS) τωαρουβατω ἐκρεμάσθη has been explained by Hilgenfeld as "on the Preparation." This would agree with the Aramaic ܬܪܝܬܐ quoted above, p. 635, n. 1.

⁴ Mk xv. 43—5

Mt. xxvii. 57—8

Lk. xxiii. 50—52

ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ (marg. + ὁ) ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτῆς, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ

Ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, τοῦνομα Ἰωσήφ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθητεύθη (marg.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος, — οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συνκατατεθειμένος τῇ

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This might mean that he was afraid of Pilate. But it is much more probable that he was afraid of incurring the enmity of the Jews. John suggests this by saying that he was "a disciple of Jesus, but in secret, through fear of the Jews."

Mark alone calls Joseph "respectable"—a term used in early papyri to mean the "respectables" or "notables" of a town¹. He adds "councillor" but does not say whether this refers to the town council of Arimathaea or to the Sanhedrin². Luke indicates the latter by adding "he had not voted in favour of their counsel and action," *i.e.* that of the Sanhedrin in condemning Jesus. Luke also follows Mark in saying that Joseph was "looking for the kingdom of God." For all this, Matthew substitutes (1) "rich," (2) "he had become a disciple of Jesus." These variations could be reasonably explained by the hypothesis of a Hebrew original meaning "A man of worth,"

Mk xv. 43—5
contd.

θεοῦ, πολήσας εἰσῆλθεν
πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ
ἡτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ. ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος
ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἤδη τέθνη-
κεν, καὶ προσκαλεσά-
μενος τὸν κεντυρίωνα
ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη
(*marg. πάλαι*) ἀπέθανεν·
καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεν-
τυρίωνος ἐδωρήσατο τὸ
πτῶμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ.

Mt. xxvii. 57—8
contd.

ἐμαθήτευσεν) τῷ Ἰησοῦ·
οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πει-
λάτῳ ἡτήσατο τὸ σῶμα
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. τότε ὁ Πει-
λᾶτος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδο-
θῆναι.

Lk. xxiii. 50—52
contd.

βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει
αὐτῶν,—ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας
πόλεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς
προσεδέχετο τὴν βασι-
λείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος
προσελθὼν τῷ Πειλάτῳ
ἡτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ.

In xix. 38 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡρώτησεν τὸν Πειλᾶτον Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὢν μαθητὴς [τοῦ] Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πειλᾶτος.

In Mk, SS has "And he dared and went in unto Pilate," *k* "ausus est et introivit ad pilatum."

¹ Wetst. on Mk quotes Phrynichus and Suidas as condemning the popular use of *εὐσχήμων* for "in good position," "well-to-do." See *Corrections* 519, and add *Berl. Urkund.* 376 (2nd or 3rd cent.) (a rescript) "to the *respectables*" of a village (comp. 381 where the writers call themselves *εὐσχήμονες*).

² *Acta Pil.* (A) xi. 3 Ἰωσήφ βουλευτὴς ἀπὸ Ἀ. πόλεως ὑπάρχων favours the view that he was an official of Arimathaea, but Luke indicates that he was a member of the Sanhedrin.

or perhaps "A son of worth¹." The phrase is opposed to "a man of Belial." But the Hebrew for "worth" often means "riches²." Matthew may have taken it thus, and all the more readily because of Isaiah's prophecy "they made his grave... with the rich in his death³."

Mark alone tells us that when Joseph asked for the body, Pilate "marvelled if he were already dead." This, taken by itself, might lead unbelievers to say, in derision, that the marvel would be justifiable, and that Jesus did not die on the Cross. Anticipating this criticism, some evangelists might omit the Marcan tradition. Matthew and Luke at all events do omit it. But according to John, such a derisive objection may be met by facts passed over in Mark's narrative. Before receiving Joseph's request, Pilate had given orders for the *crurifragium*, i.e. in effect, the killing of the crucified. The sudden death of Jesus anticipated the *crurifragium* in a surprising manner, but the soldiers assured themselves of the reality of the death by piercing His side. Joseph, coming straight from the Cross, and informing Pilate of the unexpectedly rapid death, might well cause surprise, and even unbelief, until Joseph's account was confirmed by the centurion. Mark might have expressed the facts fully thus, "Pilate marvelled that Jesus had already died [*and then found from the centurion that the death had been ascertained without the crurifragium which he had ordered*]." But he did not express them thus because he had omitted all mention of the *crurifragium*. John supplies what Mark omitted.

John also says that Joseph was seconded by Nicodemus—seconded, but at some interval. Joseph supplied the courageous

¹ See Gesen. 298—9 on חיל = "ability," but "often involving moral worth." It also means "wealth." In Exod. xviii. 21 "*men of ability*, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain"—where Rashi says "*rich men*, who have no need to practise hypocrisy and pervert judgment"—are called briefly afterwards (xviii. 25) "*men of ability*," and these are to be chosen as rulers and judges. In 1 K. i. 42, "thou art a man of worth (חיל)," the Targ. has "thou art a man fearing (רחיל) sins," and in ib. i. 52 "If he is like a son (בן) of worth (חיל)," the Targ. has "like a man fearing (רחיל) sins."

² Tromm. gives חיל as πλοῦτος ten times.

³ Is. liii. 9.

initiative in petitioning Pilate, and in "taking away" the body from the Cross. Nicodemus came afterwards ("but there came also Nicodemus") and brought embalming spices in profusion¹, "a hundred pounds in weight." The Evangelist not improbably desires us to contrast this with Mary's single "pound" of ointment—more precious than the hundred pounds². Here it is added that Nicodemus was "he that came to Jesus by night at the first." He was a just man. He had said to the Sanhedrin "Doth our Law judge the accused [*lit.* the man] except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth³?" But he was deficient in courage, and here he serves as a foil to Joseph, whose "boldness"—mentioned by Mark—had not been appreciated by Matthew and Luke⁴.

§ 4. *The entombing*⁵

Matthew and Luke differ conspicuously from Mark in rejecting the word "*bound-fast*" or "*fettered*," and substituting

¹ Why does Mark (xv. 46 ἀγοράσας) say that Joseph "*bought*" linen? Possibly the original meant "procured" or "took" ἤρψ. See Nehem. x. 31 ἀγορῶμεν (ἤρψ), and Nehem. v. 2 A.V. "take up," R.V. "get" ("let us *get* (LXX λημψόμεθα) corn that we may eat and live"). It is noteworthy that in Mk xvi. 1 ἡγόρασαν, the word is used again by Mark alone to describe the "*buying*" of spices after the sabbath.

² Jn xii. 3, xix. 39 are the only N.T. instances of λίτρα.

³ Jn vii. 51—2. "The man" means "the man [brought up from time to time for judgment]."

⁴ The Synoptists have given us no previous indication that any Jew (Mk) "of honourable estate," or (Mt.) "rich," would regard Jesus with favour—unless we may accept, as honestly and sincerely uttered, the words assigned by Mark alone to a scribe, who said to Jesus (xii. 32) "Teacher, thou hast well said." John, on the other hand, has prepared the way for it by the first words of Nicodemus, (iii. 2) "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God." But this is private, and Nicodemus in public (*ib.* vii. 50—51) adopts a judicial and less favourable tone.

⁵ Mk xv. 46—7

καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα
καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνείλησεν
τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν
αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν

Mt. xxvii. 59—61

καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα
ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ
[ἐν] σινδόνι καθαρᾷ, καὶ
ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ

Lk. xxiii. 53, 55

καὶ καθελὼν ἐνετύ-
λιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι, καὶ
ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι
λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς

"*enfolded*," to describe Joseph's entombing of Christ's body¹. The latter word probably seemed more suitable to the kindness of the act. But on the other hand the former better suggests those fetters of the grave which were to be broken in the Resurrection. Accordingly John, though not adopting Mark's unusual word, restores the sense of imprisonment by using the word "bind" habitually applied to prisoners².

Mk xv. 46—7
contd.

λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. Ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν πού τέθειται.

Mt. xxvii. 59—61
contd.

αὐτοῦ μνημείου ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπῆλθεν. Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου.

Lk. xxiii. 53, 55
contd.

οὕτω κείμενος. . . Κατακολουθήσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵτινες ἦσαν συνελθλυθῦναι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας αὐτῶ, ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.

Jn xix. 38 b—42 ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικοδήμους, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων ἔλιγμα (*marg.* μίγμα) σμύρνης καὶ ἀλός, ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κήπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καυόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπῃ οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος· ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

¹ Ἐντυλίσσω "*enfold*" means (*Aristoph. Nub.* 987, *Plut.* 692) "wrap oneself up" comfortably in a cloak, blanket etc. Ἐνειλέω is used (*Artemidor.* i. 13) of "swathing" babes, the emblem of helplessness, of entanglement in debt (*Plut. Mor.* 830 E) ὁ ἄπιξ ἐνειληθεὶς μένει χρεώσσης διὰ παντός, of Caesar (*ib.* *Vit.* 739 D) "hunted to death like a wild beast, *entangled* [and held-fast] in the hands of all [the] conspirators (*ἐνειλείτο ταῖς πάντων χερσίν*)."² Applied to things it might mean (*Philo* ii. 622) binding fast without "violence"; but applied to persons (not babes) it would mostly imply violence or coercion. It is incorrectly printed *ἐνειλημμένης* in *Philo* ii. 622, and in some MSS of *Polyc. Philipp.* § 1 τοὺς ἐνειλημένους. . . δεσμοῖς.

John uses the Mt.-Lk. word later on (xx. 7 *ἐντετυλιγμένον*), but in quite a different sense, of the empty napkin "rolled up" (see below, p. 670 foll.).

² See above p. 541, n. 1, on the Marcan *δήσαντες* om. by Lk. Does John wish to suggest here that when the Word came to the world (Jn i. 11) "His own" not only "did not receive," but attempted to "bind" Him—friends after His death as well as enemies during His life? About this he might feel (2 Tim. ii. 10) ἀλλὰ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται.

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Mark and Matthew, in describing Joseph's "*tomb*" as "*hewn*," use a phrase that occurs in the Bible elsewhere only in Isaiah's description of the "*tomb*" that has been "*hewn*" for himself by a rich upstart who is threatened with God's wrath¹. Luke avoids this by substituting a word that means "*chiselled*" or "*cut-out-of-stone*," which occurs in LXX only once as the Greek rendering of Pishgah ("*cleft*")².

To readers of the LXX the Lucan term might suggest the thought of the mountain on which Moses died. But this would not be quite appropriate. John, and John alone, tells us that the tomb was in "*a garden*," near the place of crucifixion. About this the Gospel of Peter says that Joseph, "*having received the Lord, washed and bound Him fast in linen and brought Him into his own grave, called Joseph's Garden*³." This seems probable in itself. But Matthew alone implies that the grave was Joseph's. Why does John, instead of confirming Matthew, take pains to tell us a detached fact, that the tomb was in "*a garden*"—omitting all statements about the "*hewing*" or "*cutting*" and the ownership of the tomb⁴?

Seeking an answer to this question we are led to reflect (as often) that the end of the Fourth Gospel, like the beginning, implies a Hexaemeron, a New Genesis⁵. We are therefore (as Origen says concerning the entombment) in a region of symbolism⁶. And at this stage we have reached the events that

¹ Is. xxii. 16 ἐλατόμησας σεαυτῷ ὁδὸν μνημείου. The word λατομεῖν occurs nowhere else in prophecy except Is. li. 1.

² Deut. iv. 49 "the slopes (*marg.* springs) of Pishgah," LXX Ἀσηδῶθ τὴν λαξευτήν.

³ *Evang. Petr.* § 6 λαβὼν δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἔλουσε καὶ εἴλησε σινδόνι καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον, καλούμενον κήπον Ἰωσήφ. This suggests the question, Why did no evangelist add ἔλουσε? If it were not so natural an addition, one might suggest that the writer had in view variants of εἰλησε, including ἔλουσε, εἰλυσε, and εἰλησε, and that he has conflated two of them.

⁴ John also, like Luke, omits the rolling of the stone to the entrance of the grave, but (again like Luke) assumes it, and mentions the stone later on.

⁵ See *Proclam.* p. 15, *Son* 3583 (ix) *b*, (xii) *d*, comp. *Joh. Gr.* 2624, 2647.

⁶ It does not follow that we are consequently in a "region" of

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correspond, antithetically, to the fall of Adam and his expulsion from Paradise under sentence of death. Paradise is, in Hebrew, "garden." The Johannine word for "garden" occurs in Aquila for the first time when we read that "The Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden and there he put the man he had formed¹." That referred to the first Adam. Now, in this new "garden," the Lord God is "putting" the second and sinless Adam, like "a grain of wheat," to spring up from death into a new life that shall redeem the first Adam from death and sin².

non-fact, but it does follow that the writer would select and emphasize what were (or what appeared to him to be) facts that suited symbolism. Take, for example, John's mention here of a "garden." (1) A "garden" may have been the actual place of the tomb. (2) "A garden (*gan*) of fertility (*semene*)," *Gansemene*, may have been one of the many forms of what we call "*Gethsemene*" (of which the prefix is very variously given in MSS and Versions, see above, p. 448); and this may be illustrated by Jerome's (and the Talmudists') explanation of the *Gen-* in *Gennesaret* which Jerome renders (as if it were *gan-*) "garden of rulers" (see *Onomastica* and *Levy* i. 349 a). (3) In either of these two cases a symbolistic writer would be likely to emphasize the tradition about a "garden." He would of course do so if he knew it to be true; but he would also prefer it to other traditions, if he thought it to be fairly probable.

¹ Gen. ii. 8 (Aq.) καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς κήπον ἐν Ἑδὲμ (גן בעדן) ἀπὸ ἀρχῆθεν (מקדם)... LXX has παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐπλασεν.

² Origen (*Cels.* ii. 69, Lomm. xviii. 233 foll.) says about the events of the entombment "Each of them may be shewn (*ἀποδείκνυται*) to be also a symbol of something—at least in the judgment of those who read the Scripture with understanding." Then he paraphrases Rom. vi. 4 "We were buried with Him through baptism and have also risen with Him," to shew that the tomb in which we have been thus buried must be "*new*"—so as to contain "so to speak, a *new* dead man"—not constructed out of many stones but hewn out of one rock. Also on Ps. i. 3 "He shall be like a tree," he says that, according to one interpretation, "It is the soul of the Saviour...transplanted to the *paradise* where also the Gospel (Lk. xxiii. 43) says that He was after the Passion, relating that He said to the penitent robber, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in God's *paradise*.'" Against these words of Christ, he says (*Comm. Joann.* xxxii. 19, Lomm. ii. 481) objections have been raised which he tries to meet. Perhaps there were early plays on the *paradise* of Joseph and that of Eden.

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It should be noted that although John follows Matthew in saying that the tomb was "new," as well as Luke in saying that no one had ever yet been placed in it, he does not follow Matthew in saying that it belonged to Joseph. On the contrary, after mentioning the tomb as being "in a garden," John implies that it was under control of "the gardener," to whom Mary appeals saying "If thou hast conveyed him away, tell me where thou hast put him¹." John has previously told us that the body was placed in this tomb, not because it was Joseph's—which would have been a perfectly sufficient reason—but "on account of the Preparation of the Jews, because the tomb was near." This suggests that (1) the tomb did *not* belong to Joseph, but that Joseph had used it temporarily under pressure of extreme need; (2) that the tomb either belonged to the owner of the garden, or was one of a number of tombs, severally owned, in "the garden," for which tombs an official called "the gardener" was responsible; (3) that Mary feared lest the gardener might have resented the liberty taken by Joseph and might have removed the body.

Some supposition of this kind is far more probable than the one supported by Matthew alone, namely, that the grave belonged to Joseph, and that it was sealed by the chief priests and guarded by Roman soldiers. If Joseph had made use of some new tomb, not his own, in an emergency, and intending to use it only for a few hours, it would become intelligible that he should remove the body as soon as possible—under cover of

Ephrem says (p. 267) that Jesus left the burial clothes in the tomb "ut homo (*lit.* Adam) in paradisum sine veste intraret sicut illic erat antequam peccaverat." Then (p. 268) he enlarges on our receiving life from Christ as we received death from Adam: "For we fed on His body instead of the fruit of that tree, and His Table has become to us a garden of Delight (*i.e.* Eden)."

Cramer, on Lk. xiii. 19 *εἰς κήπον ἑαυτοῦ*, prints as from Irenaeus a statement that the Lord Jesus is here referred to as dying and as rising up to life like a seed. But he uses *ἀγρός* instead of *κήπος* in his comment, and makes no allusion to the garden of Joseph. Perhaps those early Christians who depended on LXX alone would not see in *κήπος* any allusion to the *παράδεισος* in Genesis.

¹ Jn xx. 15.

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night so as to escape the notice of the rulers of the Jews—without a precise regard for legal restrictions that forbade such action on the sabbath.

Great difficulties attend this and every explanation of the opened tomb. There appears to be in all the Gospels at this point, but especially in Mark and John, a mixture of the symbolical with the literal which throws doubt on all inferences as to exact details. But at all events no one can deny that the obvious interpretation of John's words is, that the tomb was not Joseph's, and was not intended by Joseph to be the Lord's final resting-place¹, but was used by Joseph in an emergency. And that John used these words deliberately becomes all the more probable in view of the fact that Joseph's ownership of the tomb was asserted by Matthew against the silence—implying contradiction—preserved by Mark and Luke.

¹ Comp. Westcott (on Jn xix. 42): "it is implied that the sepulchre in which the Lord was laid was not chosen as His final resting-place." Cramer prints commentaries (of Chrysostom, Severus, and Ammonius) that agree in applying the word *οικονομείσθαι*, "providentially arranged," to the interment in this "new" tomb. Chrys. says *Οικονομείται δὲ εἰς καινὸν αὐτὸν τεθεῖναι μνημεῖον ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἐτέθη, ἵνα καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως σαφὴς ἡ ἀπόδειξις γένηται, καὶ ὥστε τοὺς μαθητὰς δυνηθῆναι μετ' εὐκολίας παραγενέσθαι, καὶ θεατὰς τῶν συμβάντων γενέσθαι καὶ μάρτυρας, πλησίον ὄντας τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς ταφῆς.*

What Chrys. means by *σαφὴς* is explained by Ammonius, who says that if Jesus had shared a tomb "with others," unbelievers would have said that some "other," not Jesus, had arisen. Ammonius also plays on the word *καινόν* as referring to the *καινοτομία* of God's purpose to destroy "corruption," and to "the strangeness (*ξένον*) of the shooting-up [of the seed] from death into life (*τῆς ἐκ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν ἀναδρομῆς*)." See Steph. *Thes. ἀναδρομή*, and comp. Jn xii. 24.

The *Diatessaron* omits Matthew's statement that the tomb was Joseph's. It has "And there was in the place... a garden, and in that garden a new tomb... and they left Jesus there because the sabbath had come in, and because the tomb was near." Then it proceeds, in the plural, "And they pushed a great stone..." where Matthew has the singular, *προσκυλίσας* agreeing with Ἰωσήφ.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHRIST'S RESURRECTION

[Mark xv. 47—xvi. 8]

§ I. *What the women did before, and immediately after, the sabbath*¹

THE announcement of Christ's resurrection to the women near the tomb is preceded by a statement (1) in Mark and Luke

¹ Mk xv. 47—
xvi. 4 (R.V.)

(47) And Mary Magdalene and Mary the [mother] of Josès beheld where he was laid.

Mt. xxvii. 61, xxviii.
1—2 (R.V.)

(61) And Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre....

Lk. xxiii. 55—
xxiv. 2 (R.V.)

(55) And the women, which had come with him out of Galilee, followed after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid.

(56) And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.

(1) And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the [mother] of James, and Salome, bought spices, that they might come and anoint him.

(2) And very early on the first day of the week, they come to the tomb when the sun was risen.

(3) And they were saying among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the tomb?

(4) And looking up, they see that the stone is rolled back: for it was exceeding great.

(1) Now late on the sabbath day, as it began to dawn toward the first [day] of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre....

(2) And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it.

And on the sabbath they rested according to the commandment.

(1) But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared.

(2) And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb.

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that they "were beholding where he was (*lit.*) put," or, "beheld the tomb and how his body was (*lit.*) put," but (2) in Matthew by a statement that they were "sitting opposite the grave." Luke adds that the women "returned" and "prepared spices" and "rested on the sabbath¹." In the following verses we find the women (Mark) "buying spices when the sabbath was past," and "coming to the tomb very early on the first day of the week"; (Matthew) "coming late of the sabbath" (whatever that may mean) to "behold the grave"; (Luke) "coming at early dawn on the first day of the week and bringing the spices they had prepared²."

Jn xx. 1 (R.V.) Now on the first [day] of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, while it was yet dark, unto the tomb, and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb.

¹ Mk xv. 47

Ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τεθεῖται.

Mt. xxvii. 61

Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου.

Lk. xxiii. 55—6

Κατακολουθήσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵτινες ἦσαν συνελθυῖναι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας αὐτῶ, ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ὑποστρέψασαι δὲ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσύχασαν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν.

² Mk xvi. 1—2

Καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου [ἡ] Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμῃ ἡγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρῶτ[ῃ] μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατεῖλαντος (marg. ἀνατέλλοντος) τοῦ ἡλίου.

Mt. xxviii. 1

Ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθεν Μαρία (marg. Μαριάμ) ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον.

Lk. xxiv. 1

Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μῆμα ἦλθαν φέρουσαι ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα.

The *Diatessaron* has " (Lk.) And they returned and (Mk) bought (Lk.) ointment and perfume and (Lk.) prepared [it] that (Mk) they might come and anoint him. And (Lk.) on the day which was the sabbath day they desisted according to the command." Then, after inserting Mt. xxvii. 62 b—66, it proceeds "And (Mt. xxviii. 1) in the evening of the sabbath, which is the morning of the first [day] (ὁψε δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων) and (Lk. xxiv. 1) in the dawning (ὄρθρου βαθέως) while (Jn xx. 1) the darkness yet remained

Several questions suggest themselves. Why does Mark think it necessary to insert that they "bought" spices? Being inserted by Mark, why is it omitted by Matthew and Luke? Matthew's "sitting" and Luke's "resting"—may they be regarded as interpretations of one and the same original? If so, which is correct? If "sitting" is to be accepted literally, as well as "resting," what is the reason for inserting the former? That the women "rested on the sabbath" in spite of their grief is a statement of interest. But that they "sat" at the grave, instead of standing, seems a superfluous detail—unless it can be shewn that it may refer to some Jewish custom not recognised by Mark and Luke.

That there was likely to be such a custom is only remotely suggested by a single passage in the Bible, which describes the friends of Job as sitting down with him upon the ground¹. But that there was actually such a custom among Jews is indicated by Jewish tradition about "seven sittings for the dead²." It is also favoured by the Gospel of Peter, which represents the women as craving, if possible, to "*sit by the side*"

(σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσῆς)...". This appears to interpret ὁψὲ σαββάτων as referring to a time that might be called Saturday night after midnight or Sunday morning before daylight.

In Lk. xxiv. 1 D omits ἀρώματα (as also do *a, b, e* etc.) and substitutes καὶ τινες συν αὐταῖς, SS has "and there had come with them *other women*." Early papyri mention ἀρώματα (*Berl. Urkund.* 362, vii, 12) adding καὶ ἄλλα; see *ib.* i. 7, i. 21, apparently meaning "spices *et cetera*" to denote a mixture (comp. *Oxyr. Pap.* 1211 ἔλεον (i.e. ἔλαιον)... πᾶν ἄρωμα χωρὶς λιβάνου).

¹ Job ii. 13 "sat down with him (יָסַד) on (*lit.* to) the ground seven days...", παρακάθισαν (the only instance of παρακαθίζειν in LXX) (A παρακάθηντο) αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας (LXX omits "on the ground"). Παρακαθῆσθαι in LXX elsewhere occurs only in Esth. i. 14 "sitting by the king," where the context gives the word different associations. Παρακαθέξομαι, non-occurrent in LXX, occurs in N.T. only in Lk. x. 39 "*sitting by the feet of Jesus*."

² See *Hov. Heb.* (on Mt. ix. 23) on the "bestowing of (נְמִילוֹת) kindnesses (חַסְדִּים)" on the dead, quoting Jer. *Berach.* on Job ii. 13. *Hov. Heb.* also (on Jn xi. 19) quotes *Baba Bathra* 100b "The seven standings and sittings for the dead must not be diminished" and *Moed Katon*, cap. 4 "Those that comfort ought to sit nowhere but upon the floor."

of the Lord and perform His obsequies, or else at least to perform the semblance of them at the door of His tomb¹. On the supposition that the original (like Matthew) described the women as "sitting" and purposing to "sit" for a period of some duration "over against" the dead, we can understand that Mark misunderstood this "sitting over against the dead" as meaning "were taking up a position where they could 'behold where the body was put,'" and that Luke adopted this Marcan interpretation, slightly modified.

But again, the Hebrew "sit" also means "sit quiet," "abide," "remain at home," and is occasionally rendered "rest²." The original might therefore mean that they "remained quiet in their homes" during the day that commenced with sunset, that is, during the sabbath. This second interpretation Luke may have combined with the first and amplified and emphasized it by adding "according to the commandment." It is an ingenious and painstaking interpretation worthy of a Greek historian who aimed at separating prosaic truth from

¹ *Evang. Petr.* § 12 "Ὁρθρον δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, μαθήτρια τοῦ Κυρίου ([ἥτις] φοβουμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ ἐφλέγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἃ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπωμένοις αὐταῖς) λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθεῖς. καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτὰς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἔλεγον Εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἔσταυρώθη ἐδυνήθημεν κλαῦσαι καὶ κόψασθαι, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσωμεν ταῦτα. τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα;

In Mt. xi. 16, Lk. vii. 32 "children *sitting* in the market-place" and "piping" or "mourning"—*i.e.* playing at a wedding or funeral—the word "sitting" seems, at first, inappropriate to a funeral, though it might suit a wedding feast; but if "*sitting*" was a recognised part of the obsequies for the dead, it is even more applicable to a funeral than to a wedding.

² "Sit," שָׁב, = Luke's word, ἡσυχάζω in Exod. xxiv. 14, and in 2 K. iv. 13 (v.r. Field, "ἄλλος"). But another possible explanation is that "odour of *restfulness* (נִחוּחַ)," or "*restfulness*" by itself, meaning "perfume (εὐωδία)," has been confused with נָח "rest." See Ezr. vi. 10 (προσφέροντες) εὐωδίας (נִחוּחַ), Walton "odores quietis," 1 Esdr. vi. 31 σπονδαί. In Dan. ii. 46 the same word is rendered (LXX) σπονδάς, (Theod.) εὐωδίας.

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what seemed (to him) poetic metaphor. But in this instance Matthew appears to have preserved the historical truth¹.

The context indicates that the women came on a kind of pilgrimage to the tomb, perhaps still hoping against hope that He was not finally taken from them, and in any case intending to pay Him a loving homage. This might be expressed generally by the Hebrew "perform service of kindness," quoted above². It is true that Matthew says that they came to *behold* (*theōrein*) the grave—a strange expression to use after he has just told us that they had been previously "sitting over against the grave"—(which seems to imply that they had already "beheld" it); but the apparent inconsistency may perhaps be explained by the fact that, in Greek, *theōros*, "beholder," was used of a sacred messenger sent as an ambassador to consult an oracle and offer a sacrifice³. In canonical LXX, the verb *theōrein* is rare, and mostly used of "beholding" visions (in Daniel)⁴. Matthew differs altogether from the other Evangelists in his rare use of *theōrein*. He never uses it elsewhere except above ("women beholding from afar")⁵. And it does not make sense here, unless it is used to mean something much more than "behold," something that implies an offering of devotion. This offering of devotion might be described in Hebrew or Aramaic as "an odour of *sweetness*." But the word for "sweetness" literally means "*restfulness*." And this, falling in with the fact that the day of "*resting*," the sabbath, was actually at hand, might encourage Luke in his view that the tradition implied that "*They rested on the sabbath*."

We pass to the Marcan statement that the women "*bought spices*." "Bought" is omitted by Luke. "*Spices*" is omitted

¹ Lk. xxiii. 56 ὑποστρέψασαι, "returning," might be a further Lucan conflation since (*Clue* 9) "Heb. 'sit' is identical in some of its forms with 'return,'" and the two are freq. confused in LXX.

² See p. 647, n. 2

³ See Steph. *Thes.* θεωρός.

⁴ θεωρεῖν does not occur without v.r. in canon. LXX outside Ps. (on which see p. 627, n. 2), Prov., Eccles. and Daniel.

⁵ Mt. xxvii. 55 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, identical with Mk xv. 40. θεωρεῖν occurs Mk (7), Lk. (7), Jn (24).

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by several versions of Luke¹. Mark's word for "spice," *arōma*, when derived from Greek, and used as in the best Greek authors, means "the products of the ploughed field," *i.e.* corn². In LXX, it means "*spice*" in Chronicles, but not in the earlier historical books, where other words are substituted³. Mark's word for "buy"—almost always when used in the Pentateuch, and once when used in Isaiah—is applied merely to the buying of corn or food⁴. The Hebrew often supplies "corn" as the object. But where it does not (*e.g.* "they came to *buy* [corn]") Onkelos supplies "corn" or an equivalent⁵.

But practically the same Hebrew word means also "*hope*" or "*wait*." It is used of "hoping," or "waiting," on the Lord, or for His salvation. And where the Hebrew has another word for "hope" the Targums often substitute this one⁶. Hence

¹ See above, p. 646, n. 2 *ad fin.*

² Ἀρώμα, from ἀρόω "plough," meaning "the result of ploughing," "corn" etc., is used in Aristoph. *Pax* 1158, Soph. *Fragm.* 77, and also misspelt as ἄρωμα in Aelian (see Lobeck's *Phrynichus* p. 227 quoting Suidas: "Ἀρώματα οὐ τὰ θυμιάματα οἱ ἄπτικοι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐσπαρμένα, ubi male scribitur ἀρώματα").

When meaning "aroma," ἄρωμα is said (L.S.) to be perhaps derived from some eastern origin. I have been unable to find in Wetstein any note about ἄρωμα.

³ Ἀρωμα (Heb. אל. בִּשְׁמִי, "balsam") occurs in 1 Chr., 2 Chr., and Esth., 8 times, but not from Genesis to 2 K. *fin.* except in 2 K. xx. 13 (where Sym. has ἡδύσματα). Elsewhere בִּשְׁמִי = ἡδύσμα (7), θυμίαμα (3) etc.

⁴ Gen. xli. 57, xliv. 5 etc., Deut. ii. 6, Is. lv. 1. Lev. xxvii. 19, "sanctified," ἀγοράσας, is in BabAF ἀγιάσας—a word used in Exod. xx. 8 about keeping the sabbath holy, a point mentioned only by Luke here (xxiii. 56).

⁵ Gen. xli. 57 Heb. שֶׁבֶר, Onk. עֲבוּרָא + בִּין *i.e.* "produce of the earth," "corn-food" (see Brederek p. 118, "stets mit folgendem עֲבוּר, wo auch nicht schon im Text שֶׁבֶר"). See Gesen. 991 *b* shewing that the verb שֶׁבֶר, *lit.* "to corn," is sometimes used with the noun שֶׁבֶר "corn"—so that "they came to *corn* 'corn'" means to "buy supplies of corn"—but sometimes without the noun.

Ἀγοράζω represents other Heb. verbs besides שֶׁבֶר, but only six or seven times altogether.

⁶ Gesen. 960 *a*, שֶׁבֶר, "wait, hope (Aramaism; cf. Aram. סָבַר, *think*, Pa. *hope*)." The Heb. is used of "waiting on, or for (אל), God" in Ps. civ. 27, cxlv. 15, and for (ל) God's salvation in Ps. cxix. 166. In

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a statement that the women "*waited patiently for the Lord*" in the evening after His death, being first misinterpreted as meaning that they "*bought for the Lord*," or that they "*bought corn-food (arōmata) for the Lord*," might suggest the reflection: "The word means 'buy corn-food (arōmata)': how can this make sense?" Then it might be explained as meaning "They *bought spices for the Lord*."

But why does not Matthew insert this or something like it? Perhaps he does, latently. For we have seen above that the parallel Matthew says (very strangely and inconsistently) that the women "came to *behold* the tomb." Now the Hebrew word that we have been discussing as meaning "hope" and as confusable with the Marcan "buy," means also "*behold*," or "*inspect*," in a passage describing Nehemiah as "*inspecting*" the ruined walls of Jerusalem¹. It is, therefore reasonable to suspect a common Semitic original for Mark's tradition about "*buying spices*" and Matthew's about "*beholding*." And this original would be, in itself, a very natural one: "Very early in the morning, the women came to the tomb, *waiting for the Lord*."

If this was the original it would explain several divergences in the Gospels. Matthew and John would be perceived to be justified in omitting the purchase of spices. John would be recognised as introducing the costly embalment by Joseph and Nicodemus, according to "the custom of the Jews," as an anti-thesis to the offering, intended but not effected by the women, and to the tears actually offered by Mary Magdalene². Luke would be recognised as justifiably introducing the "*quiet-waiting*"³ of the women during the sabbath, as a preparation

Gen. xlix. 18 "I have *hoped* or *waited* (קוה) for (ל) thy salvation" Onk. has סבר, and so has Targ. freq. for "*hoping* in God," Levy Ch. ii. 139 b, e.g. Is. xl. 31, li. 5, etc.

¹ Nehem. ii. 13, 15 (Gesen. p. 960 a) שבר. The ambiguity of the word is illustrated by LXX which takes it as שבר, συντρίβων, "break," and so does Rashi. Field quotes Jerome's interpretation as "considerabam," and *al. exempl.* as κατανοῶν and κατενόουν.

² Jn xix. 40, xx. 11. On the former see *Joh. Voc.* 1866 (iii) quoting ἔδησαν and Chrysostom's comment, that the "abundance of myrrh" would have the effect of "binding fast," like "the soldering of lead."

³ Lk. xxiii. 56 ἡσύχασαν. This word in literary Greek would

for the early morning visit to the tomb—during which interval their souls were exclaiming “I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope; my soul [looketh] for the Lord, [more than] watchmen for the morning¹.” Luke does indeed accept the “spices” literally (adding “ointments” which makes the meaning obvious). But by referring to them as the things “made ready” or “*prepared*,” he suggests that “preparation of the heart” which the Scriptures mention more than once², and which they also imply in the words “Let my prayer be *made ready* as incense before thee³.”

§ 2. *What the names of the women were*

At this stage it will be convenient to consider the variations in the names of the women (1) present at Christ's death; (2) beholding the place where He was entombed; (3) visiting the tomb; and (4) returning from the tomb.

(1) Present at Christ's death

Mk xv. 40	Mt. xxvii. 56	Lk. xxiii. 49
(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	No names.
(2) and Mary (<i>lit.</i>) the of James the less and of Joses mother	(2) and Mary (<i>lit.</i>) the of James and of Joseph (<i>or</i> , of Jose) mother	
(3) and Salome.	(3) and the mo- ther of the sons of Zebedee.	

mostly imply being at ease. But in LXX it represents many Hebrew words; and the LXX ἡσύχιος, which occurs only once (Is. lxvi. 2), = Heb. “*contrite in spirit*” (comp. Acts xxi. 14) “we *ceased*, saying The will of the Lord be done.”

¹ Ps. cxxx. 5—6.

² See 1 S. vii. 3 ἐτοιμάσατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, Ps. x. 17 τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν. The same Hebr. (17) occurs in 1 Chr. xxix. 18 “*make-ready* (κατεύθυνον) their hearts unto thee.” Comp. Sir. ii. 17 οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἐτοιμάσουσι καρδίας αὐτῶν.

³ Ps. cxli. 2 κατευθυνθήτω (17) ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου.

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Luke, in the place of names, says (xxiii. 49) "Now there were standing...from afar, and *women those that had together with him followed [him] from Galilee.*" Mark (xv. 41) after the names, and Matthew (xxvii. 55) before the names, have similar clauses about "*following in, or from, Galilee.*"

John has (xix. 25) "Now there were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother and the sister of his mother, Mary (*lit.*) the [] of Klopas and Mary the Magdalene¹."

(2) Beholding Christ's entombment

Mk xv. 47	Mt. xxvii. 61	Lk. xxiii. 55
(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	No names.
(2) and Mary (<i>lit.</i>) the [] of Joses.	(2) and the other Mary.	

Luke, in the place of names, repeats his mention of "women" and "following" and "Galilee," but in a slightly different form (xxiii. 55) "And, having followed him to the end, the women that had come together with him from Galilee...."

John has nothing corresponding to these passages².

¹ Mk xv. 40—41

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ αἱ συναναβᾶσαι αὐτῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Mt. xxvii. 55—6

Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, αἵτινες ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας διακονοῦσαι αὐτῷ· ἐν αἷς ἦν Μαρία (marg. Μαριάμ) ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφ (marg. Ἰωσή) μήτηρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου.

Lk. xxiii. 49

ἰστίκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ (marg. + αἱ) γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ὁρῶσαι ταῦτα.

Jn xix. 25 ἰστίκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ.

■ Mk xv. 47

Ἦ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τέθειται.

Mt. xxvii. 61

Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου.

Lk. xxiii. 55

Κατακολουθήσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵτινες ἦσαν συνεληλυθῦσαι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας αὐτῷ, ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.

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(3) Preparing to visit, or visiting, Christ's tomb		
Mk xvi. 1	Mt. xxviii. 1	Lk. xxiv. 1
(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	No names.
(2) and Mary (<i>lit.</i>) the [] of James.	(2) and the other Mary.	
(3) and Salome.		

Mark here gives the names of the women as (xvi. 1) preparing to come, and then says (xvi. 2) "they come."

Matthew gives the names of the women as "coming," without any mention of preparing; and he repeats the same names as those which he connected with beholding the entombment, where he described them as "sitting over against the grave."

Luke, in the place of names, has simply (xxiv. 1) "they came," indicating, by "they," the women (xxiii. 55) "that had come together with him from Galilee." But later on, when he describes the return of the women from the tomb and their report to the apostles, he gives names thus (xxiv. 10) "Now they were the Magdalene Mary, and Joanna, and Mary the [] of James; and the rest with them said these things to the apostles¹."

John has simply (xx. 1) "Mary the Magdalene," as visiting the tomb; but he describes her as saying—when she runs back from the open tomb—(xx. 2) "*We know* not where they have laid him²." This suggests that Mary had companions with her—a view favoured by the Gospel of Peter: "Mary the Magdalene

¹ Mk xvi. 1—2	Mt. xxviii. 1	Lk. xxiv. 1, 10
(1) [ἡ] Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σα- λώμῃ ἡγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν.	Ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθεν Μαρία (<i>marg.</i> Μαριάμ) ἡ Μαγ- δαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον.	(1) τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἦλθαν. . . (10) ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγ- δαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου· καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπο- στόλους ταῦτα.

² Jn xx. 1—2 Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται. . . καὶ βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἡρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου. τρέχει οὖν καὶ ἔρχεται. . . καὶ λέγει. . . οὐκ οἶδαμεν ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν.

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...taking *her friends with her* came to the tomb where He was laid¹."

Reviewing these texts, we notice, as the two most prominent facts, 1st, that Mark alone mentions the name Salome, 2nd, that John's list of the women standing by the Cross leaves us in doubt whether they are to be regarded as three or four in number. Origen has no extant comment on John's list. Nonnus regards them as three². Chrysostom is silent on the subject. Jerome in a long discussion of the subject affords no real light on this point³. The Diatessaron's only mention of

¹ *Evang. Petr.* § 12 Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνή: . . λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἐαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθεῖς.

² Jn xix. 25 is thus paraphrased by Nonnus:—

ἐγγύθι δὲ σταυροῖο συνήλυδες ἦσαν ἑταῖροι
καὶ Μαρίη, Χριστοῦ θετήκος· οἷς ἅμα κείμεν
σύγγονος ἦν Μαρίη καὶ ὁμώνυμος· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτῃ
Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρίη φιλοδάκρυτος.

Here the second Mary is called both σύγγονος and ὁμώνυμος to the first, *i.e.* to the Lord's mother. And this points to a possibility that when two epithets were applied to one Mary, one of the epithets might be regarded as a name indicating a second person. It has been suggested (*Proclam.* pp. 117—20) that *Σαλώμη* originally meant "belonging to His [*i.e.* the Lord's] mother." "The Mary that belonged to His mother," if the italicised words were transliterated from Hebrew to Greek, might be rendered [*ἡ*] *Μαρία ἡ καὶ Σαλώμη*, "the Mary that is also called Salome." But this might easily be confused with "Mary and Salome"—two persons. In the Greek texts, the article with *Μαρία* varies remarkably in its order and in its use or non-use.

³ Jerome says (*Epist. Contr. Helvid.* § 16, Eng. Transl. p. 341) "At this stage I do not wish to argue for or against the supposition that Mary the wife of Clopas and Mary the mother of James and Josés were different women, provided it is clearly understood that Mary the mother of James and Josés was not the same person as the Lord's mother."

But previously he says (§ 15) "The only conclusion is that the Mary who is described as the mother of James the less was the wife of Alphaeus and sister of Mary the Lord's mother, the one who is called by John the Evangelist 'Mary of Clopas,' whether after her father, or kindred, or for some other reason." Elsewhere he says (*Epist.* xlv. 13) "Will the day never come when we shall together enter the Saviour's cave, and together weep in the sepulchre of the

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Salome includes her among the women that came with Jesus from Galilee thus: "One of them was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the little and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee, and Salome."

Jerome, in his controversy with Helvidius, ventures to say: "It is customary in Scripture for the same individual to bear different names¹." There are at all events many instances of it. And, on the supposition that some of the lists of the witnesses of the Passion or Resurrection included a sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, we have to remember that the Hebrew word for "aunt," which occurs thrice, is twice rendered in LXX "kinswoman," and once "the daughter of a father's brother²." These facts increase the difficulty of reaching the historical original beneath the above-mentioned variations. But we may reasonably accept the following inferences as highly probable. Mark's "Salome" was regarded by all the later Evangelists either as an error, or as a name liable to objection and inviting alteration³. Luke accepted Matthew's "Mary

Lord with His sister and with His mother?" This appears to say the Lord's "sister" where Nonnus says σύγγονος...Μαρίη.

¹ Jerome, *Contr. Helvid.* § 15.

² See Gesen. 187 *b* referring to דורה "aunt" in Exod. vi. 20, R.V. "father's sister," LXX "daughter of the brother of his father," i.e. cousin, but "ἄλλος" has θείαν αὐτοῦ. In Lev. xviii. 14 (where it means "father's brother's wife") and xx. 20 (Gesen. "father's sister," R.V. "uncle's wife") LXX has συγγενῆς which represents (*Oxf. Conc.*) דור and דורה. The word דור means in Cant. "beloved [one]," but elsewhere "uncle." In Cant. v. 1, vi. 2 דור, ἀδελφός is prob. a Gk error for ἀδελφιδός. In Cant. vi. 2 there is v.r. ἀδελφιδός. The facts suggest a possible origin of the phrase "the beloved disciple."

³ On "'Salome' in Mark," see *Proclam.* pp. 117 foll., which suggests that "Salōme" may have been a Hebrew phrase meaning "belonging to the Mother," i.e. to the mother of the Lord, and added to one of the Maries as a distinguishing epithet. This suggestion is based on the hypothesis that *sal-* in *sal-ome* might correspond to the Hebrew *shel* meaning "belonging to." On the use of *shel-* in Scriptural poetry, see *Beginning* p. 428, and note that in Gen. xlix. 10 (R.V. txt) "until *Shiloh* come," no ancient authorities are said to accept "Shiloh" as a place-name. The LXX, Theod., Onkelos, and the Midrash, all take it as *shel-o*, i.e. "belonging to him," and so does

the mother of James" and rejected the Marcan additions ("and of Joses," and "the less"). Luke also substituted—in the place of Mark's "Salome," and Matthew's "mother of the sons of Zebedee"—"Joanna and the rest with them" (not indeed in the parallel to Mark and Matthew but elsewhere)¹. By "the rest with them" he means those women whom he has twice recently described as coming "*from Galilee*"; and he now takes us back mentally to his first mention of them: "And with him the twelve, and certain women that had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary that [was] called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who ministered unto them of their substance²."

Rashi as regards the literal interpretation, though he gives another as "mystical" (שִׁלִּי "munus ei," Ps. lxxvi. 11). Evidence bearing on the use of *shel-* in Heb. poetry assumes increased importance in its bearing on "Salome" in Mark if we believe, as above, that the original of the Marcan "*bought spices*" was a poetic statement that the women "*waited-patiently* for the Lord."

Derenbourg p. 102 gives many various spellings of the name Salome, שלמח, שלמיון, שלמיון, שלמיון, שלמיון, and, in two words, של ציון. In Cant. vi. 13 Heb. השולמית, "Shulammite," LXX has Σουμανείτις, ΣΑ Σουλαμίτις, but the Midrash *ad loc.* and Gen. r. (on Gen. xxvii. 28) take the name as Israel regarded as a personification of peace. On "sons of peace" in the Gospels see *Proclam.* p. 120 foll. It would be, in Heb., "Sons of Salom." In Delitzsch, the Heb. for "my peace" in Jn xiv. 27 "*My peace* I give unto you" is שלומי, "salōme."

¹ Lk. xxiv. 8—10 "And they...returned...Now they were Mary Magdalene and Joanna, and..." is parall. to Mk xvi. 8 "And they went out..." Mt. xxviii. 8 "And they departed..." where no names are mentioned.

² Lk. viii. 2—3, briefly referred to by Origen *Cels.* i. 65 when defending Jesus against the charge of "going about and collecting contributions to support him in a disgraceful way": ἐν γὰρ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γυναικες τινες θεραπευμεναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενειῶν αὐτῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ Σωσάννα, παρείχον τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς τροφάς. He omits the name of Joanna, perhaps for brevity; but the omission of "Mary Magdalene" and "evil spirits" can hardly be explained by the desire of brevity alone. Origen, later on, refers twice (*Cels.* ii. 55, 59) to the phrase "*frantic, or, hysterical, woman* (γυνὴ πάροιστρος)" applied by Celsus to Mary Magdalene. Against such an opponent, and in

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It will be observed that Mark also, in his first list of the women present at Christ's death, speaks of "*many others*, those that had come up with him to Jerusalem" (where the parallel Luke omits "many others," and the parallel Matthew omits "others")¹.

John, who never mentions exorcism or "evil spirits," could hardly fail to recognise that Luke gave to the opponents of Christianity a ground for attack in describing the first two reporters of Christ's resurrection as women that had been "healed of evil spirits." We have seen that Celsus scoffed at the evidence of Christ's resurrection as proceeding from "a hysterical woman²." Long before Celsus, other educated Greeks probably did the same thing. Luke himself seems to have perceived the weak point; for though he records the evidence of these once-afflicted women, he says at once, and repeats afterwards, that the apostles did not receive that evidence, and were afterwards convinced by evidence directly addressed to themselves³. This attitude is like that of Paul, who does not mention, among the manifestations of Christ after death,

the brief space allowed by the context, it would have been futile to use such arguments as Paul (1 Cor. i. 18 foll., ii. 14, comp. iii. 19) uses about insight given to those whom the world calls "fools" or "mad." Origen contents himself with saying that there were other witnesses.

Yet against a Stoic opponent Origen might have derived an argument from a modification of the teaching of Plato (*Timæus* 71—2 on which see Archer-Hind's note, *Phædr.* 244) who connects one kind of divine inspiration with "madness." Distinguishing "prophetic" from "mantic (*μαντική*)" utterance, Plato derives the latter from *μαίνειν* "to be mad." He says that the priestesses at Delphi have benefited Greece "by their madness (*μανείσαι*)," and that thus the right kind of madness has delivered men from countless evils.

Clement of Alexandria (92) contrasts the frenzied Maenads with "the fair daughters of God, the fair lambs celebrating the sacred orgies of the word, raising a sober choral song." And Origen, if he had argued fully against Celsus, would perhaps have met the charge implied in "hysterical" by arguments resembling those in the Pauline Epistles, and perhaps by others shewing how sickness of mind (as well as of body) is sometimes seen to be an avenue to spiritual health.

¹ Mk xv. 41, Mt. xxvii. 55—6, Lk. xxiii. 49.

² See above, p. 657, n. 2.

³ Lk. xxiv. 11, 31—43.

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a single instance in which He "was seen by," or "appeared to," a woman¹.

Any expectation that we might have felt that John would take a similar course, is curiously disappointed. John's first course is to set down a list of women present at the death, differing from all the Synoptic lists. It contains the name of the Lord's mother, and is in itself so ambiguously worded that we do not know whether it implies three or four women. His next course is to describe a visit to the tomb that is nominally made by Mary Magdalene alone, but really by Mary and companions; and this visit is followed immediately by another of Mary's, in which she is really left alone, and in the course of which Mary sees the Saviour and receives from Him a message to the disciples. The impression left on us by these narratives is that John, while strictly adhering to some ancient traditions of which he cannot confidently state the exact meaning—and which he leaves in their original obscurity—adds others that are new, and that are based on his interpretation of the old.

Possibly John may be less correct than Luke on important points of fact. Where Luke heard, or read, "*Joanna*," John may have heard, or read, "*Joannes*," the son of Zebedee. This, and other circumstances, may have led him to an erroneous inference, that the beloved disciple was present with the women—a tradition not found in any other Gospel. And yet his narrative of the first manifestation of the risen Saviour, and of the preparation for it through bitter disappointment and tears, makes a stronger appeal to human nature than does the story of Emmaus, and is less likely to have sprung out of accretions or inventions or Scriptural inferences².

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5—8.

² "Scriptural inferences." Comp. Lk. xxiv. 25—7 "O...slow to believe—after *all* (ἐνὶ πάντων) *that the prophets have spoken!*... And he interpreted to them in *all the scriptures* the things concerning himself." D omits "to believe." SS has "*From all the things that the prophets have spoken, was not the Messiah about to endure....?*"

§ 3. "When the sun was risen," in Mark¹

The Diatessaron omits these words; and Codex D substitutes "when the sun *was rising*." Even with this amendment they are incompatible with Mark's own context, "*very early*," which would mean "before sunrise." It is not surprising that Matthew and Luke alter them. Some have explained the difficulty by supposing that Mark compresses into one two visits; of which the first was "*very early*," but the second, "when the sun was risen²." Apart from questions as to the original from which the Three Gospels may have derived their traditions—diverging owing to divergent interpretation—we have to ask "Does the

¹ Mk xvi. 2	Mt. xxviii. 1a	Lk. xxiv. 1a
καὶ λίαν πρῶτ[ῃ] μῆ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρ- χονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατεῖλαντος (marg. ἀνατέλλοντος) τοῦ ἡλίου.	ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων...	τῇ δὲ μῆ τῶν σαββάτων ὀρθροῦ βα- θείως...

¹ Jn xx. 1 Τῇ δὲ μῆ τῶν σαββάτων... πρῶτ[ῃ] σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης...

² See Swete on Mk xvi. 2 "It is better [than the reading of D adopted by Augustine] to regard Mc.'s note as a compressed statement of two facts; the two women started just before daybreak and arrived at sunrise." But would the starting and the arrival take all the interval indicated between "*very early*" (Lk. "*deep dawn*") and "the sun having arisen"? Cramer (on Mk) prints a long explanation ending: "But I am not unaware that [two] different visions are alleged (by those who profess to harmonize the apparent discrepancy) to have been seen, and that the [pair of] women in Matthew is one and the [pair of] women in Mark another—Mary Magdalene following all [the women] to the end (πάσαις ἐξακολουθούσης) ...and beholding the [two] different visions."

Perhaps the best explanation of Mk ἀνατεῖλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου is that the original meant "when *the sun of righteousness* (Mal. iv. 2) *had arisen*." Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 2 "The Lord *rose-like-the-sun* (זָרָח) (ἐπιφάνειν) unto them [*i.e.* Israel]," and Eph. v. 14 "Christ shall *shine* upon thee (ἐπιφάσει)" a rare word that is etymologically connected with ἐπιφωσκειν (also rare, but used in Mt. xxviii. 1, Lk. xxiii. 54). Owing to the fact that the Jewish day begins at sunset, confusion might arise between words of this kind, when used literally and also metaphorically. Mark's original may have meant that although it was literally still early when the women arrived at the tomb, "the sun of righteousness," the Dayspring, the Lord Jesus, "had already arisen."

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Fourth Gospel intervene, and, if so, with what tendency?" John does intervene—using the Marcan word "early," but defining it as "while [the] darkness still lasted (*lit.* was)." This phrase he applies to a first visit of Mary Magdalene to the tomb, accompanied by companions—who are not indeed mentioned in the narrative, but inferred from the drama ("we know not where they have laid him¹"). Then he says that Mary ran to fetch other disciples whom she accompanied back to the tomb. Thus she pays it a second visit, which may very well have been at, or after, sunrise.

Luke, who never uses, in any part of his Gospel, the word "early"—possibly because it was indefinite and ambiguous—substitutes "in deep dawn." This phrase is used by Philo in his paraphrase of the narrative of the passage of the Red Sea, where the children of Israel cross on dry land toward the end of the night, and the Scripture says that the Lord looked forth upon the Egyptians "*in the morning watch*²" before overwhelming them in the sea "*when the morning appeared*³."

¹ Jn xx. 2.

² Exod. xiv. 24 "the watch of (אשמרת) the morning." On this Rashi says that the night "divisa est in custodias quibus canunt angeli ministratorii, caterva post catervam, juxta tres partes." See *Berach.* 3 *b* on the question whether there were three watches or four. Philo ii. 109 says that the children of Israel passed "through a dry road about *deep dawn* (βαθὺν ὄρθρον)," a phrase used in Plato (and Aristoph. *Vesp.* 216). Steph. *Thes.* (ὄρθρος) quotes Phrynichus on the incorrect use of the word by later Greeks, who confused ὄρθρος with ἔως "early morning," whereas it meant an earlier hour when a lamp was still needed. *Mechilt.*, on Exod. xiv. 24, after giving many instances where "the prayers of the righteous are heard in the morning"—as though the songs of the "angeli ministratorii," just before daybreak, conveyed to heaven in a special way (Rev. viii. 3) "the prayers of all the saints"—concludes with "Another explanation, 'And it came to pass in the watch of the morning—this meant 'At the shining forth of the sun (das war beim Aufstrahlen der Sonne).'" This takes the phrase literally, as Mark appears to take it in his extant text.

³ Exod. xiv. 27 "when the morning appeared," *lit.* "toward the appearance of (לפנות) the morning" (Walton "ad respiciendum mane") is rendered in LXX πρὸς ἡμέραν, Vulg. "primo diluculo." *Hov. Heb.* on Mk xvi. 2, explaining Ps. xxii. *tit.* "the Hind of the

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Origen connects Matthew's account of the visit of the women with a promise in Exodus "In the morning ye shall see the glory of the Lord¹," and it seems natural that Luke, in selecting his substitute for the two Marcan phrases—one of which was certainly vague while the other seemed inaccurate—would be influenced by the Philonian account of the Deliverance of Israel "*in deep dawn*"—a beautiful expression suggestive of the light of joy shortly to come after the darkness of sorrow.

Why did not John accept this expression? Why does he, alone of the Evangelists, introduce the ill-omened term "darkness"? We may be sure he does not introduce it without good reason, or without something more than a literal meaning, as when he writes "*and it was night*" immediately after saying that Judas "went out straightway²." He probably has in view that kind of darkness which he mentions in his Prologue "The light shineth in darkness and the darkness overcame it not³." He is now bringing his readers face to face with an apparent contradiction of his own statement. The Light of the

Morning," mentions four phrases for the dawn which "might not improperly suit the four phrases of the evangelists." He quotes from *J. Berach.* fol. 2. 3 a story of two Rabbis who "saw *the hind of the morning*, that its light spread (*sic*) the sky," and one of them said "Such shall be the redemption of Israel." *Tehill.* on "The Hind of the Morning" refers to Hab. iii. 19 (which see) and works the comment fancifully round to the Deliverance at the Red Sea.

¹ See Origen on Exod. xvi. 6—7 (Lomm. ix. 84—5) where he says that "*evening*" and "*morning*" in Exod. correspond to Mt. xxviii. 1 "*vespere sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati.*" Then he answers the question "Quomodo mane gloria ejus visa est?" by saying that it referred to a coming of "*other women*":—"Cum venissent *aliae mulieres* prima sabbati valde mane."

² Jn xiii. 30.

³ Jn i. 5 ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. In Jn vi. 17 σκοτία ἤδη ἐγγόνει, it may be urged that the word is literally used. So it is. But it is also used allusively. The disciples, separated from Christ, are regarded as being in spiritual darkness. Authorities, weighty enough (D^N) to convince Tischendorf, read κατέλαβεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ σκοτία. Doubtless it is wrong, textually. But the corrupters were right in supposing that John means that "darkness" had, for a time, "overcome" the disciples. On the double meaning of κατέλαβεν see *Joh. Voc.* 1735 e—g:

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World appeared to be extinguished and the "darkness" seemed to have "overcome" it, both in the tomb, and in the hearts of the disciples. John also has in view, as we shall see hereafter, the earliest Biblical mention of "darkness," "The earth was waste and void, and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep¹." This was in the first Genesis. And the apparent and temporary triumph of chaos and disorder seemed repeated in the second Genesis, when the Saviour's body lay bound in funeral bandages and His head was hidden—covered with a face-cloth that had not yet been "wrapped up" and gathered "into one place²."

§ 4. *Mark's peculiar tradition about "the stone"*

The three Synoptists agree in a tradition that connects "rolling-away" with "the stone" at the entrance of the tomb; but Mark puts it interrogatively ("who shall *roll-away*?") whereas Matthew ("an angel *rolled-away*") and Luke ("they found the stone *rolled-away*") put it affirmatively; when Mark comes to his affirmative he words it differently: "And having-looked-up (*or*, having-regained-their-sight), they behold the stone (*lit.*) *rolled-upward, for it was very great*³." John has a different word ("seeth the stone *taken-away* from the tomb⁴").

¹ Gen. i. 2.

² Jn xx. 7, on which see below, p. 670 foll.

³ Mk xvi. 3—4

Mt. xxviii. 2

Lk. xxiv. 2

καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς
ἑαυτάς τις ἀποκυλίσει
ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς
θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ
ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν
ὅτι ἀνακεκύλισται ὁ λί-
θος, ἣν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα.

καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς ἐγέ-
νετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ
Κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐ-
ρανῶ καὶ προσελθὼν
ἀπεκύλισε τὸν λίθον καὶ
ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.

εὗρον δὲ τὸν λίθον
ἀποκεκυλισμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ
μνημείου.

For textual variations in Mark, see below, p. 667.

⁴ Jn xx. 1 Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσης εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἡρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου. It may be urged that ἡρμένον might mean "*taken up*." It might, if the grave had been of the nature of a pit. But note the use of αἶρειν in Jn xi. 39 ἄρατε τὸν λίθον, following ἣν δὲ σπήλαιον, καὶ λίθος ἐπέκειτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. The context there indicates that the stone (see Westcott) was "*laid against*," not "*on*," the opening of the cave, being, as Nonnus says, "*an imitation of a door*." The same thing—namely, that the tomb was a cave and not a pit—is indicated

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Going back to Hebrew traditions about the "rolling" of "stones," we find that in only one of these—the rolling-away of a stone from a well—does LXX use the word "*roll-away*¹." In another, the rolling is hostile². In another, the stone appears to be a rudimentary altar³. There is also the "rolling-away" of "the reproach of Egypt," at a place said to be hence called "Gilgal⁴." This last seems applicable by Christians to the rolling-away of "the stumbling-block of the cross" (regarded as "a stone of stumbling"). But it is rendered by LXX "taking-away," and this might hinder its application for Christian writers conversant with Greek and knowing comparatively little of Hebrew.

It is perhaps for this reason that Origen illustrates the "taking-away" of the gravestone at the raising of Lazarus, not by reference to "Gilgal," but from Jacob's "*rolling-away the stone*" from the well in Genesis. And he makes a distinction. The "*taking-away*" is permanent, he says: "It was necessary that the stone from the tomb should be altogether *taken-away* and not rolled again [into its place]": but "in the case of the well, the stone is not utterly *taken-away* but only *rolled-away*⁵."

here in all the Gospels but one; twice by Mark (xvi. 5, 8) εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον and ἐξελθοῦσαι, once by Luke (xxiv. 3, 9) εἰσελθοῦσαι, ὑποστρέψασαι, but not at all by Matthew (xxviii. 8) ἀπελθοῦσαι. It is most clearly recognised in detail by John.

¹ Gen. xxix. 3, 8, 10 ἀποκυλίω. The Heb. for "rolling" a stone is גָּלַל. A different word, אָבַךְ, is used in Is. ix. 18 "roll [*upward*] in thick clouds of smoke," applied to the vanishing of the wicked (LXX confused).

■ Josh. x. 18 "Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and set men by it to keep them [*i.e.* the hostile kings]," LXX κυλίσατε.

■ 1 S. xiv. 33 "Roll a great stone unto me," LXX κυλίσατε.

⁴ Josh. v. 9 "This day have I *rolled-away* (גָּלַל) the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of that place was called *Gilgal* (גִּלְגָּל)..." Here LXX has ἀφείλον, "I took away," so that the word does not lend itself to Christian applications of the term "rolling." Early Christian writers have abundantly used the context, so far as it refers to circumcision with knives of "*stone*," but not as to the "rolling," see below.

■ Origen *Comm. Joann.* xxviii. 2 after quoting Jn xi. 39 ἄρατε τὸν λίθον and Gen. xxix. 2—10 ἀπεκύλισε, proceeds Εἰ δὲ δύνασαι

Immediately after these words, where we might expect some reference to the "*rolling-away*" of the stone at the Lord's tomb, there is a great gap in Origen's commentary. Nor has he left any comment on the tradition of Mark "they behold the stone *rolled-upward*."

Passing to the Greek word for "*rolling-up*" we find that it is non-occurrent in LXX and very rare in Greek of any kind; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Lucian use it either about Sisyphus "*rolling-up* a stone" toward a hill-top, or in allusion to that myth¹. Also Dionysius Areopagita, speaking of the Hebrew Gilgal, says "Now this in Hebrew signifies *rollings-up* and revelations²." We cannot suppose that Mark, having used the easy and natural word "*roll-away*," now uses a different and much rarer and much more difficult word, "*roll-up*," without good reason. Every Greek reader familiar with the story of Sisyphus would take the phrase to mean "*roll* the stone *upwards*." There is no clear instance of the word meaning "*roll back*"³.

ἐπιστῆσαι, τί δήποτε ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ σπηλαίου οὐ κεκύλισται ὁ ἐπικείμενος αὐτῷ λίθος, ἀλλὰ αἴρεται· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ φρέατος οὐ παντελῶς αἴρεται, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀποκυλίεται. Ἐχρῆν πάντῃ μὲν ἀρθῆναι τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου λίθον, καὶ μὴ πάλιν κυλισθῆναι· τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ἀποκυλισθῆναι μόνον· προείρηται γὰρ ὅτι ἀπέ.... Here follows what the editors call "lacuna ingens."

¹ Ἀνακυλίω. See *Corrections* 527c referring to Lucian (vol. ii. 925, *De Lucr.* 8) and Dion. Hal. (*De Comp. Verb.*, Reiske, vol. v. p. 139) and apparently Plut. *Mor.* 304 (unless we are to read κατακυλίσαντες).

² Steph. *Thes.* (ἀνακυλισμός) quotes Dionys. Areop. *De coel. hierarch.* xv. 9 Γέλ Γέλ· τοῦτο δὲ καθ' Ἑβραϊδα ἀνακυλισμοὺς καὶ ἀνακαλύψεις σημαίνει.

³ See *Evang. Petri.* § 9 ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκείνος ὁ βεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος. The editors suggest ἐπεχώρησε. The stone seems here personified (ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ). Perhaps ἐπεχώρησε is used, as with a personal subject, to mean "*made a concession*," "*yielded*." Παρὰ μέρος is rendered by the editors "*to one side*."

The context § 10 also personifies the Cross. It "follows" Jesus and two ascending "men (ἄνδρας)" that bear Him upward above the heavens, and it replies "Yea," to the question "Hast thou preached to them that sleep [in death]?"

See below, p. 669, n. 1, for a personification of the Well in Numbers (xxi. 17) "Spring up, O well" and for traditions about the "rolling" of the stone, or rock, that contained the "well," which "followed" Israel in the wilderness.

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Mark's use of the word suggests a combination of two metaphors (1) the rolling *away* of a barrier that prevents free passage, (2) the rolling *up* and vanishing of clouds that prevent free vision. The latter recalls Isaiah's description of the wicked as being "rolled [upward] in thick clouds of smoke¹," and the worldliness of the worldly-minded might be likened to such "clouds." The two metaphors together indicate a hostile influence that hinders the soul of man on earth from looking up to, and mounting up to, the things in the heaven of heavens.

In Luke, later on, describing the two disciples journeying to Emmaus, we find that, until their hearts were prepared to receive the vision of the risen Saviour, not even the presence of His bodily form, nor even a prolonged conversation with Him, enabled them to discern Him, until "He took the loaf, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened and they knew him²."

This view—that is to say, the assumption of the need of preparation—accords with Matthew's account of the "keepers" at the grave of Jesus. The Gospel of Peter, it is true, describes the keepers as seeing, not only two descending figures—descending and entering the tomb—but also a third, borne on their shoulders when they issue from the tomb and ascend to heaven³. But Matthew differs. Matthew represents an angel as descending and rolling away the stone and inviting the women to enter the tomb, and the keepers as being "terrified by the fear of him." But "him" means "the angel⁴." In Matthew, the keepers do not see Jesus. Matthew's whole narrative about the "keepers" is probably non-historical, but it is less untrue to fact than the narrative in the Gospel of Peter. An ancient Version of Mark contains a long substitute for, or parallel to, the "*looking up*," in which "angels" are described as "descending from heaven," and others "rising in brightness," and then

¹ See above, p. 664, n. 1.

² Lk. xxiv. 30—31.

³ See *Evangel. Petr.* § 10 τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας, καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 2 foll. ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου... ἀπεκύλισε... ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ... ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐσείσθησαν οἱ τηροῦντες....

"there was light¹." This at all events confirms the view that the original on which our Mark was based implied a vision.

In Mark's tradition "And having looked up, they behold that the stone is rolled-upwards, *for* it was very great," it is difficult to believe that "*for*" could imply "they could not help 'beholding' the fact, *because* of its size." Codex D substitutes "And they come and find the stone rolled-away," omitting "*for it was very great.*" SS has "And they were saying in themselves 'Now who hath rolled [away] for us the stone of the tomb? *Because it was great exceedingly,*'" and similarly the Gospel of Peter "They were saying... 'But who will roll away for us also the stone...? *For the stone was great, and we fear...*'²." In Mark's previous description of the "rolling-on" of the "stone" by Joseph, at the entrance of the tomb, the text of the parallel Luke omits "rolling," but D has "He placed on the tomb a stone that scarce twenty [men] could roll³"—which sounds like Homeric poetry. Both Hebrew and Aramaic might connect "a *great* stone" with "*rolling*" in a technical phrase liable to be misunderstood by Greeks. In Ezra the only two mentions of "rolling" are in the phrase "stones of *rolling*⁴." In neither instance does the

¹ Mk xvi. 4 (txt) καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι...μέγας σφόδρα. Codex *k* "Subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebrae diei factae sunt per totum orbem terrae et descenderunt de caelis angeli et surgent (? surgentes) in claritate uiui dī simul ascenderunt cum eo et continuo lux facta est. Tunc illae accesserunt ad monimentum et uident reuolutum lapidem fuit enim magnus nimis."

Perhaps "ad horam tertiam" might be intended to mean "[up] to the third hour," *i.e.* for as much as three hours, the duration of the darkness mentioned in Mk xv. 33. "Rising (surgentes)" and "ascending (ascenderunt cum eo)" may be a version of the tradition in *Evang. Petr.* § 10 quoted above. "Lux facta est" agrees with *Evang. Petr.* § 6 τότε ἡλιος ἔλαμψε.

² *Diatess.* also transposes. See Burkitt, vol. ii. pp. 241—2.

³ Lk. xxiii. 53 (D) καὶ θέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκε τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον οὗ μογὶς εἰκοσι ἐκυλίων, *d* "et posito eo inposuit in monumento lapidem quem uix uiginti mouebant." Μόγης does not occur in canon. LXX. It is most frequent in epic poetry.

⁴ Ezr. v. 8, vi. 4 (Ges. 1086 *b*) אבן גלל "stones of rolling, too heavy for carrying." In Ezr. v. 8, LXX has "elect (ἐκλεκτοί) stones"

LXX render the word literally. This idiom reveals probabilities of plays on the word "stone" in Christian traditions, such as we find suggested in the Petrine Epistle¹, and accumulated in the commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the stone that closed the Lord's sepulchre². Even before Christ's

(comp. 1 Pet. ii. 6) and Rashi explains it as "marble," as also does Walton, Vulg. "impolito." The parall. 1 Esdr. vi. 9 has "polished, costly (ξυστῶν πολυτελῶν) stones." In Ezr. vi. 4 LXX omits it, having simply λίθινοι (but A + κραταιοί) parall. to 1 Esdr. vi. 24 λιθίνων ξυστῶν.

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 2—3 "As newborn babes, long ye for the *spiritual milk*... if ye have *tasted* that the Lord is gracious, unto whom coming, a *living stone*," is followed by *ib.* 6 "*corner-stone, elect, precious*," thus rapidly introducing a new metaphor. To Jews "*elect stone*" might suggest Ezra's "stone of *rolling*." The rapid transition from the metaphor of a rocky fountain for drinking to a vast stone for building becomes explicable on the hypothesis that Peter was familiar with Jewish poetic traditions about the "following" Fountain which might perhaps be called (Gen. xlix. 24) "the Stone of Israel." "Stone" (אֶבֶן) usually λίθος, but here rendered (*Oxf. Conc.*) by LXX κατισχύσας, is quite different in Hebrew from either of the two words (סֶלַע, Numb. xx. 8 foll., צוּר, Exod. xvii. 6) meaning the water-giving "rock," but the LXX renders both סֶלַע and צוּר by πέτρα, which might be interchanged with πέτρος and confused with λίθος. In Is. viii. 14 "for (a) a stone (אֶבֶן) of collision and for (b) a rock (צוּר) of stumbling," LXX (quoted in Rom. ix. 33, 1 Pet. ii. 8) has (a) λίθος, (b) πέτρα. Rashi says "צוּר est אֶבֶן, i.e. lapis," identifying the two Hebrew words.

Rashi, on Gen. xlix. 24 אֶבֶן, says that "according to the Kabbala it means אב and בן," i.e. "father and son." In Ps. cxviii. 22 "*the stone that the builders rejected*," the Targum has "*the child* (טליא)," see *Son* 3594 c.

Comp. *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 313 on the "immortal fountain" revealed by the risen Saviour:—

Καὶ τότε ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀναλύσας, εἰς φάος ἤξει,
Πρῶτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας,
Ἀθανάτου πηγῆς ἀπολουσάμενοι [? -οις] ὑδάτεσσι
Τὰς πρότερον κακίας.

² Ephrem, in his comment on the stone at the Lord's sepulchre, alludes successively to three "stones" of O.T. in the following: "Lapis positus est ad ostium sepulchri, lapis ad lapidem, ut lapis custodiret (Ps. cxviii. 22) lapidem, quem rejecerunt aedificantes. Lapis, qui manibus apprehendebatur, appositum (*sic*) est, ut

birth it is probable that traditions about "the *rolling stone of Miriam* (i.e. of Mary)" were current in Jewish poetry and were in Paul's mind when he wrote that Israel "drank from a spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ¹."

John, by substituting "taken-away" for "rolled-upward" or "rolled-away," puts aside Synoptic variations as to the "rolling" of "the stone." But he curiously introduces another kind of "rolling" altogether, in connection, not with the stone outside the grave, but with the "napkin" about Christ's head, inside the grave, which he describes as "*rolled up*," or "*wrapped up*," in a place by itself. This is important enough to deserve separate consideration.

includeret illum lapidem, qui (Dan. ii. 45) sine manu excisus est. Lapis, super quem angelus sedit, appositus est, ut illum lapidem includeret, quem (Gen. xxviii. 11) Jacob sub capite suo posuit...."

Gen. v. (on *Gen. xxix. 3*) gives several interpretations of the "stone" at Jacob's well, mostly good, e.g. the Sanhedrin, the Shechinah, the Merit of the Patriarchs, but one bad, the Evil Impulse.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 4 ἐπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθοῦσης πέτρας· ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. It is hardly possible to believe that Paul could have inserted "following" so abruptly unless he was aware of some tradition like that in Onkelos (Numb. xxi. 17 foll.) about the well that was as it were personified in the appeal "*Spring up, O well*":—(*Indices to Diatessarica* p. li) "In the wilderness was it [i.e. the Well] given to them (Heb. *Mattanah*); and from [the time] that it was given to them (Heb. *from Mattanah*) it descended along with them to the rivers (Heb. *to Nahaliel*)." The LXX avoids the personification by rendering עַל "*spring up*," as if it were ὑπο, "*upon*," ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος. It is not necessary to suppose that Paul insisted on the Jewish poetical version as literally true. But he uses it in order to insist that the "following rock" is a spiritual one. The emphasis is on "spiritual," as if he wrote "A following rock, if you like to use the language of our Jewish songs, but in any case, a *spiritual* rock."

Wetstein (on 1 Cor. x. 4), besides many other passages describing Miriam's well as walking or moving, quotes *Numb. v.* (on *Numb. i. 1*, Wü. p. 3) in which it is described as "rolling":—"Quomodo comparatus fuit illi puteus? Fuit sicut petra, sicut alveus apum et globosus: et volutavit se, et ivit cum ipsis in itineribus ipsorum."

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§ 5. "Rolled up in a place by itself," in John¹

The Greek, more literally rendered, means "Apart, rolled up [and cast] into one place²." It implies, 1st, separation, 2nd, rolling up into a compact form, 3rd, relegation ("to one place") capable of implying a kind of imprisonment or constraint. The only instance in Scripture of the rolling up of a covering into a compact form occurs where Elijah "took his mantle and *wrapped it together* and smote the waters" of Jordan, so that they were "divided," and the prophet "went over on dry ground³." This action of Elijah is connected in Jewish Midrash with the act of God who "bound the waters in his garment"; and the cleaving of the waters of the Jordan by Elijah is mentioned along with the cleaving of the waters of the Red Sea by Moses⁴. And these actions point back to the original cleaving of the waters in the Creation, where God says, "Let the waters... be gathered together *unto one place* and let the dry land appear⁵." The waters are regarded in Jewish

¹ Jn xx. 7 καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα, καὶ τὸ σουδάριον ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ὀθονίων κείμενον, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἓνα τόπον.

² "Into one place" occurs, in O.T., about (Gen. i. 9) the gathering of the waters (LXX "into one congregation"), Eccles. iii. 20, vi. 6 the dead ("all go to one place"). Origen (on Gen. i. 9) regards the waters as a covering that we are to "cast off from us."

³ 2 K. ii. 8 "wrapped it together (ἐῖλυσεν)." Εἰλεῖν occurs only four times altogether in LXX (*Oxf. Conc.*), and thrice with *v.v.* Mk xv. 46 ἐνείλησεν is represented in *Evang. Petr.* § 6 by εἰλησε.

⁴ See *Numb. r.* (Wü. pp. 292—3) quoting Prov. xxx. 4 "who bindeth the waters in (τ) his (*lit.* a) garment" τίς συνέστρεψεν ὕδωρ ἐν ἱματίῳ; Theod. ἐνέδησεν. The answer is (1) God (Job xxvi. 8), (2) Elijah (2 K. ii. 8), (3) Moses (Exod. xv. 8 "The floods stood upright as a heap...") and sim. *Prov. r.* (on Prov. xxx. 4), etc.

⁵ Gen. i. 9. R. Eliezer represents God as saying (*Mechilt.* on Exod. xiv. 15, Wü. p. 93) "If I made the sea dry land for the first man, who was but one (Gen. i. 9), should I not make dry land for the people of the holy ones...?" Comp. *Pirkè de R. Eliezer* (ed. Friedlander, p. 330) "On the day when He said (Gen. i. 9) Let the waters..., on that very day were the waters [*i.e.* of the Red Sea] congealed, and they were made into twelve valleys, corresponding to the twelve tribes...."

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tradition as rebellious, desiring to "turn again and cover the earth¹." Rashi says that the "one place" into which they are "gathered" is "the ocean²." This was believed to encircle the world, and Josephus implies the encircling when he describes the Creation³. Nonnus here attaches to the Johannine *soudarion*, or face-cloth, an epithet meaning "rolled into itself" which he elsewhere attaches to "Ocean⁴."

It may be added that the same passage in Proverbs that asks "Who hath bound the waters in a garment?" asks also "Who hath ascended up into the heaven and descended?" This all early Christians would naturally apply (as Jerome does) to the death and resurrection of Christ. Elijah did *not* "bind" the waters "into" a garment. But the same Hebrew preposition that means "*in*," or "*into*," is also regularly used to mean "*with*" or "*by means of*." Playing on this double meaning, Jews might say that Elijah, *by means of* his garment—like Moses by means of his rod—bound or constrained the waters of the Jordan to part asunder and make a path for him, that he might go onward to the place where he was to ascend to heaven.

Similarly Christians might regard Jesus as "wrapping up" into a compact form the covering that had been placed on His face, that He might smite therewith the waters of Death and constrain them to let Him pass across to preach the Gospel to the spirits imprisoned in Sheol. We must not be surprised if here in the Fourth Gospel, as often in the Prophets, there is a mixture of metaphors that are not quite consistent. The face-cloth is regarded in two aspects, first, and directly, as the discarded "covering," the "waters" of

¹ Ps. civ. 9, comp. Rev. xxi. 1 "and the sea is no more," as an illustration of Jewish thought in general about the sea, as a disorderly element.

² Rashi on Gen. i. 9 "congregavit illas [*i.e.* aquas] in Oceano."

³ Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 1 ἵσθησι τὴν γῆν ἀναχέας περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν, comp. Clem. Alex. 784.

⁴ See Steph. *Thes.* quoting nearly 30 instances of αὐτοέλικτος in Nonnus and none from any earlier author. The first is from *Dion.* i. 495 στέφος αὐτοέλικτον... Ὠκεανόν....

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death and darkness, gathered "into one place"; but secondly, and indirectly, as the garment of Elijah that is rolled into a rod of power and constrains the waters "into one place."

This view of the rolling away of the face-cloth "into one place"—as being equivalent to "rolling up out of the way," or "destroying"—may be illustrated by Isaiah's prophecy concerning the destruction of "the veil that is spread over all nations," which is connected with a swallowing up of death:—"He will destroy (*lit.* swallow up) in this mountain *the face of the covering that is cast over all peoples, and the veil that is spread over all nations*; he hath swallowed up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the reproach of his people shall he take away from off all the earth¹." When the face-cloth, or "napkin," was placed on the face of Christ, Death seemed to have triumphed visibly and materially over the Prince of Life, casting "a veil over all nations," while thus "covering" the countenance of their Saviour. Death, it might be said, had "swallowed up" life for ever, bringing "tears" for all faces, and riveting on mankind the "reproach" of having fallen from their Creator's image into the likeness of Satan. But by the Resurrection, all this was reversed. Death, the swallower, was itself "swallowed up." And as, by the hand of the first Jesus, God "*rolled away the reproach of Egypt*" for the first Israel in Gilgal², so, by the second Jesus, God typically *rolled away* from the second Israel the *reproach* of being bondsmen to Egyptian darkness and sin—rolling away the covering or veil from the Saviour's face and casting it aside, "apart, into one place." Then, after no long interval, the Saviour typically fulfilled the second part of Isaiah's prophecy when He "wiped away tears" from the face of sorrowing humanity personified in Mary Magdalene³.

¹ Is. xxv. 7—8, comp. 2 Cor. iii. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 54.

² Josh. v. 9 "And the Lord said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of that place was called Gilgal, unto this day."

³ Jn xx. 11—17.

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§ 6. "A young man," in Mark¹

The Hebrew for the Marcan "young-man," or "youth," most frequently corresponding to the Greek in the Old Testament, and given here by Delitzsch, is almost always in the

¹ Mk xvi. 5—8
(R.V.)

(5) And entering into the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, arrayed in a white robe; and they were amazed.

(6) And he saith unto them, Be not amazed: ye seek Jesus, the Nazarene, which hath been crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold, the place where they laid him!

(7) But go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.

(8) And they went out, and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them: and they said nothing to any one;

Mt. xxviii. 2—10
(R.V.)

(2) ...an angel of the Lord...came... and sat...

(3) His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow:

(4) And for fear of him the watchers did quake, and became as dead men.

(5) And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which hath been crucified.

(6) He is not here; for he is risen, even as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord (*many anc. auth.* where he) lay.

(7) And go quickly, and tell his disciples, He is risen from the dead; and lo, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.

(8) And they departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to bring his disciples word.

(9) And behold,

Lk. xxiv. 3—11
(R.V.)

(3) And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus (*some anc. auth. omit* of the Lord Jesus).

(4) And it came to pass, while they were perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazling apparel:

(5) And as they were affrighted, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living (*lit.* him that liveth) among the dead?

(6) He is not here, but is risen (*some anc. auth. om.* He.... risen): remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,

(7) Saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

(8) And they remembered his words,

(9) And returned from the tomb (*some anc. auth. om.* from the tomb), and told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest.

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plural, or used generically as in "youth and greybeard¹."

<p>Mt xvi. 5—8 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i> for they were afraid.</p>	<p>Mt. xxviii. 2—10 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i> Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. (10) Then saith Jesus unto them, Fear not: go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me.</p>	<p>Lk. xxiv. 3—11 (R.V.) <i>contd.</i> (10) Now they were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the [mother] of James: and the other women with them told these things unto the apostles. (11) And these words appeared in their sight as idle talk; and they disbelieved them.</p>
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Jn xx. 11—13, 17—18 (R.V.) (11) But Mary was standing without at the tomb weeping: so, as she wept, she stooped and looked into the tomb; (12) and she beholdeth two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. (13) And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because.... (17) Jesus saith to her, Touch me not (*or*, Take not hold on me); for I am not yet ascended unto the Father: but go unto my brethren, and say to them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God. (18) Mary Magdalene cometh and telleth the disciples, I have seen the Lord; and [how that] he had said these things unto her.

<p>Mk xvi. 5 καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι (marg. ἐλθοῦσαι) εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιαῖς περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθη- σαν.</p>	<p>Mt. xxviii. 2—4 καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισε τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπή καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡς χιὼν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐσείσθησαν οἱ τηροῦντες καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ὡς νεκροί.</p>	<p>Lk. xxiv. 3—5 a εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα [τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ]. καὶ ἐγένε- το ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτὰς περὶ τούτου καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστη- σαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπτούσῃ. ἐμφόβων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν....</p>
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Jn xx. 11—12 Μαρία δὲ ἰστήκει πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ ἔξω κλαίονσα. ὡς οὖν ἔκλαιεν παρέκνυσεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς καθεζομένους, ἓνα πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἓνα πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

¹ *Νεανίσκος* in LXX = בחור (37), נער (25), and other words less frequently. Heb. בחור (Gesen. 104 b) means "choice" and hence "young man (choice, in the prime of manhood)." It is never used to represent "man" when Heb. mentions "man" to describe an angel.

This, and its rejection by all the other Evangelists, suggest that it may be an error. If it is, we naturally look, in such a writer as Mark, to see whether it may be an error of conflation, *i.e.* caused by the repetition of some phrase in the context¹. Now Mark's context has "arrayed in a *white* robe," parallel to Matthew's "his raiment *white* as snow," and John's "two angels (lit.) *in white(s)*"² sitting," and it happens that the Hebrew for "*young-man*" is almost identical with the Aramaic for "*in white*," and the Hebrew for "*young-men*" with the Aramaic for "*in whites*"³."

This is not all. The R.V. margin of Matthew refers to Daniel's description of the Ancient of Days: "His raiment was *white as snow*"⁴. "Snow" does not occur in the New Testament except here and in Revelation "his hair white as wool, white as

¹ On conflation, as a characteristic of Mark, see *Clue* 128 foll., 145 foll.

² "White garments," λευκαί, are regarded as a bad sign (except for "priests" and "slaves of Greeks") in dreams by Artemid. ii. 3. Λευκά δὲ ἱμάτια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις συμφέρει καὶ δούλοις Ἑλλήνων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ταραχὰς σημαίνει διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν ὕλῃ ἀναστρεφόμενους καὶ κρινομένους ἀνθρώπους λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια. Χειροτέχναις δὲ ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πολυτελέστερα ἢ τὰ ἱμάτια, τοσοῦτῳ πλείονα. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἔργῳ ὄντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας ἐργαζόμενοι, λευκοῖς ἱματίοις χρώνται. Δούλοις δὲ Ῥωμαίων μόνοις ἀγαθὸν τοῖς εὖ πράσσουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις πονηρόν. Ἐλέγχει γὰρ τοὺς κακῶς πράσσοντας, διὰ τε τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς δεσπόταις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον ἔχειν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνείρῳ οὐ γίνονται ἐλευθεροί, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἄνδρὶ δὲ νοσοῦντι λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια θάνατον προαγορεύει διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν λευκοῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι.

Luke uses the phrase by itself about the "two men" in Acts i. 10 ἐν ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς, although here he avoids it. He qualifies it in the Transfiguration (ix. 29) λευκὸς ἑξαστράπτων.

³ "White [robe]" in Biblical Aramaic (Dan. vii. 9. See above, p. 14) is (Gesen. 1092 *b*) חור, and "in a white [robe]" might be בחור, which (see above, p. 674, n. 1) in Heb. = "young man." The pl. בחורים might mean "in white(s)," ἐν λευκοῖς. (Comp. Bacon's *Essays* ii. 18 "Blacks [*i.e.* black garments] and obsequies.") Gesen. 301 *a* also gives חור and חורי "white stuff" in Esth. i. 6, viii. 15, Is. xix. 9.

⁴ Dan. vii. 9 "His raiment like snow *white* (חור)" Theod. τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ χιῶν λευκόν. But LXX has prob. taken חור as היה "there was [to him]" *i.e.* "he had" (see *Oxf. Conc.* for ἔχειν = היה), and hence it has ἔχων περιβολὴν ὡσεὶ χιόνα, and omits λευκόν.

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snow," borrowed from Daniel¹. It can hardly be doubted that Matthew wrote with allusion to Daniel. But in Daniel the word for "white" is that very same Aramaic word which we have been just now considering. The LXX omits or misrenders it, but Theodotion renders it correctly. It may be added that in ancient visions or manifestations of angels, like those to Abraham, to Lot, and to Manoah and his wife, the angels are described by the writer as "men," or spoken of by the beholder as "men," but never as "young-men²." These facts greatly increase the probability that Mark has here made a mistake, as to "young-man," avoided by the later Evangelists in different ways³. But as to the garments of the visionary figures, John agrees with Mark and Matthew, as against Luke, in describing them as "white."

John also agrees with Mark and Matthew, against Luke, in describing the angel or angels as "sitting." This posture is rarely assigned to angels in Scripture⁴. It has been suggested

¹ Rev. i. 14.

² Gen. xviii. 2 "three *men*," addressed by Abraham (*ib.* 3) as "My lord," or "O Lord," xviii. 16 "the *men* looked toward Sodom," xix. 1 "and the two *angels* came to Sodom," *ib.* 10, 12 "the *men*," *ib.* 15 "the *angels*," afterwards sometimes regarded as one, when speaking to Lot, and when addressed by Lot, *ib.* 17—22 "When *they* had brought them forth, *he* said Escape.... And Lot said unto *them*, Oh, not so, my lord (or, O Lord)... And *he* [i.e. the angel] said unto him, See, *I* have accepted thee... Haste thee... for *I* cannot do anything till thou be come thither."

³ *Evang. Petr.* speaks of "a certain young man" thus § 13 καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εἶρον τὸν τάφον ἡνεφγμένον καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκνυσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὁρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινὰ νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον μέσφ τοῦ τάφου, ὥραιον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην.

This avoids λευκόν and retains νεανίσκος in a kind of apologetic phrase "a young man, if he might be so called, or, after a strange fashion." See below (p. 681, n. 2) quoting *Evang. Petr.* §§ 9—10 ἄνδρας... νεανίσκοι... ἄνδρας.

The *Acts of Pilate* § 13, in its various forms, does not mention the Marcan "young man." It mostly follows Matthew.

⁴ See Judg. vi. 11 "And the angel of the Lord came and sat under the oak," on which there is a comment in *Exod. r.* (on Exod. xvi. 4, Wü. p. 189) saying that the Lord of hosts does His will with

that, in John, the two angels "sitting in white" are regarded as cherubim. But in Scripture the cherubim appear to be regarded not as sitting but as flying messengers of mercy from the Almighty who "sits on (*or*, between) them¹." Chrysostom is perhaps right in saying that "the manner of their sitting," as well as their sympathetic words to Mary, invite her to question them². Origen sees "a kind of tropology" in all the parallel passages³. Luke's description of "two men

the angels: "If He will, He maketh them to sit (Judg. vi. 11) and sometimes He maketh them stand (Is. vi. 2 and Zech. iii. 7) and sometimes they appear in the forms of women (Zech. v. 9), sometimes in the forms of men (Gen. xviii. 2) and sometimes He maketh them winds (Ps. civ. 4) and sometimes a fire (*ib.*)."

"Sitting" is the attitude of Jesus when expounding Scripture (see *Hor. Heb.* on Mt. xiii. 2 quoting *Sot.* ix. 15) expressly mentioned in Lk. iv. 20 "closed the book... and *sat down*."

¹ Gesen. 500 *b* gives כרוב, "cherub," as (1) the living chariot of the Theophanic God Ps. xviii. 10, 2 S. xxii. 11 "and he rode upon (וירכב על) a cherub," (2) the guards of Eden, (3) the throne of the Lord of hosts in the phrase "sitting [on] the cherubim," 1 S. iv. 4 etc. It suggests (*ib.* 501 *a*) that another form of the cherubim is indicated in Is. vi. 2—6 the "seraphim." They are nowhere represented as sitting.

Levy ii. 394 *b*, who says that כרוב seems to be a transposition of the letters in רכוב, particip. pass. of "ride," quotes *Suc.* 5 *b* "What does כרוב mean? R. Abahu said 'like (כ) a youth (רב)'" (see context). The derivation from "child" is perhaps assumed in *Baba Bathr.* 99 *a* "Onkelos the proselyte saith *the cherubim are like children going from their master*," i.e. with their faces turned partly toward their master and partly toward the way wherein they were to go (see *Hor. Heb.* on Jn xx. 12).

² Chrys. on Jn xx. 11 comments on the fact that the two angels (in John) say nothing to Mary about "rising again," but she is "gently impelled (*ἡρεμα προβιβάζεται*)" toward the truth by the peaceful, bright, and sympathetic aspect of the angels and by "the manifestation that they knew what had happened." Through all these things "as through a door that is being opened she was led by degrees to the conception of resurrection (*διὰ δὲ τούτων πάντων ὥσπερ θύρας ἀνοιγομένης κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀναστάσεως ἤγετο λόγον*)."

³ Origen *Cels.* v. 56. He seems to assume that the one "angel of the Lord" mentioned by Matthew is the same as the "young man" mentioned by Mark, but leaves us doubtful as to the identity of the

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‘standing-above,’ or close to, the women somewhat resembles the vision in Genesis of “three men” who appeared to Abraham and (LXX) “stood above him¹.”

As to this last vision it is noteworthy that, though “three men” are mentioned, they are addressed by Abraham as one², and this may have a bearing on the passages that describe the “two men” in Luke, or “two angels” in John, as speaking to the women. It would be contrary to Hebrew Scripture and Jewish tradition to insist that the two divine speakers must be regarded as uttering the same words simultaneously—especially in Luke where the utterance is of considerable length. “The angel of the Lord” may be regarded as speaking through them both³.

“two men” in Lk. with the “two angels” in Jn: Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγράφαντες ἓνα, τὸν ἀποκυλίσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου τοῦτόν φασιν εἶναι· οἱ δὲ τοὺς δύο, τοὺς ἐπιστάντας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπτουσίῃ ταῖς γενομέναις ἐπὶ μνημείον γυναιξίν, ἢ τοὺς θεωρηθέντας ἔνδον ἐν λευκοῖς καθεζομένους. Ἐκαστον δὲ τούτων νῦν παραδεικνύναι δυνατόν, καὶ γεγεννημένον, καὶ δηλωτικόν τινος εἶναι τροπολογίας τῆς περὶ τῶν προφαινομένων τοῖς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ λόγου θεωρεῖν παρεσκευασμένοις, οὐ τῆς παρούσης ἐστὶ πραγματείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐξηγητικῶν.

“A kind of tropology, namely, that which (τῆς, so MS, not τοῖς) concerns the preliminary manifestations” (Clark “a figurative meaning existing in these phenomena”) seems to mean that the various aspects of the angels, *e.g.* triumphant over the stone, youthful, brightly shining, sitting, standing-above etc., represent spiritual conceptions of resurrectional power, preparatory to the vision of the risen Saviour Himself. Origen does not say (Mt.) τὸν ἀποκυλίσαντα... καὶ (Mk) καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, which would identify the angel in Matthew with the angel (or “young-man”) in Mark; yet he seems to assume their identity. On the other hand, the repeated article with “or” (τοὺς ἐπιστάντας... ἢ τοὺς θεωρηθέντας) may mean that he assumes one pair of angels (or “men”) in Luke and another in John.

¹ Gen. xviii. 2 (LXX) ἰσθήκεισαν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, R.V. “stood over against him.” Lk. xxiv. 4 ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς.

² See above, p. 676, n. 2.

³ See Targ. Jer. I on the “three men” in Gen. xviii. 2 foll. (and sim. Jer. II) “It is not possible for a ministering angel to be sent for more than one purpose at a time;—one, then, had come to make known to him that Sarah should bear a man-child; one had come to deliver Lot; and one to overthrow Sodom and Gomorrah.”

Later on (Gen. xviii. 10) Jer. I has “And ONE of them said,

678 (Mark xvi. 5—8)

Why does Matthew describe the angel in the phrase usually applied in the Old Testament to God Himself manifested in a temporary vision or action on earth, "the angel of the Lord¹"? It is perhaps intended to rectify Mark's error as to the "*young man*" by shewing that this "*angel*" was of the highest order and the very representative of the Supreme. With this there accords the mention of "his raiment as white as snow"—a characteristic confined in the Old Testament to the Ancient of Days, and in the New Testament to Christ as seen in the Transfiguration².

A word is due to Matthew's insertion at this point "And for fear of him [*i.e.* the angel] *the watchers* did quake³." Matthew has said before, about the soldiers guarding the Cross, "And sitting down they *watched* him there," and again, "But the centurion and those with him *watching* Jesus⁴." These uses of the word are all peculiar to Matthew, and they suggest that they may be all connected with a very difficult, if not incredible statement, peculiar to Matthew, that Pilate, at the request of the Jews, gave them a "*guard*" or "*watch*" (*koustōdia*) to guard Christ's tomb through the night⁵. The word for "*guard*" or "*watch*" here used by Delitzsch in all these passages—which is indeed the regular Hebrew word for military "*guard*" or "*watch*"—is used in the above-quoted Psalm of Watching,

Returning I will return . . .," Jer. II "And He said, Returning I will return." Rashi says that the plural is used in narrative ("they ate," "they said") but the singular "in annunciation, *e.g.* "He said, I will return."

Jer. I introduces the "three men" as "three angels in the resemblance of men," which illustrates the Lucan "two men" as parallel to the Johannine "two angels."

¹ Mt. xxviii. 2 ἄγγελος Κυρίου, A.V. "the angel (R.V. an angel) of the Lord." Possibly R.V. is wrong. See Judg. ii. 1, vi. 11, 22 etc. where A.V. "*an* angel of the Lord," LXX ἄγγελος Κυρίου, is altered by R.V. into "*the*." In Mt. xxviii. 2, SS has "*the* angel of the Lord," although in Mt. i. 20, ii. 13, 19, it has "*an*." In Gen. xvi. 7 foll. LXX begins with ἄγγελος Κυρίου but has ὁ ἄγγ. Κυρ. afterwards. But the meaning is "*the* angel of the Lord" from the first.

² See above, p. 14.

³ Mt. xxviii. 4.

⁴ Mt. xxvii. 36, 54.

⁵ Mt. xxvii. 65.

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the *De Profundis*, as follows: "My soul [looketh] for the Lord, more than [those] watching for (or, till) the morning, [yea, more than] [those] watching for (or, till) the morning¹."

The LXX ("from the morning watch till night") has missed the meaning and led early Christian writers astray. But Aquila renders it correctly by the word regularly used in Greek to mean military "guarding." This Psalm has been found above to explain Mark's "bought spices" for the Lord, as meaning "waited" for the Lord². We may now use it again to explain Matthew's story about the "watch" or "guard." It appears to be no fiction, but misinterpretation, which amplified into an expanded tale—as Jewish Targums often do amplify—some simple poetic statement, such as "The women waited for the Lord *more than those watching for* (or, till) *the morning, yea, more than those watching for* (or till) *the morning*³." Early Christians, applying these words, after the manner of Justin Martyr, as Messianic prediction, exactly and literally to the women waiting for the Lord at His tomb on the morning of His resurrection, would naturally ask "But how about 'those watching for (or, till) the morning'? Were there any persons definitely appointed to watch? If so, who appointed them? And why? And what did they see?" Then they would answer their own questions by supplying details. Those watching for (or, till) the morning were placed there by the Jews. They were terrified and "became as dead men," but they saw no Saviour. Only the women saw Him⁴.

¹ Ps. cxxx. 6, Field has "plus quam vigiles [expectant] tempus matutinum, vigilantes usque ad tempus matutinum." But the Heb. prep. ל is the same in both clauses, i.e. "to" or "for," LXX ἀπὸ φυλακῆς πρωῒας μέχρι νυκτός, Aq. ἀπὸ φυλασσόντων τὴν πρωῒαν.... Heb. 727 "watch" = φυλάσσω more than 350 times, and τηρέω (Matthew's word) 10 times. See above, p. 661, n. 2, on the first Biblical mention of "morning watch," which Rashi connects with ministering angels.

² See above, pp. 649—52.

³ Comp. Ps. cxxx. 6.

⁴ There is some difference in the Gospels, at this point, as to fearing in consequence of the angelic visions. Mark and Luke attribute amazement or fear to the women. Matthew describes the "keepers" as "shaken with fear," while the angel says to the women emphatically "Do not ye (ὁμεῖς) fear." John mentions no fear in anyone.

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It should be added that Luke, although he omits the mention of "white" apparel in connection with the "two men" that "stand-close-to (*or*, above)" the women in his Gospel, inserts it in the Acts in connection with "two men" that "stand-by" the apostles when Jesus is taken from their sight¹. And the Gospel of Peter describes "two men" as descending and "standing-close-to (*or*, above)" the tomb, and entering in, and then "three men issuing, and the two supporting the One, and a Cross following²."

This, like Matthew's narrative of the guards keeping the tomb, is not to be dismissed as mere fiction. The "stone" is regarded as an enemy and the Messiah as triumphing over it. The Jews and the Gentiles combine to imprison Him. The Lord sends down His angels to fulfil His promise to His Anointed: "He shall give his angels charge over thee,...they shall bear thee up in their hands...lest thou dash thy foot against a stone³."

§ 7. "The Nazarene," in Mark⁴

Mark's use of this word has been discussed in a previous volume, and it has been maintained that the original name was

¹ Acts i. 10.

² *Evang. Petr.* § 9 Καὶ εἶδον ἀνοιχθέντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ δύο ἄνδρας κατελθόντας ἐκεῖθε, πολλὴν φέγγος ἔχοντας, καὶ ἐπίσταντας τῷ τάφῳ· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκείνος ὁ βεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος· καὶ ὁ τάφος ἠνοίγη, καὶ ἀμφότεροι οἱ νεανίσκοι εἰσῆλθον... § 10 ὁρῶσιν ἐξελθόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορβοῦντας, καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς.

Note that the writer calls the angels, ἄνδρες, ... νεανίσκοι, ... ἄνδρες.

Evang. Petr. §§ 6—8 relates that the stone is rolled to the grave not by Joseph but by the elders and scribes along with the soldiers.

³ Ps. xci. 11—12, comp. Mt. iv. 6, Lk. iv. 10—11. The fact that these words are quoted by Satan does not prove that all Christians would regard them as untrue or (like Jerome) as inapplicable to the Messiah. See p. 726.

⁴ Mk xvi. 6

Mt. xxviii. 5—6

Lk. xxiv. 5—6 a

ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς
Μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν
ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν
τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἡ-
γέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε·

ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἄγ-
γελος εἶπεν ταῖς γυναιξίν
Μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, οἶδα
γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν τὸν
ἐσταυρωμένον ζητεῖτε·

ἐμφόβων δὲ γενο-
μένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλινου-
σῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν
γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς Τί
ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ

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"Nazoraean," meaning the *Nêtzet*, i.e. shoot, or sprout, the shoot from the root of Jesse, predicted by Isaiah, where the LXX calls it a "flower" thus, "A *flower* from the root shall ascend (but Heb. lit. *bear fruit*)¹." The Targum paraphrases "a shoot out of his roots" as "*Messiah from his [Jesse's] son's sons*." But Isaiah also uses the term in a bad sense, speaking of "a *nêtzet* of abomination²." And *Sanhedrin* contains an anti-Christian story about a heretic named *Nêtzet*, who pleaded for his life, saying that he was the (good) "*nêtzet*" in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, but received the reply that he was the (bad) "*nêtzet*" in the fourteenth chapter—"an abominable *nêtzet*" (LXX *nekros*, "corpse")³. Other traditions indicate that Jews spoke of Christianity in a bad sense as "the kingdom of *Ben Nêtzet*⁴." Though late, they point back to an earlier period when the Jews would read *Nêtzet* into the term "Nazoraean"—some for good and some for ill, and some in a state of suspense, as perhaps when Paul heard the words "I am *Jesus, the Nêtzet*, whom thou art persecuting⁵."

Mk xvi. 6 <i>contd.</i>	Mt. xxviii. 5—6 <i>contd.</i>	Lk. xxiv. 5—6 a <i>contd.</i>
ἶδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν.	οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἡγέρθη γὰρ καθὼς εἶπεν· δεῦτε ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο.	τῶν νεκρῶν; [οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἡγέρθη.]

Comp. *Evang. Petr.* § 13 ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκείνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ἐνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη.

¹ See *Beginning* pp. 309—50 "Nazarene and Nazoraean," and p. 325 quoting Is. xi. 1.

² Is. xiv. 19 "cast forth from thy sepulchre like an abominable *nêtzet* (נֶצֶר)," LXX ὡς νεκρὸς ἐβδελυγμένος. Rashi says that the Rabbis regarded this as referring to Nebuchadnezzar, whose body was taken out of his grave and destroyed lest he should come to life again. Aq. renders נֶצֶר by ἰχώρ, Sym. ἔκτρωμα.

³ See *Beginning* pp. 318, 327 quoting *Sanhedr.* 43 a.

⁴ See Levy i. 240 a on "Ben Nezar," and *Hor. Heb.* i. 337—8 on "*Ben Nezer*"—quoting several traditions, including *Gen. r.* (on Gen. xxxii. 11, Wü. p. 374) which refers to Esau, and to the horn in Dan. vii. 8.

⁵ Acts xxii. 8.

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"Nêtzër," when "Nazoraean" became identified with "Nazarene" (in the sense of "a man from Nazara"), would naturally be omitted by later Evangelists. And Mark himself might feel that it required some addition to explain its double meaning. To Christians it implied "shooting up" or "ascending" to life and life-giving action. To Jews it had begun to imply death, and disgraceful death. Such a death would be that by "hanging on a tree," or crucifying. Mark (followed by Matthew) inserts here "the crucified"; but the Syriac for this word is one that in Aramaic means not only "crucified" but also "lifted up¹." Luke, placing after "living" the word used by Isaiah (LXX *nekros*, "corpse") to express the "nêtzër of abomination," perhaps conceals an original contrast between the dead nêtzër of abomination and the living Nêtzër of Righteousness:—"Why seek ye the *living* among the *dead*?"

Perhaps the original was shorter than the text now extant in any of the Synoptists. Angels in Hebrew Scripture do not as a rule make long speeches. In an empty tomb angelic gesture might express what had befallen its tenant.

§ 8. "*He is not here*"²

The Synoptists all agree as to the words "*He is not here*," but they differ as to the order in which they place "*He is risen*." Also Luke omits the invitation of the women by the angels to come and see the place where Jesus lay. Going back to Biblical instances of the phrase "*he is not*," meaning "he has disappeared," we find that the renderings of it in the Targums and LXX shew considerable variations. The first relates to Enoch concerning whom the Scripture says "*He was not*, for God took him³." But the LXX has "*He was not found*," as

¹ Mk xvi. 6 (SS and Pesh.) זקף, on which see Levy *Ch.* i. 229 *a*, and also *Joh. Gr.* 2642 on "lifted up" = "crucified."

² In Mark, the negative "*He is not here*" might seem an anti-climax coming after "*He is risen*." Matthew and Luke put the negative first, and Luke prefixes a reproach for seeking the living with the dead. For the Greek text see above, p. 681, n. 4.

³ Gen. v. 24 "*and he was not* (ואיננו)" καὶ οὐχ ἠρίσκειτο. On

elsewhere¹. The Epistle to the Hebrews quotes it as "not found" and Philo comments on it². Perhaps Luke alludes to it in his contextual use of the word to describe what the women did, and did not, "find³." The Jerusalem Targum on Genesis has "*He was not with the inhabitants of the earth, for he was withdrawn and he ascended,*" where "ascended," in conjunction with "*he was not,*" suggests a resemblance to the above-quoted tradition of the Gospel of Peter "*He is not, for He hath arisen and departed thither [lit. there] whence He was sent*"⁴."

The next point to note is that the word rendered "here" ("he is not *here*") as used in LXX, sometimes corresponds to a Hebrew word meaning "hither," but with similar consonants to those of the Hebrew "*behold*"⁵. The Semitic "*He is not. Behold!*" might therefore be rendered in Greek by some as (1) "*He is not here.*" This would be very natural for those who did not understand the Hebrew absolute use of "*He is not.*" Others might render it literally (2) "*He is not. Behold!*" Mark and Matthew appear to have combined these two renderings,

this use of וְאֵין see Gesen. 34 a. Gen. ii. 5 ("there was not a man to till the ground") somewhat differs.

¹ Ps. xxxvii. 10 "et adhuc paululum et non [est] (וְאֵין) impius, et advertes super locum ejus et non [est] ipse (וְאֵין)," LXX καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξῃ... καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρηται: also Gen. xxxvii. 29, "Joseph was not (וְאֵין) in the pit," οὐχ ὄρα (al. exempl. εὔρε) τὸν Ἰ. ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ.

² Heb. xi. 5, see Philo ii. 3—4, ii. 411, and *Quaest. Gen. ad loc.* where he mentions Enoch with Moses and Elijah as "ascending."

³ Lk. xxiv. 2, 3, 23, 24 has four instances of "finding" or "not finding" in connection with the tomb of Jesus. Εὐρίσκω does not occur in parall. Mk-Mt.

⁴ *Evang. Petr.* § 13 quoted on p. 682. In ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν, the comma before ὅτι might well be cancelled: "behold the place... [how] that he is not [there]." Perhaps the writer desires to avoid the absolute use of οὐκ ἔστιν to mean "he has vanished."

⁵ When ὁδε in LXX means "hither" it regularly corresponds to הִנֵּה. See Gesen. 243—4 on הִנֵּה meaning "behold!" or "hither" according to pointing. The first instance of ὁδε in LXX (Gen. xv. 14) ἐξελεύσονται ὁδε is a Gk addition for emphasis. In Judg. xvi. 13 "hitherto (הִנֵּה עַד)" = LXX ἰδοῦ, but A ὡς νῦν. In 1 S. xx. 21—2 ὁδε, "behold," occurs thrice and הִנֵּה, "hither," once, but LXX (Swete's text) has ἰδοῦ once and ὁδε thrice.

retaining "*here*," and adding "See!" or "Come, see¹!" Luke appears to have adopted the first alone, but possibly contains some allusion to the second in his mention of "*not finding*" the body².

Passing to John, we find assigned to the angels no announcement of any kind and no invitation, nothing but "*Woman, why weepest thou?*" It is natural to assume that this can have no connection with "*he is not here*," and to explain it by saying that John rejected the Synoptic tradition because of its ill-omened nature. "*He is not*," in Scripture, is mostly used of the lost, or destroyed, meaning "*He is perished*"; and even when applied to Enoch, it was not explained by all the Jews in an entirely good sense³. It might therefore seem better to substitute another tradition if others were current. And there is a possibility that "*weeping*" might be confused with "*here*" in some such phrase as "*Why weep?*" or "*Why come here?*" In Zechariah, the Hebrew "*should I weep*" is represented by LXX

¹ The Heb. הנה "behold!" might imply "come hither." The Greek ὦδε would not, without a verb of motion as in Mt. viii. 29. Steph. Thes. viii. 1990 quotes Aristoph. Nub. 690 as if ὦδε δεῦρο meant "Hither! This way!" but erroneously. ὦδε might, however, be taken thus by some in a context where "come" was indicated by gesture

² See p. 684, n. 3.

³ See Gen. xlii. 13, 36, Ps. xxxvii. 10, Is. xvii. 14, Jerem. xxxi. 15 etc. On Gen. v. 24 "*he* [i.e. Enoch] *was not*," Rashi says "He was righteous but of a vacillating mind, so that he turned toward evil. Therefore God hastened to take him away before his time; and hence... '*he was not*'—that is to say, in this world, so as to fulfil his years." The LXX paraphrases "*he was not*" as "*he was not found*," which resembles Ps. xxxvii. 36 "lo, *he was not*: yea, I sought him but *he was not found*." But this Psalm refers to the cutting off of the wicked by God. Philo ii. 4 explains LXX "*he was not found*," about Enoch, as denoting either (1) the casting aside of every vestige of the former sinful life, or else (2) that Enoch's new character was "of a mysterious nature (δυσεύρετον φύσει)." Comp. Philo ii. 411, where Enoch's career is referred to as "the struggles of repentance (τοὺς τῆς μετανοίας ἀγῶνας)," and Origen (Comm. Rom. v. 1, Lomm. vi. 330) "mortem... abjecit per poenitentiam." Onkelos says of Enoch "*He was not*, for the Lord did not cause him to die," Jer. Targ. "*He was not with the sojourners of the earth*; for he was withdrawn, and he ascended to the firmament by the Word before the Lord, and his name was called Metatron, the Great Scribe."

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"*hath-come-in here*¹." The error of the LXX is explained by a similarity between the letters constituting the two phrases in Hebrew; and it should be added that the Aramaic Targum has practically the same word as the Hebrew for "*weep*," so that in Aramaic as well as in Hebrew a form of "*weep*" might be confused with "*here*." Mark may have wrongly interpreted "*weep*," or John may have wrongly interpreted "*here*."

There would still remain the apparent discrepancy of the negation in the Synoptic "*He is not*" from the Johannine interrogative "Why weepest thou?" The latter, however, though it does not contain a direct negative, may be said to imply one, since "*Why weepest thou?*" in this context, might easily imply "*There is no [just cause for] weeping.*" It is true that the Johannine angels do not add a word to shew that their question does mean this and does not mean "What is the cause of thy weeping?" But, as Chrysostom says, the attitude of the angels implies a peaceful knowledge that all is well. Taken in their setting, the words in John may recall the words in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* "Nothing is here for tears²." John might regard the grave of Jesus as the scene not of His defeat, but of a victory achieved by dying. It would be a contrast to the sad Hebrew story of the birth of Ichabod, in

¹ Zech. vii. 3 "*should-I-weep* (האככה)" εἰσελήλυθεν ὁδὲ, Targ. האככי. LXX, as often, (1) does not render the interrogative ה by a Gk particle, (2) takes אכ as from בוא, εἰσερχομαι, (3) takes כה as "*here*." In Heb. (Gesen. 462 a) כה mostly means "*thus*" and rarely "*here*." But Heb. פה, "*here*," is regularly rendered by Aram. כא, or הכא, "*here*"; and (Levy Ch. i. 97 a) Aram. בכא = Heb. בכה, "*weep*." In 1 K. xix. 9, 13 "What doest thou here?" the Targ. has מה לך כא? In Heb. "What do ye (fem.) here?" there would not be the same juxtaposition of כ, but still the Semitic idiom "what (*lit.*) [is there] to thee *here*?" indicates possibilities of confusion between "*here*" and "*weep*" in passing from Hebrew, or Aramaic, or from both, into Greek.

Some short and obscure Semitic idiom seems best adapted to explain the Synoptic variations and especially the rebuke contained in Lk. "Why seek ye *the living among the dead*?" which may be an emphatic paraphrase of "*here*" meaning "What do ye *here*, in this most unfit place?"

² Milton, S. A. l. 1721 "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail."

giving birth to whom his dying mother said "Where is [our vanished] glory?" and called him "*Where-glory*¹." So here the angels may be supposed to mean "*Where is weeping?*" Some may be even tempted to think that John has preserved the original, which has been misinterpreted by Mark; but even those who cannot think this may find in the facts alleged above just reason for concluding that John has not invented his tradition².

§ 9. "*See [thou], [here is] the place,*" in Mark³

"Place," in Hebrew, has often very sacred associations and may mean the Place, or House, of God, or even in later Hebrew,

¹ 1 S. iv. 21.

² See Ephrem on the reasons for hastening Christ's resurrection lest "the sons of the right hand" should be brought to despair (p. 267) "*Quam ob causam praeveniendō mentes eorum confortavit, ne conturbarentur, quoniam, ut aiunt, nec filii dextrae continuo sperabant eum ex sepulcro exiturum esse.*"

"Son of the right hand," Benjamin, is contrasted with "Son of my sorrow," Benoni, the name given to the babe by the dying Rachel. Comp. Jn xvi. 21, where the thoughts of sorrow and joy are illustrated by the metaphor of a woman in travail, and applied to Christ's death and resurrection.

³ Mk xvi. 6 ἴδε, ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν, Mt. xxviii. 6 δεῦτε, ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο, Codex D, in Mk, has εἶδετε ἐκεῖ τοποῦν αὐτοῦ ὅπου ἐθηκαν αὐτῷ, SS, and k, "*ecce locus illius ubi fuit positus,*" Corb. "*videte, ecce locum ejus ubi positus erat.*"

The corrupt "*his place*" resembles Clem. Rom. § 5 Πέτρον ὅς... ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης... Παῦλος... εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη... (on which and other early uses of τόπος in connection with a martyr's death, see Lightf.). It would be appropriate where it meant "*his [due] place,*" *i.e.* heaven, but quite inappropriate here.

In Mk, ἴδε may be used as *ecce*, without necessarily presupposing "thou," but, being ambiguous, it might be corrected in Mt. to ἴδετε. *Evang. Petr.* § 13 has τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη. This implies—contrary to usual Christian tradition—that Jesus had already ascended to the Father in heaven. And so *Aphr. Hom.* 20 "He is risen and gone away to Him that sent Him." But, if so, what time is to be assigned to the descent into Sheol and the preaching to the spirits there?

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God Himself (since God may be regarded as His own PLACE)¹. It is a noun *mâ-koum*, derived from the Hebrew *koum* meaning "arise" or "stand," and means literally standing-place². The word *koum* is used in the context "He is risen³." But the parallel Matthew, in SS, instead of the usual Aramaic word corresponding to the sacred place *mâ-koum*, has a word (supposed by some to be derived from Greek) meaning "*receptacle*⁴."

Matthew may perhaps mean "You must not regard it as Christ's 'grave.' It was merely a *temporary receptacle of His body where He lay*⁵ for a short time till He descended into Sheol, and then, returning on the morning of the third day, manifested Himself to the women. Mark implied this temporariness when he wrote, 'See, the place where *they put Him*.' But it would be more seemly to say '*put His body*' or else '*He lay*.'" This would be in accordance with the usage of Matthew elsewhere; he only once uses "put" concerning the burial, and then about "*the body*," where the parallel Mark has "*him*⁶."

Luke sets aside discrimination of this kind by a paraphrase of his own, not mentioning "place," but implying that the women are searching for their Lord in the wrong place. He seems to mean "The Lord Jesus is the Living One, and ye are seeking Him in the home of the dead." Previously Luke has followed Mark in saying that Joseph "put *him*⁷" in a grave, and Matthew in saying that the women beheld "how *his body*

¹ See *Son* on "Place" 3101 a, 3378 a, 3587, 3589 a. On Gen. xxviii. 11 "the Place," *Gen. r.* asks "Why is God called 'Place'?"

² *Gesen.* 879 b.

³ So Delitzsch and SS, קם (from קום) for ἡγέρθη, and Delitzsch מקום for τόπος.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 6 (SS) דוכתא for which *Levy Ch. i.* 164 b (but not *Krauss*) suggests a Greek origin, δοχείον. In Mk, SS has the reg. Aram. אחר (for Heb. מקום).

⁵ Mt. xxviii. 6 ἔκειτο, Del. שכב. This = Heb. sleep, occasionally used of "sleeping in death" (*Gesen.* 1012). Del. also has the causative in Mk. xvi. 6 "caused to sleep," but SS has, in both, a form of סום the equivalent of τίθημι, "put."

⁶ Mt. xxvii. 60 ἔθηκεν αὐτό is parall. to Mk xv. 46, Lk. xxiii. 53, ἔθηκεν αὐτόν, but τίθημι does not recur in Mt. as parall. to Mk xv. 47, xvi. 6.

⁷ Lk. xxiii. 53.

was (*lit.*) put¹." But now in recording the message of the angels he discards the distinctions between "being put" or "buried," or "lying [in the grave]" in order to emphasize the thought of a rebuke for seeking Jesus where He ought not to be sought.

John follows and emphasizes, after a fashion, Mark's peculiar tradition about "putting" Jesus, but not apparently Mark's and Matthew's tradition about "place." The emphasis on "putting" verges, perhaps, on irony. It is the act of Joseph and Nicodemus, who are described as "putting Jesus"—in haste, and only as a temporary expedient, but, as it seemed, firmly bound under the restraint of the grave-clothes². Afterwards "putting" is repeatedly mentioned by Mary Magdalene in expressing her alarm lest Jesus had been "put" somewhere by enemies³.

As regards "place," we might perhaps have expected that John would have expanded the Marcan tradition by a contrast between Christ's unreal "place" in the grave and His real "place" in heaven. But this he could not do consistently with the words that he assigns to Jesus in the context: "I am not yet ascended unto the Father⁴." He not only abstains from using the word "place" where it might have been expected ("two angels... [*in the place*] where the body of Jesus had lain⁵")

¹ Lk. xxiii. 55.

² Jn xix. 42 "There then, because of the Jews' Preparation... they put Jesus." On the restraint implied by the grave-clothes, see Chrys. *ad loc.*

³ Jn xx. 2 "They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have put him," *ib.* 13 "I know not where they have put him," *ib.* 15 "tell me where thou hast put him." The repetition appears to be intended to emphasize Mary's assumption that her Master was irrevocably dead and helpless.

⁴ Jn xx. 17.

⁵ Comp. Mk xvi. 6 ἴδε, ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν with Mt. xxviii. 6 ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο, Jn xx. 12 ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, and it will be perceived that a mystic might take Mk (but not Mt.) as meaning secondarily and mystically (beneath the primary and literal meaning) "Look [up]! [There is] the Place where THEY have put him"—THEY meaning "the angels" (who, according to *Evangel.*

but also uses it unexpectedly and with an appearance of superfluity (lit. "*apart* wrapped up *into one place*"). If he did this deliberately, not omitting the Marcan word "*place*," but transposing it, for mystical reasons, to what seemed to him a more appropriate context, then it would be an instance of Johannine Intervention. But even when ample allowance is made for general Johannine allusiveness, this particular allusion must be admitted to be doubtful even by those who feel assured that *some* mystical meaning is latent.

The possibilities of early variation in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek tradition are very great in this special narrative. Great also would be the influence of motive, arising out of early discussion as to the precise nature of the announcement of the Resurrection. Lastly, views as to the precise duration of the Descent into Sheol might complicate comments, and might modify, in the first place, inferences from the texts of the Gospels, and subsequently the texts themselves. It is impossible to say with confidence why the Fourth Gospel did not corroborate the Three at least so far as their common tradition "*He is not here, he is risen.*"

In the preceding section, we arrived at the conclusion that "*he is not here*" might correspond to the Johannine "*why weepest thou?*" but as to "*he is risen*" we can only say that John for some reason prefers to express it dramatically by introducing no angel, but the risen Saviour Himself, as announcing His own resurrection, risen, and visible, and standing before Mary's eyes—yet unrecognised. Perhaps he meant to suggest to his

Pet., are seen bearing Jesus upward). The women are at present ignorant of this. But Mary Magdalene might be regarded as unconsciously expressing the real truth when she says (Jn xx. 2) "*THEY* (see p. 95) *have taken up* (*ἦραν*) *the Lord* out of the tomb."

But the ground for this is taken away by Jn when Jesus says "*I am not yet ascended,*" and then, indefinitely, "*I ascend*"—followed by nothing definite, and leaving it doubtful whether the Saviour passed to Sheol, or to Paradise (Lk. xxiii. 43), or to both, before the Ascension.

Jn xx. 12 adopts *ἐκεῖτο* with Mt., but inserts *τὸ σῶμα*. This makes all the difference—not "*where Jesus had lain,*" but only "*where the body of Jesus had lain.*"

readers that it was after all a small thing for the Lord to have "arisen," in the body, unless He had also "arisen" with a spiritual presence that breathed itself into the hearts of His friends.

§ 10. "And to Peter," in Mark¹

There are several passages in the Synoptists where "Peter" or "Simon" in one Gospel is parallel to, or added to, "those with him," or "the disciples," or "the multitude," in such a way as to suggest that the name might be confused with one of these phrases². "Peter," here in Mark, appears to have been either actually a conflation of "disciples," or else to have been regarded as such by Matthew and Luke, both of whom omit it. They could hardly have omitted the Marcan saying without some substantial reason, for it is explicable as a brief combination of indirect rebuke and encouragement to the penitent apostle, "Tell my disciples—and Peter, too, in case he should not venture, after his denial, to call himself my disciple³." It is possible

¹ Mk xvi. 7

ἀλλὰ ὑπάγετε εἰπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν.

Mt. xxviii. 7

καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἰπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε· ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν.

Lk. xxiv. 6 b—7

μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὡν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.

Jn xx. 17 Μὴ μου ἄπτου, οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· πορεύου δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ θεὸν μου καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν.

² See *Notes* 2999 (xvii) g—h, quoting the parallels to Mk i. 36, xvi. 7, Jn xviii. 10, xx. 3 ([Lk. xxiv. 12]), Mk App. B τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον, and Ign. *Smyrn.* § 3 ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν. Some combination of "Simon" with "and those with him" may explain Mk i. 29 "Simon... Andrew... James... John," Mt. viii. 14 "Peter," Lk. iv. 38 "Simon." In late Heb. *נצור*, "those with him," might be confused with *שמעון*, "Simon."

³ See Cramer, p. 446, on Mk xvi. 7, Τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐξάιρετον "καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ" εἰπεῖν σημαίνει αὐταῖς ὡς οὐχ ἡ ἄρνησις ἀπόσπαστο, ἀλλ' ἡ μετάνοια πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελάβετο, καὶ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις ἐποίησεν ἐναρίθμιον. Pseudo-Jerome says "*Et Petro, Qui se indignum judicat discipulatu, dum ter negavit Magistrum. Peccata praeterita non nocent quando non placent.*" Prof. Swete quotes Theophylact to the same effect.

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that the words in Mark, being detached from their context, may have been misunderstood by a very few as meaning that the women were to "tell [the news to] His disciples and [tell] Peter *that he is to go before you to Galilee*"—a version of the tradition that Peter took the initiative in going to the sea of Galilee, such as we find in the Fourth Gospel and in the Gospel of Peter¹. Such misunderstanding, throwing doubt on the meaning of the Marcan tradition, might explain Matthew's and Luke's silence. In any case this is an instance where John may be expected to intervene in order to shew that there was, as indicated in Mark's brief tradition, something exceptional in Christ's utterances to Peter after His resurrection, distinguishing Peter from the other Apostles. And the intention to intervene would be all the more manifest if it contained clearly and fully that combination of rebuke and encouragement which the commentators quoted below have pointed out in the Marcan phrase.

John does thus intervene, in a tradition that distinguishes Peter from all the other Apostles, combining gentle rebuke with the highest encouragement, namely, the promise that the disciple who once denied his Master shall henceforth follow Him to the end, as a shepherd of His flock during life, and as a partaker of His cross in death².

¹ Jn xxi. 1—3 introduces, after "the sea of Tiberias," a mention of "Simon Peter" as the first of a group of disciples, taking the initiative "I go a-fishing." *Evang. Petr.* §§ 13—14 appends to the Marcan conclusion (Mk xvi. 8 *ἔφυγον... ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*) an account of general dispersion and departure "homewards" (*ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*), and then a mention of Simon, Andrew, and Levi, as departing to "the sea"—presumably intending the "home" to be Galilee, and the "sea" to be the sea of Galilee: *Τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον. Ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων, καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἐξήρχοντο ὑποστρέφοντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν, τῆς ἑορτῆς παυσαμένης. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκλαίονεν καὶ ἔλυπούμεθα· καὶ ἕκαστος λυπούμενος διὰ τὸ συμβᾶν ἀπ᾽ ἡλλήλας εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφός μου λαβάντες ἡμῶν τὰ λῖνα ἀπ᾽ ἡλθामεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἦν σὺν ἡμῖν Λευεὶς ὁ τοῦ Αλφαίου θυῶν [ὁ] Κύριος...*

² Jn xxi. 15—22.

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§ II. "Goeth before you into Galilee," in Mark and Matthew¹

Mark is here referring, through an angel, to the promise uttered by Jesus "After I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee," a promise contained in Matthew's parallel to that passage but omitted there by Luke². By adding, here, "*as he said*," Mark shews that he is referring to that past promise: "He goeth before you...there shall ye see him—as *he said unto you*." Matthew, instead of "*as he said*," has "behold, *I have said*." Perhaps Matthew thought that Mark was not quite accurate in saying that Jesus had promised anything about "seeing" ("ye shall *see* him") but only about "*rising*" from the dead. In any case, Matthew inserts "*as he said*" in the preceding verse where the parallel Mark does not insert it ("He is *risen*, *as he said*"), referring (doubtless) to the frequent predictions of Jesus that He would be "*raised* on the third day." These predictions were all uttered in Galilee.

Matthew is probably in error. His addition "Behold, *I have said it unto you*" is superfluous, while Mark's "*as he said unto you*" is appropriate. But Matthew's error helps us to understand the parallel in Luke who amplifies Matthew's suggestion. Luke seems to have reasoned thus: "In the first place, Mark was in error before, when he represented Jesus as saying 'I will go before you *into Galilee*,' and he is in error now in referring to those words as a previous promise. Matthew is right in supposing that '*as he said*' refers, not to *going before*, but to the saying '*he is raised up*.' Now this saying was uttered by Jesus *in Galilee*. In the second place, the word that Mark uses in the sense of '*going before*' is not correctly used³. It happens

¹ Mk xvi. 7, Mt. xxviii. 7.

² Mk xiv. 28, Mt. xxvi. 32, Lk. xxii. 32 foll. om.

³ Προάγω might be said to be "not correctly used," according to Luke's view, and the usage of Gk literature. Steph. *Thes.* calls attention to προάγω (vi. 1616) in Mk-Mt. with accus., = "precede," and says the dat. is more usual, but gives no instance of it. Luke uses προάγω τινά to mean "bring forth" in Acts xii. 6 (W.H. marg.), xvi. 30, xvii. 5, xxv. 26, but, προάγω absol. only in Lk. xviii. 39

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that a word (*dâbar*) that means 'speak' in Hebrew, means 'cause to go' or 'guide' in Aramaic¹. Here it means 'speak,' but Mark has taken it as meaning 'guide.' Thirdly, Mark has taken the word that means 'remember' or 'call to mind' as if it meant 'make mention of,' 'remind others²,' hence inferring wrongly that the women were to go and *remind the disciples* of Christ's words, whereas the women were only told to 'remember' them. I shall therefore repeat here the Lord's prediction of 'rising again,' as it was uttered 'in Galilee,' and then render the words of the angel, not 'Make mention of the fact that he goeth before you into Galilee,' but 'Remember the saying that he spake unto you in Galilee.'"

But, against this interpretation of Mark's hypothetical original here it must be noted that Luke makes no attempt at an earlier stage, by paraphrase or otherwise, to explain the Marcan promise of Jesus "I will go before you into Galilee" so as to shew how Mark went wrong there. Moreover Luke may have been impelled by a desire for consistency to alter "goeth before you into Galilee." For Luke does not relate any self-manifestation of the risen Saviour in Galilee³. He

οἱ προάγοντες parall. to Mk x. 48 πολλοί, Mt. xx. 31 ὁ ὄχλος. See note above, p. 439, n. 5, on Ign. Rom. § 9 κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον (not in Steph. Thes.).

¹ In Heb., דבר = "speak," but in Aram. "guide," "drive," etc. Heb. "cause to go" hif. of הלך (used of Jehovah "leading" Israel in the wilderness) = Onk. דבר in Lev. xxvi. 13, Deut. viii. 2, 15, xxix. 5.

² Heb. זכר may sometimes mean (Gesen. 270 a) "remember, with implied mention of, Jerem. xx. 9, xxiii. 36." Also, in Gk, μνημονεύω = "memoro," as well as "memini."

³ Luke consistently regards Galilee as the scene of the beginning of the rudimentary Gospel preached before the gift of the Spirit. It is in (i. 26) "a city of Galilee" that the mother of Jesus receives the Annunciation, and (ii. 4) "from Galilee" that Joseph goes up with her to Bethlehem. Luke does not quote (as Mt. iv. 15 does) Is. ix. 1 "Galilee of the nations"—possibly because it contains the ambiguous "beyond Jordan," a phrase that he (*Beginning* pp. 44, 109, *Joh. Voc.* 1813 b) never uses. But he alone records that Jesus taught (xxiii. 5) "beginning from Galilee." Also in the Acts, the apostles, witnessing the Ascension, are called (Acts i. 11) "men of Galilee," and when they receive the Spirit, and speak with tongues,

may therefore be biassed. It is reasonable to suppose that Mark is here more correct than Luke. But Jesus may have spoken, not exactly of "Galilee," but of "*home*," or of "*the Father's house*." If so, His words would imply that "rising again" (apart from any mention of place) which Luke's version mentions. This has been maintained above; and previous volumes of this series have illustrated the Marcan "*going before*" from the Johannine "*going to prepare a place*" for the disciples¹.

Another and much more weighty reason for preferring Mark to Luke in this passage is, that Mark seems to point back to the old Hebrew belief in a "meeting-place," or "appointed meeting," between Jehovah and Israel, which could not but be in the mind of every pious and spiritually minded Jew in the first century. It was "above the mercy-seat" and is thus described in the precept given to Moses for its construction: "And thou shalt put the mercy-seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee. And there I will *meet with* thee and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat...of all things that I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel."

The Hebrew here is quite different from that which means ordinary and casual "meeting²." It implies an appointed

it is said (Acts ii. 7) "Are not all these that speak Galilaeans?" But they are to preach the Gospel after receiving the Spirit (Lk. xxiv. 47) "beginning from Jerusalem."

John not only places the final manifestation of the risen Saviour near Tiberias so as to *suggest* Galilee, but also contrives to connect it in *word* with "Galilee" by telling us that one of the seven witnesses of it was (xxi. 2) "Nathanael of *Cana in Galilee*," thereby calling us back to the first mention of that place (ii. 1—11): "There was a marriage in *Cana of Galilee*... This beginning of his signs did Jesus in *Cana of Galilee*, and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed on him."

There is a great difference between these two aspects. Luke regards Galilee as representing a rudimentary stage of the Gospel; John regards it as the home of the Gospel in its infancy to which Jesus returns for its final development.

¹ See pp. 438—40 (on Mk xiv. 28), and *Son* 3347 a—c, 3347 (x).

² Exod. xxv. 21—2, 77, R.V., as A.V. "*meet with thee*." R.V.

meeting; and the notion of appointing, or designating, is so important an element in the word that it is used previously in the Pentateuch, and frequently in later Hebrew, for "espousing¹." When Jesus pronounced the doom of the old "meeting-place" of Israel, converted by its rulers, as He said, into "a den of robbers²," He was bound, if we may so speak, to make a new one. According to John, He did promise to do something of the kind, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up³." According to Mark and Matthew, false witnesses gave a false version of such a promise⁴. But Luke wholly omits it. The omission is of a piece with his omission of the tradition about Christ "going before" His disciples to what He called the Home, identified by Mark with "Galilee." We cannot trust Luke to record traditions about the "meeting" of the Lord and the disciples where they verge on mysticism and poetry.

There were other reasons why Luke might fail to understand the Scriptural doctrine of the "meeting" of the Lord with Israel and Christ's application of it to the Church. The LXX, both in the passage where the meeting is first described, and afterwards where it is referred to, misunderstands it as "*knowing*⁵." But "knowing," as Paul says, sometimes needs to be

always renders it "*meet with*," in Exod. xxix. 42, 43, xxx. 6, 36, Numb. xvii. 4, and so does A.V. except in Exod. xxix. 42. The word recurs in Nehem. vi. 2, 10 "let us meet together." The Heb., יָעַד, differs from the ordinary Heb. "meet" קָרָה (used by Balaam in Numb. xxiii. 3 "if the Lord will come to meet me"). Prob. R.V. uses "*meet with*" to denote "meet by appointment" which it sometimes means in Shakespeare; but even there "*meet with*" is rare and may mean, as in modern English, "fall in with" (e.g. *Taming of Sh.* iv. 3. 6 "elsewhere they *meet with* charity").

¹ See Levy ii. 250 b, quoting Exod. xxi. 8—9.

² Mk xi. 17, Mt. xxi. 13, Lk. xix. 46, comp. Mk xiii. 2, Mt. xxiv. 2, Lk. xxi. 6.

³ Jn ii. 19.

⁴ Mk xiv. 56—9, Mt. xxvi. 60—61, Lk. om. On this, see above, p. 513 foll.

⁵ Exod. xxv. 22 γινώσκουσά σοι, and simil. in Exod. xxix. 42, xxx. 6, 36, Numb. xvii. 4. The LXX has confused יָעַד with יָדַע "*know*." Similarly (Son 3414 (ii) a—d) the LXX has regularly confused the noun מוֹעֵד, "*meeting*," with a form of יָדַע so as to render

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distinguished from "loving" as "puffing up" is to be distinguished from "building up¹." The Hebrew "meeting," as interpreted by a prophet (and we may say, still more confidently, by a Messiah) would imply a union, or possession, such as Paul implies when he speaks of our being "*in Christ*" or Christ "*in us*²." Jerome says "It pleases the Lord *to sit in your mind* as He once sat on the mercy-seat and the cherubim³." Jewish traditions about the place of meeting recognise, some of them, the danger of limiting the divine Presence by restrictions of place. Others deal with the fact that it is Moses, and not Israel, nor even Aaron, with whom the Lord converses. But they could hardly be expected to enlarge (and they do not, as far as I know, enlarge) on the doctrine that the heart of the believer may be regarded as the "meeting-place," and that it will please the Lord, if we will but admit Him, to "sit in our minds as He once sat on the mercy-seat and the cherubim⁴."

John does thus enlarge, after his manner, in a short drama in which Jesus prepares the disciples, on the night before the Crucifixion, to conceive of the new "mercy-seat" and the new "place of meeting⁵." The scene opens with negation, which however is closely followed by affirmation. All the disciples are warned "Whither I go, ye cannot come." This seems to them poorly compensated for by the precept "Even as I have loved you, so also that ye love one another." Peter expostulates and is silenced. Then there is mention of Christ's "preparing a place," and Jesus says "Whither I go, ye know the way." Thomas replies "We know not whither thou goest," and is told that Jesus Himself is "the way." Philip, longing for something definite and substantial, and hearing Jesus mention the Father, says "*Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us*"; but he is told that in seeing Jesus he has "*seen the Father*." Finally "Judas,

"the tabernacle of *meeting*" as if it meant "the tabernacle of *testimony*." See Numb. iii. 7, iv. 25, Aq. and Sym. συνταγή.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

² Gal. ii. 20, iii. 28 etc.

³ Jerome *Epist.* xxii. 24.

⁴ See *Siphri* (on Numb. vii. 89), *Sanhedr.* 7 a, *Succa* 4 b—5 a, *Pesikt.* Wü. p. 3, *Numb. r.* Wü. pp. 389, 391.

⁵ Jn xiii. 33—xiv. 23.

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not Iscariot," apparently goaded to something like impatience by this doctrine, which seems to turn upside down ordinary notions of "*seeing*," exclaims, "Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?" And now at last comes the great positive doctrine that the manifestation will consist in the spiritual presence of the Father and the Son *in the heart* of the loving and obedient disciple: "If a man love me he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and *make our abode with him*¹."

There is perhaps not a word in this dramatic scene that was ever uttered by Jesus or by any of His disciples², but there is also not a word in it that is not spiritually true for us in the present, and historically enlightening as to the past—as revealing the actual thoughts entertained by pious Jews and the earliest Jewish Christians in the first century concerning the "meeting-place" of Israel and the Lord.

¹ Comp. Rev. iii. 20.

■ A friend asks "If Jesus did not utter the substance of these words, what man is there, or has there been, that could have invented them?" I should reply "*the man to whom they were revealed*,"—the man so imbued with the personality of the incarnate Word that he defined his Gospel as being (1 Jn i. 1 foll.) "That which was from the beginning, that which we have *heard*...*have seen with our eyes*...*beheld*, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life. And the life was manifested, and we have seen...the life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have *seen and heard* declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us; yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." The man who wrote thus was not a man to "*invent*," but he was one in whom the letter would be swallowed up by the spirit. It is true that he makes an initial and a final appeal to "that which we have *heard*" and "*seen*." But he makes us feel that the "*hearing*" and the "*seeing*" cannot be communicated by a phonograph and a photograph. They are God's gift (Prov. xx. 12) "*The hearing ear and the seeing eye*, the Lord hath made even both of them."

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§ 12. "For they feared," in Mark¹

That there is some corruption in the phrase "for they feared" is indicated by the fact that "trembling and astonishment" have already been mentioned by Mark; so that, even if it could be proved that the Gospel originally continued after the phrase in a conclusion that has perished, there would still be this objection that "*for they feared*" is superfluous, or even inconsistent. The context requires rather "for they were beside themselves with joy." At all events the parallel Luke omits "fear." Matthew, who retains it, adds "joy," and says that the women, so far from being prevented by fear from telling the good news, "ran to carry away word of it" to the disciples. Luke says that they actually "carried away word of it."

The difficulty of the two clauses about fearing is indicated by SS, which omits the first: "And when they heard they came forth, and they went away and to no one aught said they, because they had been afraid." Codex *k* apparently regards the angel as representing Christ Himself: "But go ye and say to

¹ Mk xvi. 8

καὶ ἐξελθούσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδέν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.

Mt. xxviii. 8

καὶ ἀπελθούσαι ταχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου μετὰ φόβον καὶ χαρὰς μεγάλης ἔδραμον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

Lk. xxiv. 9

καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου] ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἑνδεκα καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς λοιποῖς.

Jn xx. 18 ἔρχεται Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἀγγέλλουσα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὅτι Ἐώρακα τὸν κύριον καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτῇ, D, e, καὶ ᾧ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἐμήνυσεν (D + αὐτοῖς): SS "and the things that he revealed to her she said to them." According to Jn xx. 17, what was "revealed" was ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου. . . . According to Mk xvi. 7, Mt. xxviii. 7, it was προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

(1) Ἀγγέλλω, in N.T., occurs only as above (Jn xx. 18). (2) Ἀπαγγέλλω is used about "reporting" the resurrection of Christ in [Mk xvi. 10, 13], Mt. xxviii. 8, 10, Lk. xxiv. 9, but only as follows in Jn, xvi. 25 περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν. For the sake of distinction, they are translated above (1) "carry word," (2) "carry away word," or "report."

Cramer prints a scholium on Mk which distinguishes the Marcan women, who came "after the sun had risen," from the other women (of whom there were "many") and applies the word ἀπαγγέλλω to the Marcan women.

the disciples and to Peter, *I go before you into Galilee*. There shall ye *see me* as I said unto you. But they, when they went forth from the tomb, fled"; then it combines the two fear-clauses thus: "For tremor and terror (tremor et pauor) possessed them on account of fear (timorem)." The Diatessaron, combining Mark, Matthew, and Luke, omits the words of Matthew "*to carry away word to his disciples*," perhaps because the compiler felt that they were incompatible with the Marcan clause: "(Lk. xxiv. 8) And they remembered his sayings, (Mt. xxviii. 8 a) And they departed in haste from the tomb with joy and great fear (*sic*), and hastened and went [*to tell his disciples*], (Mk xvi. 8 b) And perplexity and fear encompassed them; and they told no man anything, for they were afraid¹." But it inserts the missing words later on: "And while the first women were going in the way *to inform his disciples*²."

There are indications here, as above, that Luke is, so to speak, re-arranging Mark's context. For example, whereas Mark says that "*amazement*" possessed the women, Luke, later

¹ Diatess. liii. 7—8.

² Diatess. liii. 32. The Vat. MS omits "women" and "to inform his disciples." *Evang. Petr.* § 13 mentions no command to report to the disciples. After ἴδετε... ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη, it proceeds τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον.

Cramer's scholium on Mark, above referred to, recognises, in the women mentioned here by Mark (xvi. 8), a spiritual inferiority: "For there were '*many [women]*' (Mk xvi. 41) that came up with Him from Galilee. But these that came (according to Mark (xvi. 2)) '*after the sun had risen*' were also (so to speak) somewhat imperfect (καὶ ἀτελέστερόν πως διέκειντο). Hence they do not make their visit by night (νύκτωρ, comp. Jn xx. 1 σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσης) but early [in the morning]; and further, having heard [the command] to '*carry-away-word to the disciples and Peter*,' they '*fled*' and '*said nothing to any one, for they feared*.'" The following words, though obscure, indicate that they have an inferior vision "proportioned to the weakness of their mind." Μόνοι γὰρ ἀπελθοῦσαι, καὶ ἀληθεῖ ὄψει πεισθεῖσαι ὥς μετὰ ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου ἐπιστήναι, οὐ τὸν Σωτῆρα θεάσασθαι καταξιοῦνται, ἢ τὸν Ἀγγελον τὸν ἐξαστράπτοντα, οὔτε τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἔσω τοῦ μνημείου, οὔτε τοὺς δύο τοὺς παρὰ τῷ Λουκᾷ ἄνδρας. ψιλὸν δέ τινα νεανίσκον εἶδον περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκὴν ἀναλόγως τῇ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν σμικρότητι τὴν ὁπτασίαν ἰδοῦσαι.

on, represents the two travellers to Emmaus as saying about these same women, "*they amazed us*¹." Again Mark's emphatic phrase "*nothing to nobody*" reminds us that the emphatic "*no*," or "*not any*," is sometimes expressed in Hebrew by "*not...all*," as in "*no flesh shall be justified*²," and we find in the parallel Luke a twofold mention of "*all*": "*They brought word of all these things to the eleven and all the rest.*" This suggests that Luke regarded Mark as erroneously inserting a "*not*" in some Hebrew original such as "*they reported [not] all the matter to all of them*," which Mark took to mean "*not anything to any one*." An omission, or insertion, of the negative, in translating from Hebrew, might arise from confusing it with the prefix that denotes the infinitive³. And here we note that Matthew has the infinitive "*they ran to report*." The parallel Luke has "*they reported*." But if the "*to*" were read as the negative the result would be "*they did not report*." Instances of such confusion are frequent in the Old Testament.

Still more important is the fact that this brief Marcan phrase, combining (1) "*for*" (i.e. "*because*") and (2) "*they feared*," combines two conspicuous possibilities of error for translators from Hebrew. For (1) the same Hebrew word that means

¹ Mk xvi. 8 ἔκστασις, Lk. xxiv. 22 ἐξέστησαν ἡμᾶς. Comp. Mk iii. 21 ἐξέστη "*he is beside himself*" applied by the parall. Mt. xii. 23 to the "*amazed*" multitude (Lk. xi. 14 "*the multitudes marvelled*") on which see *Proclam.* pp. 424—5. Luke uses the word transitively of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9—11) where the meaning is half-way between R.V. "*amazed*" and A.V. "*bewitched*." It would be easy to confuse (1) "*They ran to tell the disciples and amazement possessed them [the women]*" with (2) "*They ran and told the disciples and amazement possessed them [the disciples]*," in spite of the distinction of gender.

² Gal. ii. 16, where W.H. refer to Ps. cxliii. 2. In "*not any*," meaning "*none*," "*any*" is regularly represented by Heb. כָּל, "*all*" (Gesen. 482 a).

³ See *Corrections* 530 quoting Jerem. xviii. 18 (Heb.) "*and let us not give heed to any* (כָּל, *all*) of his words" καὶ [Q marg. ins. οὐκ] ἀκουσόμεθα πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ. "*No(t)*," לֹא, לו, or אֵל, is confused with "*to*," ל, or vice versa (Corr. 529 a—b) in Prov. xii. 28 "*no*," εἰς, Is. v. 7 "*for* (ל),"² οὐ, Prov. xxvii. 19, Ezek. xiii. 5, 1 K. xi. 10; comp. Judg. i. 18, 2 S. xiv. 32, Zech. xiii. 4, Dan. x. 9.

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"for" or "because" may also mean the conjunctive "that"¹.

(2) The Hebrew "*feared*" is easily confused with "*saw*"—some forms of the two verbs being identical—and is actually several times confused with it by LXX². Hence Delitzsch's Hebrew renderings of the Marcan "for they feared" and of a later Lucan "that they had seen" ("*that they had...seen* a vision of angels") differ from one another by no more than a single *yod*³.

These facts point to two conclusions. One is fairly probable, namely, that Mark's Gospel in the original Hebrew terminated with a statement that the women "*saw*" the Lord and not with a statement that they "*were afraid*." The second is highly probable, and almost certain, namely, that Luke wrote with allusion to Mark and with the desire to correct what he deemed to be Mark's misapprehension.

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we can hardly say that it intervenes for or against Mark, but it does intervene against traditions connecting the manifestations of the Resurrection with "fear" or "amazement." Neither word occurs in John, either here or later on, whereas Luke, later on, says that the

¹ For כִּי meaning (1) "because," (2) "that" (sometimes being equivalent to inverted commas) see Gesen. 471—4 and *Corrections* 459 (v). Comp. Jn xx. 18 (*lit.*) "carrying-word to the disciples *that* (ὅτι, Delitzsch כִּי) I have seen the Lord." Strictly speaking we might call this ambiguous ("because I have seen"). This ambiguity would exist only in Hebrew, not in Aramaic. The Aramaic prenx -ךְ ("that" conjunctive) used here by SS and Palest. Syr. is not ambiguous.

² See *Corrections* 533: "In some forms the two are identical, e.g. ירא means either 'he feared' or 'he will see.'" Instances of confusion are (*ib.* 533 a) Judg. xiv. 11 (codex A), 2 S. xiv. 15, 2 Chr. xxvi. 5, Job xxxvii. 24, Prov. xxix. 16, Eccles. xii. 5, Is. xvi. 12, Jerem. xvii. 8, Ezek. i. 18, xviii. 14, Mic. vi. 9 etc.

It will be observed that Luke (xxiv. 23) mentions "*a vision* (ὁπτασίαν) of angels" as seen by the women, where Delitzsch has מראה. This word, in O.T., = ὁπτασία (6 in Theod.), ὄραμα (9) and is derived from ראה "*see*." But this is very similar to מורא from ירא "*fear*," which in LXX = ὄραμα, "*vision*," thrice, although it also = φόβος (5) and other words implying fear.

³ Mk xvi. 8 (Delitzsch) כִּי יראו, Lk. xxiv. 23 (Delitzsch) כִּי ראו. The dropping of י before י in Mk would identify it with Lk.

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disciples "were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit¹." Distress, and sorrow, and passionate grief for the supposed removal of the Lord's body are implied in the Johannine account of Mary Magdalene's visits to the tomb, and of her return from her first visit, and subsequently in her solitary weeping—but no fear. The angels address her and she is neither terrified nor amazed but gives them a deliberate answer². Jesus addresses her and still she is not afraid³. The only instance in the Fourth Gospel in which the disciples are described as "afraid" is one in which the parallel Gospels, Mark and Matthew, say that they supposed Jesus to be a "phantasm" or "phantom." There John says "They behold Jesus walking... and they were afraid⁴." But in the Johannine account of the self-manifestations of Jesus after His resurrection there is no trace of fear in the disciples⁵.

¹ Lk. xxiv. 37.

² Jn xx. 13.

³ Jn xx. 15. She replies "supposing him to be the gardener."

⁴ Jn vi. 19, comp. Mk vi. 49—50, Mt. xiv. 26.

⁵ The nearest approach to it is in Jn xxi. 12 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα..., concerning which see *Law* pp. 435—6 giving Chrysostom's explanation as approximately correct, They wished to ask Him, not really "Who art thou?" but something about His altered form, and this they did not venture to do. And see *ib.* p. 437 "Visibly, it was a different Jesus. Yet it differed in being, so to speak, more truly Jesus than before, a Jesus or Saviour independent of mere external or logical proofs, a Jesus not seen in the same way as in old days, but seen in the heart and received into the soul."

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESURRECTION

[Mark-Appendix xvi. 9—20]

§ 1. *The general character of the Mark-Appendix*¹

IN this chapter it will be assumed that the last eleven verses of Mark, as printed in the Greek on which our Authorised Version is based, were not a part of his Gospel but were of the nature of an Appendix². The whole of Mark, from the second verse ("in Isaiah") onwards, shews signs of a roughness that would have been removed by any moderately careful author if he had been able to revise it³. And the evidence from the end points to the same conclusion. The writer was probably cut off from his writing before he could complete it and go back to the beginning to revise it.

¹ Mark-Appendix xvi. 9—14 (R.V.)

(9) Now when he was risen early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven devils (*lit.* demons).

(10) She went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.

(11) And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, disbelieved.

(12) And after these things he was manifested in another form unto two of them, as they walked, on their way into the country.

(13) And they went away and told it unto the rest: neither believed they them.

(14) And afterward he was manifested unto the eleven themselves as they sat at meat; and he upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

² See W. H. *Notes on Select Readings* pp. 28—51.

³ Mk i. 2. See *Introd.* p. 34.

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There is no evidence that the Appendix was known to any Christian writer before 150 A.D.¹ We have therefore no external evidence leading us to suppose that it was known to John. But there is internal evidence indicating that parts of it would probably be known to him as being clauses in some early Christian catechisms, teaching the facts on which Christians were to base their belief in some of the clauses of the earliest creeds: "The third day He rose from the dead (*or*, rose again according to the Scriptures); He ascended into heaven; He sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty." Luke recognises the use of such catechisms. A preface to his Gospel says that it was written in order that Theophilus might recognise the safe assurance with which he might rest on the *catechistic* "words (*logoi*)²," knowing that they were based on "facts" as they were "traditionally delivered by those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word (*logos*)."³ A preface to his Acts mentions the Ascension, and previous manifestations of the risen Saviour, as being proved to be "living" by many "proofs," after "his passion"³.

Paul outlines a part of such a creed, as being traditionally "received" by himself from others, and traditionally "delivered" by himself to the Corinthians: "I delivered unto you...how that Christ died for our sins...and that he was buried, and that he hath been raised on the third day...and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to...⁴." He proceeds to enumerate other instances in which Christ "appeared," the last being the manifestation of Jesus to himself. He makes no mention of Christ's appearing to women. The explanation of this appears to be that the evidence of women to a fact of this kind would weigh for little with audiences disposed to "mock" at assertions of resurrection⁵.

¹ W. H. *Notes on S. R.* p. 39.

² Lk. i. 4 ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

³ Acts i. 3 οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 1—8. On "hath been raised," *i.e.* was raised and remains for ever raised, see similar instances in *Joh. Gr.* 2440 foll.

⁵ See *Introd.* pp. 106, 123—4, and comp. Acts xvii. 31—2, where

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The question arises whether this Mark-Appendix shews signs of including some ancient traditions—also found in the Synop-
tists—that may have induced John to intervene for, or against,
them. If it shewed no such signs, it would have no place in a
work on The Fourfold Gospel; but a glance at the text shews
that some of it resembles Lucan traditions, and even Lucan
expression¹. For example, it follows Luke in connecting Mary
Magdalene with “seven devils².” Luke does this appropriately
in his first mention of Mary; the Mark-Appendix less appro-
priately after she has been mentioned by Mark repeatedly and
when she is now being mentioned for the last time. It also
describes—as Luke alone does—a manifestation of Jesus to
two of the disciples journeying into the country, in which
Jesus “was manifested in another form³.” It lays great stress,

Paul's Discourse on the Areopagus abruptly terminates thus, “‘Where-
of he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him
from the dead.’ Now when they heard of the resurrection of the
dead, *some mocked.*”

¹ Mk xvi. 9—14 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον
Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. (10) ἐκείνη πορευ-
θεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν.
(11) ἡ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν. (12) Μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερῶθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ πορευομένοις
εἰς ἀγρόν. (13) ἡ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς λοιποῖς· οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις
ἐπίστευσαν. (14) Ὑστερον [δὲ] ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἐφανερῶθη,
καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις
αὐτὸν ἐγγεγερμένον [ἐκ νεκρῶν] οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν.

² Lk. viii. 2 Μαρία ἡ καλουμένη Μαγδαληνή, ἀφ' ἧς δαιμόνια ἑπτὰ
ἐξεληλύθει. The Appendix connects the healing of Mary more definitely
with the act of Jesus.

³ Mk xvi. 12 ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ. Note, in the Transfiguration,
Lk. ix. 29 ἐγένετο... τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, parall.
Mk ix. 2, Mt. xvii. 2 μετεμορφώθη. In the present passage, no trans-
figuration appears to be implied, and yet the meaning is different
from that in Lk. xxiv. 16 “*their eyes were holden* that they should
not recognise him.” The Appendix indicates that Jesus really *had*
“a different form.” This seems to deny that the “form” was
dependent on the mind or spiritual “eyes” of the beholders,
or that their material “eyes” were “holden” by a supernatural
power.

as Luke alone does, on the faithlessness or unbelief of the disciples and on the reproaches with which Jesus rebuked it¹.

On the other hand, it differs from Luke in making no mention of Christ's inviting the disciples to "handle" Him, in order to convince themselves that He is not a phantom or phantasm, nor of His eating in their presence². And this is the more remarkable because the Appendix says that Jesus "was manifested to the Eleven as they were seated at table³." On the whole, it may be said that the Mark-Appendix, so far as concerns the narrative of Christ's resurrection, resembles Luke, but with the omission of just those two points of evidence—"touching" on the part of the disciples, and "eating" on the part of Jesus—on which Luke might be expected to lay stress as "proofs⁴."

§ 2. *The Mark-Appendix, Luke, and John*

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we find that it differs from the Appendix by omitting, or almost omitting, the points on which the Appendix agrees with Luke. The one point in which John verbally agrees with both is the use of the word "unbelieving" or "faithless." But the context shews that there is no real agreement of thought. In Luke and the Appendix all the disciples are said to have been at first "unbelieving"; in John it is only Thomas that is unbelieving. To him Jesus says, "Be not unbelieving but believing⁵." The rest are nowhere said by John to have disbelieved⁶.

¹ Ἀπιστεῖν occurs in the Gospels nowhere but Mk xvi. 11, 16, Lk. xxiv. 11, 41, and comp. Mk xvi. 14 ὡνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν κ. σκληροκαρδίαν with Lk. xxiv. 25 ὧ ἀνόητοι κ. βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ.... In the Appendix, the disciples are described as disbelieving the evidence of the two travellers as well as that of the women. In Luke, the disbelief extends only to the latter.

² Lk. xxiv. 37, 39—43. See *Law* p. 431 foll.

³ Mk xvi. 14.

⁴ Acts i. 3 "Proofs (τεκμηρίους)." The word is not used elsewhere in canon. Gk Test. It is a favourite word with Thucydides. Comp. *Introd.* p. 115 quoting Thuc. i. 20—I παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ and adding "Both ἐξῆς and τεκμήριον represent the lines on which Luke writes."

⁵ Jn xx. 24—7.

⁶ Previous *non-belief* must be regarded as implied in Jn xx. 8 "and he saw and believed," but that is different from "unbelief," or "disbelief," ἀπιστία.

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As to the distinction between a subjective inability to see the real Jesus (Luke, "*their eyes were holden*") and an objective difference between Jesus as He had been and Jesus as He now was (Appendix, "*in another form*") John holds a middle course. Whereas the Appendix and Luke attempt to explain, John gives no explanations but simply states facts. He says that Mary "supposed" Jesus to be "the gardener" till Jesus called her by name¹. On the same evening, the disciples "rejoiced when they saw the Lord²"—without any fear that He was a phantom or phantasm, and without any doubt as to His personality. Later on, by the sea of Tiberias³, in the early morning,

¹ Jn xx. 15.

² Jn xx. 20.

³ The Johannine (xxi. 1) mention of "Tiberias" may possibly have an unsuspected connection with the Lucan (xxiv. 13) mention of "Emmaus" for the following reasons.

(1) No one has been able to explain what place Luke had in view. Luke says it was "sixty furlongs from Jerusalem." Yet (Plummer on Lk. xxiv. 13) "all Christian writers from Eusebius to the twelfth century" identify it with Nicopolis, which was 176 furlongs from Jerusalem. Some MSS substitute "160" for "60" in Lk., thus suggesting an identification of the place with Nicopolis, but (Plummer *ib.*) "it is absurd to suppose that these two [*i.e.* the travellers to Emmaus] walked about 20 miles out, took their evening meal, walked 20 miles back, and arrived in time to find the disciples still gathered together and conversing."

(2) Niese's Index to Josephus gives Ἀμμαοῦς v.r. Ἐμμαοῦς (a) "opp. et toparchia Judaeae," *i.e.* the place afterwards called Nicopolis, (b) "vicus 30 stadia distans Hierosolymis," (c) "*vide* Ἀμμαθοῦς." Of these, (a) is excluded as being too far off; (b) is possible (the MSS vary between 30 and 60 stadia), *Bell.* vii. 6. 6 χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίου τριάκοντα (v.r. ἐξήκοντα); (c) Ἀμμαθοῦς (v.r. Ἀμμαοῦς) is "calidæ prope Tiberiadem," *i.e.* "hot [baths] near Tiberias," *Ant.* xviii. 2. 3, *Bell.* iv. 1. 3, where both passages explain that the name means θερμά "hot [baths]."

(3) Levy ii. 69—70 says that the name of "several places that had hot baths" was חמטה, and refers to אמאום (*i.e.* Emmaus) which (*ib.* i. 92 b) he explains as derived from חמטה by a weakening of the "ch" (so that *Chamtha* became *Amtha* or *Ammaous*). Krauss (p. 58), who agrees with Levy as to the "Hellenization" of "Emmaus" from "Chamtha," mentions *only two places* as being thus distinctively

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when Jesus accosted the disciples, His voice did not arrest them; they "knew not that it was Jesus." After the draught of fishes, "the disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord," and Peter swam toward Him. Yet even when Master and disciples were all together on the shore and on the point of taking a morning meal together, it is said "No one of the disciples was bold enough to question him closely 'Who art thou?'—knowing [as they all did] that it was the Lord¹." The impression left upon us by these facts is that Jesus was not "known" on this occasion by His voice nor by the nail-prints on His hands. He was in some way altered or, as the Mark-Appendix says, "in another form." The voice, too, would seem to have been altered. Yet the disciples "knew that it was the Lord."

As to the Lucan "eating," omitted in the Appendix, John treats it at considerable length in a way of his own. Jesus is described by Luke as eating food provided by the disciples, but by John as providing the disciples with food. In Luke, the eating is a proof that Jesus is not a bodiless spirit; in John it is apparently regarded as the symbol of Christ's spiritual

named—as we should say in English—"Bath" in Talmuds and Midrash, namely (1) Nicopolis, (2) a place near Tiberias. Of both he gives instances as spelt עֵמָוָס, *i.e.* Emmaus.

The conclusion appears to be that Emmaus, or Ammaus, might be the name of any place where there were hot baths, and that there was a manifestation of Jesus near a place of that name. Luke believed that it was near Jerusalem; he also knew that a settlement of Roman veterans had been made at a place called Ammaus less than a hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. This, then, Luke mentioned, *specifying the distance in order to exclude the well-known Nicopolis*. John, believing that it was in Galilee, found no place so likely as the well-known hot baths near Tiberias.

Hor. Heb. i. 94, 314 quotes *Joseph. Bell.* vii. 6. 6 as "sixty furlongs," and blames Beza for quoting it as "thirty furlongs." But Niese gives it as txt "thirty" (marg. "sixty"). "Sixty," in Greek MSS of Josephus, is explicable as an attempt to conform Josephus to Luke. Neubauer pp. 101—2 rejects the view that Emmaus could mean the baths near Tiberias, but his discussion is inadequate as he makes no reference to *Joseph. Bell.* vii. 6. 6.

¹ Jn xxi. 4, 7, 12.

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body, the living bread—a *viaticum* by which the disciples are to be strengthened so that they may go on their way to preach the Gospel.

The Lucan "handling" is not mentioned verbally in the Johannine Gospel, but it is mentioned in the Johannine Epistle thus: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld and our hands *handled*, concerning the Word of life, and the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness...¹." In Scripture, as also in Greek literature, the word mostly implies handling in the dark, or in blindness, that which one cannot see². Paul uses it of mankind, in a rudimentary stage of revelation, "groping" after God³. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the terrors of the fire of Sinai, accompanying the giving of the Law, and blackness and darkness and tempest, are contrasted with "Mount Zion," and the fire is called "palpable"—literally, "[capable of] being handled⁴"—suggesting an antithesis between the palpable dispensation of the Law and the impalpable dispensation of the Spirit. But in the Johannine Epistle the connection is not quite clear between "our hands handled" and "concerning the word of life."

Perhaps the writer, in his thoughts about the Logos, reverts to Greek thought about "handling" or "feeling one's way" as applied to the use of words (*logoi*). Plato says that most people give the name of "cause" to that which is not strictly cause, "*feeling-their-way* as it were in the dark⁵"; and Plutarch goes further in the application of the metaphor when he says "We make our thoughts known to one another, as it were with

¹ 1 Jn i. 1—2.

² In the Pentateuch it occurs only in Gen. xxvii. 12—22 (thrice), Deut. xxviii. 29 (twice). Polyb. viii. 18. 4 ψηλαφᾶν ἐπίνουαν is used of a "wily Cretan" who "*feels his way* about every proposal." Clem. Rom. § 62 πάντα τόπον ἐψηλαφήσαμεν is probably exceptional, "handle [a topic]." In Zech. ix. 13 "I will make," ψηλαφήσω, LXX confuses δι᾽ with ἐν and forces the Greek word to mean "handle [as a sword]." ³ Acts xvii. 27.

⁴ Heb. xii. 18 ψηλαφωμένω.

⁵ Plato *Phaed.* 99 B ψηλαφῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ.

a light in darkness, by means of voice," and describes "the facts themselves," or "the very facts," as being "*felt-after* and disclosed *by word* (*logos*)," so that the mind of the superior seeker after truth "leads the gifted soul by *touching-on* the thing conceived"; the mind of Socrates was "delicate of touch¹." Such reflections would lead a Platonically minded Christian to regard himself and his fellow believers as "*feeling the way*," through the incarnation of the Word as Jesus the divine Logos, toward the divine Nous, Mind, or Thought, that is to say, to God Himself.

But this "*feeling the way*" would become an inappropriate metaphor when the Thought, the Word, and the Spirit—that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Paraclete—had come into the heart of the believer and taken possession of it as a home. And there was a danger lest the word should be used literally, as in the LXX, and applied to the "*touching*," or "*handling*," of the body of the incarnate Word, with non-spiritual, and even mischievous, consequences. For example, in the Acts of John, after saying that Jesus appeared to him in different forms at different times, the writer continues: "He had also another marvellous peculiarity. When I sat at meat He was wont to take me to His bosom...and sometimes His breast *felt-when-I-handled-it* soft and tender, but sometimes hard as if like rock²." This legend leads us to reflect that, in the Bible, the only instance of "*feeling-by-handling*" a person, is where Isaac "*feels*" Jacob and is deceived into the belief that he is Esau³. And the Bible uses the word generally in a bad sense as in the Deuteronomic curse "*Thou shalt feel-thy-way* at noonday as the blind *feeleth-his-way* in darkness and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways⁴."

¹ Plutarch *Μον.* 589 B τὰς ἀλλήλων νοήσεις οἷον ὑπὸ σκότῳ διὰ φωνῆς ψηλαφῶντες γνωρίζομεν, *Μον.* 599 C αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα...ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ψηλαφηθέντα καὶ ἀνακαλυφθέντα, *Μον.* 588 D—E ἄγει τὴν εὐφῶν ψυχὴν, ἐπιθιγγάνων τῷ νοηθέντι, "delicate of touch (εὐαφής)."

² *Acts of John* § 2 ποτὲ μὲν μοι λεία καὶ ἀπαλὰ τὰ στήθη αὐτοῦ ἐψηλαφᾶτο, ποτὲ δὲ σκληρά, ὥσπερ πέτρας ὅμοια.

³ Gen. xxvii. 12—22.

⁴ Deut. xxviii. 29, comp. Job v. 14, xii. 25, Is. lix. 10.

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This being the case it is rather surprising to find Luke using this very word in an appeal of the risen Saviour to the disciples: "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; *handle* me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye behold me having¹." We are not told whether they did thus "handle" Him. Luke perhaps adds "He shewed them his hands and his feet²," but not "and they *handled* them." On the contrary, he proceeds "And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here anything to eat?"—so that Christ's "eating," not their "handling," seems to have been the cause of their final conviction that Jesus Himself was risen from the dead.

John does not deny that there was some basis for a tradition of this kind. But the form in which he presents it³ limits the story to one of the Apostles—who however (he alone tells us) had a surname that might lead some to mistake one person for two⁴. This disciple had not spoken of "handling," but of much more: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side." In effect, Jesus replied, "Do this, but remember, Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." It is not said that Thomas "*felt*" and "*believed*." On the contrary, Jesus says, "Because thou hast *seen* me, thou hast *believed*." Thus John, like Luke, leaves us in doubt whether any disciple "*felt*" the risen Saviour. But John differs from Luke by making it clear that Jesus did not Himself offer the test of "handling" to all the disciples as a means for

¹ Lk. xxiv. 39.

² W. H. enclose this (Lk. xxiv. 40) in double brackets, and it is omitted by SS.

³ Jn xx. 24—9.

⁴ Comp. Jn. xi. 16 Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος. In Jn xiv. 22 "Judas not Iscariot," SS has "Thomas," Curet. "Judas Thomas." Epiphanius. *Ancor.* § 62 p. 65D says ἐδείκνυε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ. . . . Matthew says (xxviii. 17) "And having seen him they worshipped, but *some* (οἱ δὲ) doubted." In the next verse Matthew adds that Jesus "*drew near* (προσελθὼν) and spake unto them," and it appears to be implied that they then believed. Comp. 1 K. xix. 5, 7 "an angel *touched* (נגע) him (בו)," but Targ. has "*drew near* (קריב) to him (ביה)" (Walton "*accessit ad eum*"). See *Notes* 2999 (i)—(iv).

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convincing them of His reality. On the contrary, in the Fourth Gospel, when "he shewed them his hands and his side," the disciples "rejoiced on seeing the Lord¹."

Reviewing the Johannine accounts of the self-manifestations of the risen Saviour we appear justified in concluding that, although John does not deny the possibility that one of them included manifestation by "touch," he regards that kind of evidence as of a lower kind than the rest. He teaches us that the disciples attained belief in different ways. The beloved disciple was convinced by the mere sight of the open grave, the leisurely arranged grave-clothes, and (apparently) the suddenly recurring memory of Christ's past teaching, and of its accordance with Scripture; Mary Magdalene was convinced, not by material sight—for she thought she saw the gardener—but by hearing herself called by name; the disciples by "seeing"; Thomas by seeing and hearing and by a special rebuke inviting him to apply his own test of touching.

In all these narratives we perceive that there was no manifestation of the Saviour except to those prepared to receive it. Pilate (we are led to believe), standing in the place of Thomas, would not have heard or seen that which Thomas heard and saw. And for future generations of Christians the Johannine Gospel pronounces a blessing in store for those who would believe all that Thomas believed without that evidence by which Thomas was convinced. For them the evidence would not be that of the senses alone, nor that of the judicial mind alone judicially weighing evidence. It would be collective. It would include the evidence of the Cosmos, or World, and that of the Logos, or Word, and that of the Spirit revealing the Thought that breathed the World into existence. It might be said to include "feeling." But, if so, that "feeling" must be distinguished from "feeling one's way in the dark." It would be rather a feeling that the World, the real ideal World, was all at one, like a Family, and that we were intended to be at home in it. And perhaps it might also be illustrated by the metaphor

¹ Jn xx. 20.

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of a clasped hand¹, which often conveys much meaning from one friend to another, when both are—like Socrates in Plutarch's words—"delicate of touch²."

The remarkable tradition peculiar to Matthew that the women, when Jesus "met" them, "came and took hold of his feet," differs widely from most of the traditions about the Resurrection in the Fourfold Gospel. It is discussed in a previous volume of *Diatessarica*³.

§ 3. *The Mark-Appendix on Christ's last words*⁴

The Mark-Appendix, Matthew, and Luke agree in connecting Christ's last words with a mention of a future preaching of the

¹ Comp. Origen *Cels.* vii. 34 "And even if 'the word of the Lord' is said to have been 'in the hand of the prophet Jeremiah' (Jerem. i. 1) or some other, or the Law 'in the hand of Moses'...no one is such a simpleton as not to take in the fact that 'hands' of a kind (*χεῖρας τινας*) are so called metaphorically—about which also John says 'And our hands handled concerning the word of life.'"

² *Εὐαφής*, see above, p. 711.

³ On Mt. xxviii. 9 "Jesus met them...and they came and took hold of his feet," see *Notes* 2999 (i)—(iv).

The *Diatessaron* has "(Jn xx. 18) And then came Mary Magdalene, and announced to the disciples that she had seen our Lord, and that he had said that unto her. And (Mt. xxviii. 8b—9) while the first women were going in the way to inform his disciples, Jesus met them...and they came and took hold of his feet..." "The first" may possibly be an explanatory addition to distinguish this party of women, who were allowed to touch Christ's feet, from Mary Magdalene, who (according to Jerome and others) was not allowed to touch Jesus owing to her want of faith. But it may have been supported by a misreading of *προσελθοῦσαι*, taken as a corruption of *προελθοῦσαι*. *Προελθεῖν* in N.T. occurs 10 times, and in 6 of these instances has v.r. *προσελθεῖν*. *Προελθοῦσαι* might be interpreted as "coming beforehand," that is "those who came first [to the tomb]." It might also be a corruption of *πρωί*, written *προι*, and *ἐλθοῦσαι*.

⁴ Mark-Appendix xvi. 15—18 (R.V.)

(15) And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation.

(16) He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.

(17) And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name

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Gospel to "all the world" or "all the nations"; but in Luke Jesus says "It is written," that it "should be preached"—not "Go, preach," or "Go, make disciples"—and Jesus adds "Tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high."

John represents Jesus as saying to the disciples, on the first evening when He appeared to them, "As the Father hath sent me, *so send I you*¹," and then "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, whose soever sins ye retain they are retained²." Yet no definite "*sending*" follows. A subsequent sending, however, is implied in the

shall they cast out devils (*lit.* demons); they shall speak with new (*some anc. auth. gm.* new) tongues;

(18) They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

Mt. xxviii. 16—20 (R.V.)

(16) But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them.

(17) And when they saw him, they worshipped [him]: but some doubted.

(18) And Jesus came to them and spake unto them, saying, All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth.

(19) Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost:

(20) Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway (*lit.* all the days), even unto the end of the world (*or*, the consummation of the age).

¹ Jn xx. 21.

² Jn xx. 23. This "retaining" accords with the Johannine doctrine that the Holy Spirit will (Jn xvi. 8) "convict the world in respect of *sin*" as well as "of righteousness and judgment." Comp. Mk xvi. 16 "he that disbelieveth shall be condemned." Matthew and Luke have no parallel to this in Christ's post-resurrectional utterances.

Lk. xxiv. 46—9 (R.V.)

(46) And he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day;

(47) And that repentance and (*some anc. auth.* unto) remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem (*or*, nations. Beginning from Jerusalem, etc.).

(48) Ye are witnesses of these things.

(49) And behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high.

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precept to Peter "Feed my sheep¹." This does not give to the Apostle exclusively the duty of shepherd. It assures him that he, though he had denied discipleship, is now a disciple again and a shepherd, like the rest, under the Chief Shepherd; and the assurance is conveyed by Jesus after a meal in which He has fed seven of His disciples—one of them Nathanael, not an apostle—on a fish and a loaf².

There is, as it were, a domestic character in the Fourth Gospel at this stage—as compared with a cosmopolitan character in the Three—that appears to be intentional. The Mark-Appendix compresses into one farewell scene (1) a command of Jesus to the Eleven to go forth to all the world preaching and baptizing, (2) a promise of salvation for believers and of confirmatory "signs," followed by (3) a statement—made however by the Evangelist, not by Jesus Himself—that He ascended into the heaven, having ended His instructions, and that they went forth preaching everywhere with the aid of the Lord and of the signs that duly followed³.

Matthew does not describe Jesus as making mention of any ascension or departure. But he says about certain women "They came near⁴ and took hold of his feet and worshipped him. Then saith Jesus unto them, Fear not; go, carry away word to my brethren that they *depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me*⁵." This seems to imply "*I depart for the present.*" And it resembles the Johannine utterance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, "Touch me not, for *I am not yet ascended unto the Father*; but go unto my brethren and say to them, *I ascend unto my Father and your Father*"—where "*Touch me not*" has been reasonably explained as "*Do not detain me*" by clinging to

¹ Jn xxi. 15—17.

² See *Son 3422 i* on Jn xxi. 9.

³ Mk xvi. 15—20. The promise, however, mentions (Mk xvi. 16) "condemning" as well as "saving." *Karakρίνω*, applied to the condemnation of the sinful, occurs, in the Gospels, only here in Mk and in Mt. xii. 41—2, parall. to Lk. xi. 31—2.

⁴ Mt. xxviii. 9 on which see above, p. 631. *Hor. Heb.* and Wetstein *ad loc.* identify this with the action of Mary Magdalene.

⁵ Mt. xxviii. 10.

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my feet¹. Thus the utterance in Matthew may be identified with a form of the one in John. This is also suggested by their agreement as to the command to carry word to Christ's "brethren." If they are to be identified, we may suppose that in Matthew, as well as in John, an ascension is assumed as following this utterance. Matthew does not mention the fact of a past ascension to "heaven" when he describes Jesus as coming to the disciples for the last time. It may, however, be implied in the words "All authority hath been given unto me *in heaven* and on earth². The final utterance of Jesus, in Matthew, is a command followed by a promise: "Make disciples of all the nations..., and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world (*or, literally, all the days, unto the consummation of the aeon*)³."

Luke, in the Acts, if not in the Gospel, lays great stress on the Ascension, though he nowhere describes Jesus as mentioning it. He disconnects it altogether from any manifestations to women. These he twice mentions in his Gospel as being deemed by the disciples inadequate or disappointing ("idle talk," "him they saw not⁴"). He systematically accumulates evidences of Christ's resurrection and exaltation, first, that of prophecy, when Jesus, unrecognised, interpreted it to the two travellers to Emmaus; secondly, His visible presence, manifested to the two, and to the Eleven; thirdly, an offer to the Eleven to handle Him; fourthly (perhaps) the "shewing" of "his hands and his feet"; lastly, His eating in the presence of the Eleven⁵.

¹ Jn xx. 17, which *Hov. Heb.* explains as meaning "Do not touch and detain me."

² Mt. xxviii. 18 "*all authority...in heaven*" appears to imply that Jesus is seated in a seat of supreme "authority," such as Mark implies in the words (xvi. 19) "sat down at the right hand of God."

³ This must be distinguished from "unto the ends of the earth." It does not denote Christ's presence (Mk xvi. 20) "everywhere (*πανταχοῦ*)" coöperating with the preaching of the Gospel. It suggests the end of an aeon of the coöperation of the Son reigning from heaven, and the beginning of a new aeon of the coöperation of the Son reigning on earth—in other words, His "kingdom" on earth.

⁴ Lk. xxiv. 11, 24.

⁵ Lk. xxiv. 27, 31, 36—9, [40], 43. Lk. xxiv. 34 is perhaps

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Most of these proofs are connected with words of Jesus and not related as mere fact. Then comes an "opening" of the "minds" of the Eleven to the Scriptures¹, and an implied precept to preach the Gospel, as Christ's "witnesses" to all the nations, as soon as they should receive the Holy Spirit (described as "the promise of my Father²"). What comes last is rendered uncertain by the uncertainty of Luke's text. Jesus certainly "blesses" the disciples and is "separated" from them; and according to most authorities He is also "lifted up" or "lifted up to heaven³." But the full account of the Ascension—regarded as final—is reserved for the Acts, where it is described as occurring at a considerable interval after the events narrated in the conclusion of the Gospel⁴. Even there it is not mentioned by Jesus.

The final Lucan words of Jesus before the Ascension are recorded in the Acts as being an answer to "the apostles whom he had chosen," who asked Him, saying "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" The answer begins "It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within his own authority"; it passes into a promise, "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Spirit is come upon

uttered by the two travellers, in which case it refers to the appearance at Emmaus, see *Notes* 2999 (xvii) *e—f*, and *Son* 3347 (x) *a*.

¹ Lk. xxiv. 45. *Ib.* 27—45 contains a threefold mention of "the scriptures" in connection with Christ's "interpreting" or "opening" them or "opening the mind [of the disciples] that they might understand" them. This is all the more remarkable as "scripture" does not occur elsewhere in Lk. except iv. 21 "To-day is fulfilled *this scripture...*" John is the only other Evangelist who in post-resurrectional narrative connects knowledge of the "scripture" with belief in Christ's resurrection (Jn xx. 8—9) "And he [*i.e.* the other disciple] saw and believed. For as yet they knew not *the scripture* that he must rise from the dead."

² Lk. xxiv. 47—9. With "*ye are witnesses*" comp. Is. xliii. 10, 12 "*ye are my witnesses*." It recurs in Acts i. 8 "*ye shall be my witnesses*."

³ See below, p. 729 foll.

⁴ On the meaning of Acts i. 3 *δὲ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα*, see *Notes* 2892 *a—c* maintaining that Origen regarded the phrase as implying "days of interval," not "days of duration," so that it does not mean "*for the space of forty days*."

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you"; it concludes with a command implied in a prediction "And ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth¹." Not one of the Three Synoptic Gospels attributes to Jesus any promise of a return from heaven to earth. Nor does the Acts, except as a promise made by two angels (called "two men in white apparel"): "This Jesus, he that was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven²." But when was this to be? In the course of a few months, or years, or centuries? This "time," or "season," was "not for" the disciples "to know." But apparently it might be at any time after the apostles had been Christ's "witnesses unto the uttermost part of the earth."

All these scenes in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts are, so to speak, cosmopolitan. They concern "all the nations" or "the whole world," and they leave us asking—about "times" or "seasons"—"When will the Gospel have been preached by the apostles to the whole world, so that the day of the Lord may be no longer delayed, and Jesus may come down again from heaven—as He ascended to heaven when He was 'received' by a cloud 'out of the sight' of the disciples?" John does not leave us asking this question. He seems to encourage us to treat the "time" or "season" of the "coming" as almost a matter of indifference. He allows his Gospel, toward its conclusion, to shrink, as it were, into something of a private and personal kind with no definite farewell. And there seems to be a studious indefiniteness in "If I will that he tarry while I am coming, what is that to thee? Follow thou me³."

As for the universality of the Gospel—expressed in the Synoptists by "all the world" and "the whole creation," or "all the nations"—John expresses it previously by a peculiar phrase "all that the Father hath given me," or "all that thou hast given me," frequently used throughout his Gospel and especially in the Last Discourse⁴. On the rare occasions when

¹ Acts i. 7—8.

² Acts i. 10—11.

³ Jn xxi. 22. On ἕως ἔρχομαι, "while I am coming," see *Law*, p. 525.

⁴ *Joh. Gr.* 2740—4.

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John uses the word "nation" it is always in the singular and always applied to the Jews¹.

Passing to the Ascension, we find that an "ascending to heaven" of the Son of Man is mentioned by Jesus at an early stage in the Fourth Gospel, along with a "descending from heaven"; and there both "ascent" and "descent" are spoken of as in the past, and are regarded as spiritual, not local, acts². Later on, in the body of the Gospel, and especially in the Last Prayer, ascension is implied in the doctrine that the Son is "going" to the Father. Something more than a mere spiritual ascent seems contemplated in the words "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto the Father³." The words seem to imply that after He had "ascended" He *could* be "touched." If so, John would seem to place an ascension of some special kind before the appearance to Thomas when He offered Himself to be touched. But this is doubtful. John, like Luke, regards some kind of ascension as resulting in the gift of the Spirit; but he does not, like Luke, give us any description of it. He appears to subordinate any visible ascension of Christ on a cloud to an invisible ascension and exaltation of Christ in the hearts of His disciples.

Baptizing is mentioned both by the Mark-Appendix and Matthew, either as a condition for salvation, or as a part of the work of the Apostles. Luke makes no mention of it here, but inserts in the Acts an early mention of a baptism with the Holy Spirit as having been predicted by Jesus⁴, and then a mention (by Peter) of baptism as a condition for admission

¹ Jn xi. 48—52, xviii. 35 (*Son 3423 i, 3442*).

² Jn iii. 13 "No one hath ascended into heaven (οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) save he that descended from heaven (εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς), namely, the Son of Man...." See *Son 3386—90*, on "The Son of Man" ascending and descending," and *ib.* Index "Ascending," "Ascension." W. H. stop short at "the Son of Man," but SS adds "that is from heaven," and Curet, "that was in heaven," and R.V. inserts in txt "which is in heaven."

³ Jn xx. 17. It adds "but go unto my brethren and say to them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father...."

⁴ Acts i. 5.

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to the Church¹. John makes no mention of baptism here, but tells us (quite early in the Gospel) that Jesus, or rather His disciples, baptized along with the Baptist and the Baptist's disciples, that is, before the Holy Spirit was given². The Mark-Appendix does not define the nature of the baptism; Matthew defines it as "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit"; Peter, in the Acts, says "in the name of Jesus Christ³."

Neither the Mark-Appendix nor Matthew makes any mention of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, nor of any promise of it. Luke represents Jesus as saying "I send forth the promise of my Father upon you, but tarry ye in the city until ye be clothed with power from on high"—presumably referring to the promise that he has previously recorded, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom," where the parallel Mark has "the Holy Spirit" and Matthew "the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you⁴." John gives us much more fully this promise of the Paraclete, Christ's other Self, but places it, not after the Resurrection but in Christ's Last Discourse⁵. John also, as has been said above, places the words "Receive the Holy Spirit" at the first appearance of the risen Saviour to the disciples.

Though the Mark-Appendix makes no mention of "the Spirit"

¹ Acts ii. 38—41. Peter's proclamation is not "*Believe ye and be baptized*" (in accordance with Mk xvi. 16 "he that *believeth* and is baptized") but "*Repent ye and let each one of you be baptized.*" But in Biblical Hebrew A.V. "*repent*" may be expressed (*Beginning* pp. 56—9) by שׁוּב "*return*" or "*turn*," i.e. to God; and in New Hebrew the noun "*return*" חֲשׁוּבָה (Levy iv. 675 b) is regularly used for "*repentance*" (though in Biblical Hebrew it means (Ges. 1000 b) (1) a local or temporal "*return*," or (2) "*an answer*"). In O.T. (R.V. and A.V.) the noun "*repentance*" does not occur except about God's repentance in Hos. xiii. 14 "*repentance* (נָחַם regret) shall be hid from mine (God's) eyes."

In preaching the gospel, Peter might say "Turn ye unto the Lord," meaning "Turn ye unto God, the Father in heaven, through His Son, Jesus Christ," and this might be expressed in Greek by "*Repent*," but in fact it might differ very little from "*Believe*."

² Jn iii. 22, iv. 1—2.

³ Acts ii. 38.

⁴ Lk. xxi. 15, parall. Mk xiii. 11, Mt. x. 20.

⁵ Jn xiv. 16—xvi. 15.

it says that believers "shall speak with *tongues*," thus exhibiting another agreement with Luke (in the Acts), who describes "speaking with *other tongues*" as a result of the Pentecostal outpouring¹. The writer—like Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians²—assumes that "*tongues*," used for "*other tongues*," is a technical term intelligible to the reader. The prominence given to it is remarkable. Paul deprecates the abuse of this gift and the excess of the admiration with which it was regarded. Yet here it has a conspicuous place among the "signs" that are to "follow those who have believed."

§ 4. *The Mark-Appendix and the Lucan Discourse to the Seventy*

The first place in the Marcan "signs" is given to "casting out devils," and the following context mentions "serpents." This recalls Christ's warning to the Seventy when they say to Him "Even the devils are subject to us in thy name." He replies "I have given you authority to *tread upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the enemy, and nothing shall in any wise hurt you*. Howbeit in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven³." What relation, if any, have the italicised words to those in Mark, "*they shall take up serpents,*" and "*if they drink any deadly thing it shall in no wise harm them*"⁴? And was there probably any connection in Luke's mind between this peculiar promise, "*nothing shall in any wise hurt you,*" and another—also peculiar to his Gospel and paradoxically following "Some of you shall they put to death"—namely, "*Assuredly not a hair of your head shall perish*"⁵?

¹ Acts ii. 4—11.

² 1 Cor. xii. 10—xiv. 39.

³ Lk. x. 17—20 "*hurt*," ἀδικέω. Similarly used in Rev. vi. 6, vii. 3, ix. 4, comp. Is. x. 20. It is used also (Steph. Thes.) of the harmful action of frost, or unwholesome food, etc. Comp. Hor. Odes iii. 1. 32 "*hiemes iniquas*."

⁴ "*Harm*," βλάπτω, see below, p. 723.

⁵ Lk. xxi. 16—18 καὶ θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, . . . καὶ θριξὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀποληται. This is in the Discourse on the Last Days, soon after the promise of "a mouth and wisdom," which is parall. to

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An answer is suggested by the Marcan word "*harm.*" It occurs only six times in LXX—five of these uncanonical—and never as representing a Hebrew word. But in one of these instances, though the word is Marcan, the meaning of the context is Lucan. It is uttered by a martyr, threatened with torture if he will not apostatize: "For try us now, O tyrant, and even though thou wilt *put to death our vital frames* (lit. *souls*) because of our piety, think not to *harm us* by thy torturing¹." This same word is repeatedly used by Marcus Antoninus, who maintains that a man is not "*harmed*" inwardly or outwardly by anything but moral evil². Going further back to Epictetus, we find the doctrine of "not harming" reiterated in his Lectures. And one of the earliest instances of it³—as well as the last sentence of his Encheiridion—lets us into the secret of its origin, taking us further back still. It is a quotation from

Mk xiii. 11 "the holy Spirit," Mt. x. 20 "the Spirit of your Father"; but the words "*not a hair . . . shall perish*" have no parall. in Mk-Mt.

¹ 4 Macc. ix. 7. This reproduces the Lucan θανατώω, "put to death," with the Marcan βλάπτω, "harm." Πείραζε γὰρ οὖν, τύραννε· καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν ψυχὰς εἰ θανατώσεις διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, μὴ νομίσης ἡμᾶς βλάπτειν βασανίζων.

βλάπτω recurs in Tob. (1), Wisd. (2), 2 Macc. (1), and as a LXX error in Prov. xxv. 20.

² Marc. Ant. iv. 7—8 "Take away the notion [of harm] and you take away the [cry] '*I am harmed.*' Take away '*I am harmed,*' and you take away the *harm*. That which does not make a man worse than he was does not make his life worse, nor does it *harm* [him], either outwardly or inwardly." It is a dogma with Marcus that what does not "*harm*" the society does not "*harm*" the individual: v. 22 Ὁ τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἔστι βλαβερὸν, οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην βλάπτει. Ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς τοῦ βεβλάφθαι φαντασίας τοῦτον ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα· Εἰ ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τούτου μὴ βλάπτεται, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ βέβλαμμαι, vii. 22 "consider above all things that so-and-so has not [really] *harmed* you; for he has not made your spirit (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σου) worse than it was before," x. 33 "that which does not *harm* Law, does not *harm* either city or citizen," i.e. either the City of the World, humanity, or any individual in it.

³ Epictet. i. 29. 13—18, after laying down, as "God's best and most righteous law," τὸ κρείσσον αἰεὶ περιγινέσθω τοῦ χείρονος, goes on to say that this is not broken in the case of Socrates. In his "body," it is true, he drank "the hemlock." But had he nothing in return? Where was the possession of the Good in his soul (ποῦ ἦν ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ

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the *Apologia* of Socrates: "But as for me, Anytus and Melitus are able to kill me, but *harm me they cannot*¹."

These facts indicate that in the Mark-Appendix we have a Gentile or Western form of a Jewish tradition like that in Luke "not a hair of your head shall perish." It was probably based on the story of the Three Martyrs in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace. These were prepared, like the martyr in Maccabees above mentioned, to have their bodies destroyed in case God did not preserve them ("But if not")². In the case of the Three "the fire had no power over their bodies, nor was *the hair of their head singed*"; but they, and the Maccabaeen martyrs, and the martyrs of Christ, kept the "*if not*" steadily before their minds—as Peter also kept it in his Epistle, "And who is he that shall *do you evil* (R.V. *harm you*) if ye are zealous for that which is good? *But if ye should indeed suffer* for righteousness' sake, blessed [are ye]³." A Jewish Christian poet might declare about a martyr, consumed in Nero's flames, that "not a hair of

τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;)? ...And what says he [himself]? Ἐμέ δ' ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλιτος ἀποκτείνει μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι δ' οὐ. The doctrine is also found in *ib.* i. 22. 13—15, and 28. 10, and comp. ii. 2. 15, iii. 23. 21, *Ench.* § 53.

Why does Plutarch never quote Anytus—mentioning his false charge only casually (*Mor.* 499 F)—while Marcus Antoninus never mentions him? Perhaps because the quotation ἐμέ δ' ἄνυτος had become a little too hackneyed for literary circles.

¹ Plato *Apol.* 30 c.

² Dan. iii. 18. The Midrash on Cant. vii. 8 (Wü. pp. 174—5) says that the three Martyrs appeared before Ezekiel (xx. 1) and heard that God would reject their prayer. Nevertheless they determined to put their trust in God. When they had left Ezekiel, God appeared to the prophet and said "Thinkest thou I will deny them my support? Nay, it shall not fail them. But say nothing to them about me. Let them act on their own good purpose.... Their reward will be all the greater."

³ 1 Pet. iii. 13 "do you evil," κακώω. In LXX, this word represents several Hebrew words meaning "evil entreat," "smite," "oppress" etc. Once it means (Is. l. 9) "Who shall condemn (שׁעֵהִיִּי me?) *i.e.* make-me-out-to-be-evil. But Paul (Rom. viii. 33) quotes it as κατακρίνω. In literary Gk κακώω means "make bad, *i.e.* useless for its purpose," but also "afflict with evil."

his head perished"; but the Greeks in the Western Churches, familiar with the language handed down from the martyr Socrates, would prefer to say that he was "*not hurt*."

This language the Mark-Appendix also adopts. And it is not improbable that in borrowing it from the far-famed saying of the martyr Socrates, the writer borrowed at the same time the phrase in the context "If they shall drink any deadly draught, *i.e.* poison." For the "*hemlock*" of Socrates was as famous as his saying about not being "*harmed*," and we have seen that in one passage where Epictetus quotes the latter he also mentions the former¹. The "drinking" of "poison" by Socrates would be familiar to many Christians in Rome during the first century, slaves, like Epictetus, but worthy members of the Roman Church, for which Church the Marcan Gospel was perhaps primarily written. This may explain why Mark gives so conspicuous a place to immunity not from fire, or sword, or hanging, but from an evil so seldom mentioned as "*poison*"².

There remains the Marcan saying "They shall *take up* serpents"—difficult because it seems to represent the disciples as imitating snake-charmers. Why *should* they "*take up* serpents"? The only narrative in the New Testament that even superficially resembles this describes Paul, not as "*taking up*," but as "*shaking off*," a serpent that had casually fastened on his hand³. Luke indeed mentions a promise to the Seventy about "serpents and scorpions," but they were to be "trampled on," not "taken up"⁴. Concerning the prophecy of Isaiah:

¹ See Epict. i. 29. 13—18.

² Euseb. iii. 39. 9 mentions a story of Papias about Justus called Barsabas (Acts i. 23) ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς . . . ὑπομείναντος. The word ἐμπίνω seems seldom or never used (Steph. Thes.) of swallowing by mistake. No instance of this comparatively easy death is connected by early tradition with any Christian martyr. It seems probable that the story of Papias is based on a form of the Marcan tradition, and not the Marcan tradition on the story of Papias. Plutarch *Mor.* 509 D uses ἐμπίνω with κώνειον about the deliberate swallowing a draught of hemlock, but not with any reference to Socrates.

³ Acts xxviii. 1—6.

⁴ Lk. x. 19.

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"The sucking-child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall *put his hand on the adder's den*," Jerome says "The infant, who is (1 Cor. xiv. 20) '*a babe (parvulus)* in malice,' will put his hand on the hole of the asp (perhaps alluding loosely to Mk xvi. 18) and he *chases devils* from the human bodies that they beset (perhaps referring to Mk xvi. 17)," but "the weaned child" does more; he penetrates to the recesses of Satan, "Whence also to the [Seventy] Apostles power was given (Lk. x. 19) that they should 'tread upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the enemy¹.'" According to this view, both the promise in Luke and that in Mark come from one and the same Prophecy—that of Isaiah, about the dominion of the Little Child.

Tertullian, on the other hand, quotes the ninety-first Psalm ("upon the lion (LXX asp) and adder shalt thou tread,") as well as the Prophecy of Isaiah, as being applicable to the Lucan record of Christ's promise of healing powers to His disciples². Both the Psalm and the Prophecy could hardly fail to influence the doctrine of Jesus. But the Psalm is, in part, quoted by Satan to Jesus in the Temptation, and consequently liable to objection³. The Prophecy seems to take us back most closely to Christ's fundamental doctrine of the New Kingdom, the Kingdom of the Little One. And of that doctrine, poetically expressed, there appears to be an ancient vestige in this Pseudo-Marcian tradition of a promise that Christ's disciples "shall take up serpents."

¹ Jerome on Is. xi. 8—9.

² Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 24 after quoting Lk. x. 19 "tread on serpents and scorpions," and also Is. xi. 8—9, proceeds to quote Ps. xci. 13 "Upon the asp and the adder shalt thou tread" as shewing that "this power the Creator conferred first of all upon His Christ," and then he applies these promises to Christian acts of healing: "When therefore He proclaimed the benefits of His cures, then also did He put (Lk. x. 19) 'the scorpions and the serpents' under the feet of His saints."

³ Comp. Jerome on Ps. xci. 11—12 "Vere Diabolus, quasi Diabolus, interpretatur de Salvatore quod non est de Salvatore."

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§ 5. *The Ascension in the Mark-Appendix*¹

The Mark-Appendix concludes by mentioning two acts of the Lord Jesus, the Ascension and the Assession, and then the "preaching of the word" by the Apostles "everywhere," and then the "confirmation" of "the word" by the Lord "through the signs that [always] accompanied it²."

As to the Ascension, Mark uses a Lucan word "*taken-up*," or "*received-up*," but with the addition of "*to heaven*," whereas Luke in the Acts says once "he was received up," absolutely, and in the Gospel speaks of "his receiving up³." The disadvantage of "*to heaven*" was that it might mean, for Jews, one of "*the seven heavens*," perhaps a low one⁴. But if "*to heaven*" was left out, the meaning might be little more than a pious expression for "died"—"taken upward" being used for "taken by the hand of God from this life⁵." Greeks and

¹ Mark-Appendix xvi. 19—20 (R.V.)

(19) So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God.

(20) And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by the signs that followed. Amen.

² Mk xvi. 19—20 Ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος [Ἰησοῦς] μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργούντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιούντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων.

³ Ἀναλαμβάνω, *pass.*, *applied to persons*, is used in canon. LXX only of Elijah's being "*taken up*," or "*ascending*," to heaven, 2 K. ii. 9, 10, 11 (setting aside LXX error in Ezek. xii. 6, 7). In Sir. xlviii. 9, 1 Macc. ii. 58, it is applied to Elijah, in Sir. xlix. 14 (Ἀ μετετέθη) to Enoch. In N.T., it is used only of Christ's Ascension, Acts i. 2 (Luke) absol., i. 11 (angels speak) ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, i. 22 (Peter speaks) with ἀφ' ἡμῶν, 1 Tim. iii. 16 with ἐν δόξῃ. Lk. ix. 51 "the days of his *receiving-up* (ἀναλήψεως)" shews that Luke himself might naturally use the verb absolutely, though he does not represent Peter as using it thus.

⁴ 2 Cor. xii. 2 "snatched up to the third heaven."

⁵ Comp. the only instance of ἀναλαμβάνω *pass.* in Goodspeed *Patr. Apost.*, Hermas *Vis.* i. 1. 5 where a woman salutes Hermas from heaven, and when he asks her τί σὺ ὧδε ποιεῖς; replies Ἀνελήμφθην, . . . on which the editor remarks that it implies death ("Domina igitur

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Romans believed in the Ascension of Hercules¹. It was advisable to distinguish Christ's Ascension from such ascensions as those.

Matthew describes no Ascension at all². Perhaps one might be said to be implied in the words, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world"; for that could most vividly be realised by regarding Jesus as pouring out His influence from above on all the disciples in every corner of the earth. And if this was to be so, Jesus was to be above, beholding and helping them from above, while the results of His help were felt below. But there was no absolute need to postulate a local "above" or "heaven" for such a beholding and helping. Some might prefer to say that Jesus would dwell in the hearts of His disciples in every place and at every time, without any such beholding or looking down.

Luke's course is at first sight very perplexing, and it has perplexed the earliest scribes, who have freely altered his text. In his Gospel, he says that, "*in the act of blessing*³ *them* (i.e. the

defuncta erat"). Goodspeed *Apolog.* gives three instances, all from Justin Martyr (1) *Tryph.* § 32 "our Lord Jesus Christ... was *taken up* into heaven"; (2) those who believe that souls (*Tryph.* § 80) "at the moment of death are *taken up to heaven*" are described as heretics; (3) Christians condemn the exposure of babes lest they should perish because (*Apol.* § 29) not "*taken up*."

¹ Origen *Cels.* vii. 53 quotes Celsus as asking why the Christians could not be content with the old heroes who died glorious deaths and became demigods. And the first name he mentions is that of Hercules. Comp. Hor. *Odes* iii. 3. 9 foll. "Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules..."

■ See however above, p. 717, n. 2, quoting Mt. xxviii. 18 "all authority *in heaven*..."

³ Lk. xxiv. 50—51... εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς. καὶ... ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτούς.... "Blessing *them*" must be distinguished from "blessing [God]" in the breaking of bread, as in Mk vi. 41, Mt. xiv. 19 "he *blessed* [God]." But the parall. Lk. ix. 16 there has "*blessed them*" (*Law* p. 315 foll.). And there was a liability to confuse (*Law* p. 319) פָּרַס, meaning "*spread out the hands*" in blessing God, over bread, with פָּרַם meaning "break" bread. Luke elsewhere describes Jesus as being manifested to the two disciples at Emmaus (Lk. xxiv. 35) "in the breaking of bread," previously mentioned in Lk. xxiv. 30 "he

disciples)," Jesus "*was-separated from them*"—using a word that occurs in the Gospels only once elsewhere and there about an interval of time¹. Many authorities add "*and he was carried up into heaven.*" D and SS, instead of "*was separated,*" substitute severally "*withdrew,*" and "*was lifted up,*" and shorten the text by omitting the words bracketed as follows: "(D) *withdrew* (SS *was lifted up*) from them [*and was carried up into heaven*] and they [*having worshipped him*] returned to Jerusalem²."

It should be observed that the bracketed clause "*was carried up,*" even if genuine, is not the same as the Lucan "*was taken up,*" or, *received up,*" nor does it appear to be thus used in early Christian writings³. But if it is not genuine we must conclude that Luke does not intend, in the Gospel, to describe Jesus as "*ascending.*" He reserves that for the Acts. Passing to the Acts we find the Ascension described, in all MSS except D, by a word that is never used in literary Greek except to mean "*lifted up*" with pride, false hope, or in some other bad sense: "And having said these things, while they were looking, *he was lifted up*⁴."

blessed"—not "*blessed it*"—"and brake." It is possible that as in Lk. ix. 16, so in Lk. xxiv. 50—51, αὐτοῦς is an erroneous insertion, and the latter passage originally referred to "*blessing [God] over bread.*" Ἐν τῷ in Luke is a sign of Hebraic influence, see *Son 3333 e*, *Introd.* p. 112 foll., *Beginning* p. 111 and *Proclam.* p. 153.

¹ Lk. xxiv. 51 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν [καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν].

Διόσθημι occurs in N.T. only here, and Lk. xxii. 59, διαστάσης ὥσει ὥρας μίᾱς, Acts xxvii. 28 βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες (R.V. "after a little space"). The only intrans. inst. in canon. LXX apart from Is. lix. 2 (A), is Exod. xv. 8 "the water was *filed up* (עָרַם)" LXX διέστη, Aq. etc. ἐσωρεύθη. But in Prov. xvii. 9 "*divideth friends,*" διύσθησι = פָּרַד. Goodspeed gives διύσθημι only in Athenag. *Leg.* § 15 διεστᾶσιν "they [*i.e.* God and matter] are *separate* from one another."

² "Withdrew," ἀπέστη. Lk. xxiv. 51 (D) καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

³ The passive of ἀναφέρω does not occur in Goodspeed concerning the Ascension. Ign. *Eph.* § 9 uses it metaph. about men as stones "*lifted up*" into "the heights (τὰ ὕψη)" of God's Building.

⁴ Acts i. 9 καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν βλέπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη, καὶ νεφέλη ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. Here it may be noted that

Then Luke adds that a cloud took Jesus up, but instead of his usual word for "taking up," he substitutes the word used by Herodotus to describe the dolphin that "took up and placed on its back" the drowning Arion, "And a cloud *took him up from below* [and withdrew him] from their eyes¹."

The clue to some of these obscurities is supplied by D which, instead of "*lifted up*," gives (with the change of one letter) "*taken away*²." Precisely the same emendation has been recognised as necessary in a passage of Justin Martyr, speaking of those who are not able to "*detach themselves*," or "*be taken away*," from things of the earth—where the ordinary text has "*be lifted up*³." "Take-away," in the passive, is of very rare occurrence, but it occurs in the Synoptic tradition about the days

in the next verse, punctuated as follows, καὶ ὡς ἀπενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, the last two words are emphatic, "as he was [still] going on." The meaning is that He did not "vanish into space" as at Emmaus (Lk. xxiv. 31) ἄφαντος ἐγένετο, but continued His upward path till the Shechinah withdrew Him from their sight. W. H. have οὐρανόν and no comma after it.

A scholium on this passage (Cramer) says that the cloud is the "symbol of the divine power" quoting Ps. civ. 3 ὁ τιθεὶς νέφει τὴν (leg. νεφέλην) ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ. It also speaks of the disciples as "fully awake and not slumbering," perhaps contrasting this passage with Lk. ix. 32, and still more with Lk. xxii. 45.

Ἐπαίρομαι pass. applied to persons is repeatedly used in literary Gk, LXX, and N.T. metaph., almost always in a bad sense, but never of literal "*lifting up*" except in Byzantine Gk about the lifting of an "imperator" on the shields of soldiers (and Steph. *Thes.* quoting Jo. Malal. p. 267, 2—prob. copied from Lk.).

¹ Ὑπολαμβάνω is used by Herod. i. 24 and Plato *Pol.* 453 D, of a dolphin "taking" Arion "on its back" (which Plutarch *Mor.* 161 D paraphrases by δελφίνων ὑποδραμόντων ἀναφέροιτο). It is a semi-personification. In 3 Jn 8 A.V. "receive," R.V. "welcome," the meaning is "hospitably support."

² Acts i. 9 txt ἐπήρθη, D ἀπήρθη. D also alters the order and omits βλέπόντων αὐτῶν: "And when he had said these things (αὐτά) a cloud [came and] supported him, and he was taken away (ἀπήρθη) from their eyes."

³ Just. Mart. *Apol.* § 58 (txt) τοὺς μὲν τῆς γῆς μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι (leg. ἀπαίρεσθαι) δυναμένους, where see ed. note. Goodspeed gives ἀπαίρεσθαι ad loc. but ἐπαίρεσθαι (AB).

"when the bridegroom shall be *taken away*," and was discussed in its place¹. There it was illustrated from what the sons of the prophets say to Elisha, before the Ascension of Elijah: "Knowest thou that the Lord will *take away* thy master from thy head to-day²?" Antecedently it seems probable that Luke would resort to that ancient narrative to describe the Ascension of Jesus, and now we have to ask whether he seems actually to have done so.

Such a hypothesis would at all events explain Luke's tradition that Jesus "*was separated*" from the disciples. For "*separated*," in Delitzsch's rendering of Luke, is the same word that occurs in the Hebrew text describing how Elijah and Elisha were "*separated*" by the chariot of fire³. It would also explain why Luke might add a form of what the Scripture adds there, about Elijah—namely, "*went up into heaven*"—although he believed that the final "*taking up*" of Jesus was to come later on. Again, Scripture describes God as "*making the clouds*" His "*chariot*⁴." This would suggest a likeness of Elijah's "*chariot*" to the "*cloud*" on which Jesus ascended. And a kind of "*riding*" is suggested, as has been shewn above, by the peculiar word used by Luke to describe the "*cloud*" that presents itself from below to "*support*" the Saviour.

¹ See *Proclam.* pp. 316—17 on Mk ii. 20, Mt. ix. 15, Lk. v. 35. Ἀπαίρω act. in LXX freq. = "break up [camp]," "journey." Hesych. has ἀπαίρομαι = ἀποδημέω, but that may be middle. Steph. *Thes.* i. 2 (p. 1140) gives no instance of the passive like that in the Synoptists.

² 2 K. ii. 3, 5, LXX λαμβάνει.

³ 2 K. ii. 11 "[there came] a chariot of fire and horses of fire and made a division (פרר) between (בין) the-two (שניהם)." Gesen. 825 gives פרר as "*dividing*" in various senses literal and metaphorical. It = διίστημι in Prov. xvii. 9 "*divideth* friends." The pass. of פרר = ἀποσπᾶσθαι in Job xli. 8 (9) (R.V. xli. 17) (Theod.), and is used by Delitzsch in Lk. xxiv. 51 and also in Lk. xxii. 41 ἀπεσπᾶσθη, "he was (A.V.) *withdrawn*, or (R.V.) *parted*," from the disciples "about a stone's cast"—a tradition peculiar to Luke, and perhaps modified by traditions about the Ascension. Heb. פרר = Aram. (Onk.) פרש, as to which, and פרם, see *Law* p. 324.

⁴ Ps. civ. 3.

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Lastly, the emphasis laid by Luke on "*while they were looking*"—which is explained by an old scholium as meaning, in effect, "It was no vision, nor were they drowsy [as on other occasions]¹"—acquires new meaning in the light of the story of Elijah. For Elijah had been asked by Elisha for a "double portion" of his "spirit," and had replied "*If thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so*²." Those who discerned a similarity between the ascent of Elijah and the Ascension of Jesus would seem almost constrained to realise that the latter, like the former, could not have been beheld by those whose "eyes" were not spiritually "opened" to behold it³. But Luke nowhere says this.

John never speaks of the Son as being "*taken, or received, up*," but always as "*ascending*," or "*going up*⁴." The first mention of this he connects with the doctrine of the living bread, and with unintelligent "*beholding*," in an obscure passage that may be paraphrased thus: "Doth this cause you to stumble? What then if at this moment ye are beholding [though ye perceive it not] the Son of Man *ascending* where He was before [through the sacrifice of the Cross]⁵?" In the narrative of the ascent of Elijah the Hebrew text distinguishes the Lord's "*taking*," or "*taking away*," of Elijah from his "*going up*" to heaven. The LXX does not thus distinguish, but renders the latter by "*was received up*"—a unique rendering of the word⁶. The Mark-Appendix uses "*was received up*," and,

¹ See pp. 729—30, n. on Acts i. 9—10.

² 2 K. ii. 10.

³ See Jerome *Epist.* xxii. 3 "when your eyes have been opened you shall see a fiery chariot like Elijah's waiting to carry you to heaven," where he refers to 2 K. ii. 11 and vi. 17. Yet *Epist.* li. 7 "he was caught up into heaven in a chariot of fire and did not feel the effects of the flame" seems to recognise a material "fire" that would have burned the prophet, but for God's intervention.

⁴ Ἀναβαίνω, first used thus in Jn vi. 62.

⁵ See *Joh. Gr.* 2210—12.

⁶ The LXX begins by rendering ἔλαβεν, "take," correctly, λαμβάνω, 2 K. ii. 3, 5, but then it proceeds to render it incorrectly, ἀναλαμβάνω *ib.* 9, 10, and then (*ib.* 11) renders ἔλαβεν, "go up," also by ἀναλαμβάνω (a rendering of ἔλαβεν unique in LXX).

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as has been pointed out, Luke does the same when referring to it in the Acts¹. But the Johannine word better expresses what may be called the naturalness of the action². The Son was to "ascend where he was before" as to a natural home.

Elijah's promise to Elisha (of "a double portion" of his "spirit") resembles Christ's promise to the typical disciple ("Greater works than these shall he do³"). But they differ in this, that although both are really conditional, they state, or imply, different conditions. The former condition is stated thus, "If thou see me⁴." The latter is implied in the fact that it is addressed to "disciples," and the Master has defined the sign of discipleship as being love⁵, so that He says, in effect, "If ye love me, ye will keep my word, and will love one another, and my Father will love you, and we will come unto you, and make our abode with you⁶." This was Christ's answer to the question how He would manifest Himself unto the disciples "and not unto the world⁷," and it teaches us that He was to be manifested by an inward and spiritual "seeing" that would be so much more real than any external "seeing," or merely intellectual "seeing," that a new metaphor, or group of metaphors, was needed to suggest its nature.

§ 6. "*And sat down at the right hand of God,*" in the *Mark-Appendix*⁸

These words are not to be taken as meaning that the disciples *saw* that Jesus "sat down," after previously *seeing* that Jesus "was received up," and as assuming that both of these

¹ Acts i. 2, see above, p. 727, n. 3.

² Jn's first mention of ἀναβαίνω (i. 51) links it with καταβαίνω, and indicates a spiritual connection between heaven and earth (comp. *ib.* iii. 13 "No man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, [even] the Son of man, which is in heaven"). See *Son* 3374—3390 (iv) on "Ascending and Descending."

³ Jn xiv. 12.

⁴ 2 K. ii. 10.

⁵ Jn xiii. 34—5.

⁶ Jn xiv. 23.

⁷ Jn xiv. 22.

⁸ Mk xvi. 19—20, 'Ο μὲν οὖν κύριος [Ἰησοῦς]... ἀνελήμφθη... καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν.... See above, p. 727.

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acts were merely proofs of His divine nature. The Greek text, by means of its particles¹, expresses here a natural connection, or correspondence, between the heavenly act of Jesus and the earthly action of the disciples described in the following words, "He *on the one hand* ascended to heaven and sat down at God's right hand to help His disciples to do His work; but they *on the other hand* went forth proclaiming the Word, and doing His work, in every part of the earth, while He worked with them confirming the Word with the accompanying signs." There is a feeling that the position of Jesus Christ, at "the right hand" of God, is a symbol of God's coöperation with the Church of Christ, banishing disease, and sin, as is implied in the early Christian prayer: "And now, Lord, . . . grant unto thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness, while thou *stretchest forth thy hand* to heal, and that *signs and wonders* may be done through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus²."

But this clause about the divine Session in heaven—so briefly used in the Mark-Appendix—might easily be disconnected from the corresponding clauses about the work of the disciples on earth and the joint work of the Saviour from heaven ("the Lord working with them"). Then "sitting at the right hand" would lose much of its spiritual force. It might give the impression that Jesus, "at the right hand," did no work any longer, but merely sat waiting till His "enemies" should become His "footstool," or till the time should arrive when He should again "come from heaven" to "judge the quick and the dead."

Hence we might expect some Johannine doctrine on this article of the early Christian Creed. And it might easily be shewn that, although John avoids all metaphors about "the right hand of God," he nevertheless endeavours to express aspects of their spiritual meaning that might pass unnoticed. One aspect is the inevitableness of the divine judgment upon

¹ In literary Gk the correspondence between μέν and δέ is often so slight that it would be pedantry to express it in English except by vocal emphasis, but in the Gospels it is comparatively rare. Here the Vulgate expresses it by "quidem" and "autem" as also in Mt. iii. 11, ix. 37 etc.

² Acts iv. 29—30.

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those who bring it on themselves. For those who love Christ, He is their Helper, or rather in the bosom of the Father as their Brother. But it is not so for His "enemies." For them He is seated on "God's right hand" as in the seat of judgment, converted into a Judge by the sins of men who will not accept Him as a Saviour¹.

§ 7. "*The accompanying signs,*" in the Mark-Appendix

"The accompanying signs" may be illustrated by Paul's language to the Corinthians: "At all events *the signs of the apostolic office* (literally, *of the apostle*) were wrought among you in all patient-endurance, by signs, and wonders, and mighty works²"—which uses the word "signs" in two senses, meaning, 1st, the general tokens of the apostolic office, 2nd, the particular acts, especially acts of healing (and perhaps the power to impart the gift of "*tongues*"³) which characterized "apostles." The Mark-Appendix has already said "*These signs shall follow them that have believed,*" and has particularised them as exorcisms, "tongues," immunity from stings of "serpents," immunity from poisonous draughts. Now it uses a more emphatic form of "follow," meaning "*follow [close] on,*" as if to mean "*following closely and inevitably.*" And it says, in effect, "The Lord from heaven helped the disciples to do His work on earth by working with them. For the word of the Gospel that they preached on earth He confirmed from heaven by means of the *invariably-accompanying signs* [*that I have mentioned above*]."

These last words of the Mark-Appendix seem on a lower spiritual level than the last words in Matthew: "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world"; for they mention only "signs" of presence, but Matthew mentions the Presence itself.

¹ See above, pp. 522—4, on Mk xiv. 62. Comp. Rev. v. 6—7.

² 2 Cor. xii. 12. In τὰ μὲν σημεῖα . . ., the meaning of μὲν seems to be "this at all events in the first place," corresponding to a suppressed δέ, meaning "whatever else may be wanting in the second place."

³ Acts viii. 16—17. The subsequent verses indicate that the gift of the Holy Spirit was followed by some "sign," perceptible to the senses of Simon Magus—presumably "*tongues.*"

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They are also less poetically exultant than the last words in Luke: "continually in the temple, blessing God." There is some sense of anti-climax in Mark. But this sense will be diminished if we compare the Lucan use of "signs" in the Acts, beginning with a Petrine quotation from Joel about the Lord's "giving signs on the earth" which Peter applies to the gift of "tongues¹." The word occurs repeatedly—along with "wonders," and "mighty works," and, in the singular, without these words, about "a sign of healing"—in what may be called the Petrine period of the extension of the Church². After that come the great wonders and signs wrought by Stephen one of the seven *diāconoi*³. Then, after mention (by Stephen the *diāconos*) of the "wonders and signs" wrought by Moses in Egypt⁴, we are brought to a mention of "signs" wrought by Philip (another of the *diāconoi*)—particularised as exorcisms, and acts of healing, and afterwards called "signs and great mighty-works⁵."

This may be almost said to close "the sign-period" in the Acts⁶. At all events it closes the period of Petrine "signs." And we are given a hint as to the reason. Although Philip the *diāconos* could work amazing "signs and mighty works" in Samaria, he had not (it is said) bestowed the gift of "the Holy Spirit" on his converts. To bestow this, "apostles" were apparently needed. At all events Peter and John were sent down to Samaria, and by the imposition of their hands the converts "received the Holy Spirit⁷." When Simon Magus "saw that the Holy Spirit was given" by this act, he offered to buy this peculiarly apostolic power. Thus, above exorcizing and healing—which could be performed by a *diāconos*—the imparting of "tongues" speaking with the Holy Spirit appears to be

¹ Acts ii. 19.

² Acts ii. 22 (Christ's signs), ii. 43 (signs wrought by the apostles), iv. 16, 22 (*sing.*, a sign of healing), iv. 30, v. 12 (signs wrought by the apostles).

³ Acts vi. 8.

⁴ Acts vii. 36.

⁵ Acts viii. 6, 13.

⁶ *Σημεῖον* does not occur again in Acts, except in xiv. 3, xv. 12.

⁷ Acts viii. 17.

magnified in the Acts of the Apostles as a privilege belonging to none but apostles.

Soon afterwards, in consequence of Peter's preaching, and without any imposition of hands, the Holy Spirit is described as descending on uncircumcised Gentiles. The Jews present are described as being "amazed because on the Gentiles also was bestowed the gift of the Holy Spirit." How did the Jews know this? Because "they heard them *speak with tongues*¹." Later, by alleging this fact, Peter convinces his opponents at the Council of Jerusalem: "They held their peace...saying, Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life²."

These facts—or at all events the belief in these facts—may explain the great importance that might be attached to "tongues" during a few years, and might be expressed in a few ancient documents, of the growing Christian Church³. The

¹ Acts x. 44—6.

² Acts xi. 18.

³ The pl. "tongues" does not occur in Goodspeed except 2 Clem. § 17 (in quotation), and in Justin Martyr (thrice). Once Justin is quoting (*Tryph.* § 27). Twice he is referring to (*ib.* § 102) the confusion of tongues, or to (*ib.* § 130) nations dispersed according to their tongues. Here we might have expected him to say that Christ, by "the gift of tongues," typically cancelled "the confusion of tongues." But he is silent. So, too, are Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Jerome—who say little or nothing about Gen. xi. 7—8 (Confusion of Tongues) and Acts ii. 1—13 (Gift of Tongues).

Origen, however, says on the former (*ad loc.*, Lomm. viii. 68) "It is a token of malice (*γνώρισμα κακίας*) that the tongues were confused (*τὸ συγχυθῆναι*); it was a token of virtue when 'in all them that were believers there was one heart and soul.'" Comp. Acts iv. 32 "Now in the multitude of them that believed there was one heart and soul." Origen is referring to the Gift of Tongues, as described in the Acts, where it is regarded as being both the sign, and the consequence, of the Christian spirit of peace and unity. His comment (doubtless) leads us toward the right explanation of a historical and very marvellous fact in the Christian Churches of the first century. But the silence of almost all the early Fathers indicates that, in their days, "tongues" had become largely a thing of the past, the memory of which somewhat perplexed those writers who might have been expected to comment on it.

Mark-Appendix appears to have preserved here one of these very ancient Petrine traditions. It was of a piece with the proclamation of the Gospel "everywhere," that is, in every corner of the earth to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. Peter had stamped the gift of tongues as the Charter of the Gentiles: "And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. If then God gave unto them the like gift as [he did] also unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I, that I could withstand God¹?"

John has but one instance of the phrase "signs and wonders" (so frequent in the Acts). It is in a sentence of reproof, "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe²." He nowhere uses the Synoptic term "mighty-works." Perhaps he had come to the conclusion that external "signs" (and especially "tongues") were liable to abuse and fraud in some, besides leading others into self-deception or self-conceit. But without mentioning the word "sign" he gives us, in an utterance of Christ, the one sure sign of Christian discipleship "By *this* [*sign*] shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another³." The "love" is to be that kind of love with which Jesus Himself loved His disciples, and the Father loved the Son⁴. It is to pass into us like the bread of life and to become part of ourselves.

This thought seems latent in the final Johannine mention of "signs," after the blessing pronounced on those who "have not seen and yet have believed." "Many other *signs* therefore Jesus did *in the presence of his disciples*, which are not written in this book: but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye may

¹ Acts xi. 16—17. The Pauline view of "tongues" is fully expressed in 1 Cor. xii. 10—xiv. 39. Paul says that (xiv. 22) "they are a sign, not to them that believe, but to the unbelieving," and that they need to be "interpreted." If in any congregation "all speak with tongues" and there come in "men unlearned or unbelieving," "will they not"—he asks them—"say ye are mad?"

² Jn iv. 48.

³ Jn xiii. 34—5.

⁴ Jn xv. 9—10, 17, xvii. 23 etc.

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have life in his name¹." The context supports Chrysostom's view that John is referring to the signs that were wrought "*in the presence of the disciples [alone]*," after Christ's resurrection. And this helps us to understand why the writer is not content to stop here, but proceeds to add just one more final sign (out of "many") in order to shew how Christ, after His resurrection, wrought it "in the presence of his disciples" so as to strengthen them with the bread of life, that they might "have life in his name." And then follows the scene at the Sea of Tiberias, where Jesus gives to the seven disciples their food in the morning before sending them forth to feed others with the living bread.

It would be a historical error to deny that the signs of tongues and exorcisms and healings played a large part in establishing the early Churches in Jerusalem and Corinth and other cities of the empire. But it would also be a historical error to assume that Jesus Himself regarded these acts as the essential "signs" of the New Kingdom. These and similar acts were better called "works" in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus is represented as saying that the disciples should do even "greater works" than His own because He was to "go to the Father²." These works might vary not only in person and person, but also from time to time.

But while the "works" might vary, the sign was to be invariable. The one unvarying "sign" of the Christian faith, at all times and in all persons—the sign, or ensign, with which they were to conquer the sinful world and without which they were most dismally to fail to conquer it—was that Christians should "love one another" with the love with which Christ loved them. This love is not what many would call love. "To love" as Christ loved is not "to like," or "to cherish indulgently," or "to exempt from pain." The Father loved the Son, yet sent Him to suffering and to death. Jesus loved the disciples, yet also sent them on the same path. What love is, cannot be so easily defined as what it is not. It must be learned from all things good and

¹ Jn xx. 30—31.

² Jn xiv. 12.

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beautiful and true, but above all from the Spirit of the Father and the Son—breathing its influence into us through human nature at its best as known to us in the history of the past and in our experience of the present.

In “the history of the past,” a preëminent though not an exclusive place must always be assigned to the Four Gospels. And even the earliest of the Four, with all its patent defects, may be profitably regarded as intended to prepare us for subsequent explanations, corrections, and developments, not in the first century alone, but in all centuries, to the intent that the Christian Church may ultimately be found to have remained faithful to Christ’s Spirit and not to have relapsed for ever from His living Gospel into a dead Law.

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* Owing to a combination of unfortunate circumstances just before publication, these Indices have not received so full and complete a revision as those in previous volumes. This will have caused (I fear) several errors and defects—especially in the English Index. * For removing some of these my thanks are due to my son, Mr Edwin Abbott, Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge.

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II. ENGLISH

["c. w." means "confused, or confusable, with"; "conn. w." means "connected with"; "interch. w." means "interchanged, or interchangeable, with¹."]]

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¹ These abbreviations in the English Index are intended to bring before the reader in a compendious form some of the principal causes that may explain the divergences of the Gospels from one another in parallel passages.

(1) An original word, Semitic or Greek, may have been confused with others similar to it, as in the LXX. This is denoted by "c. w.," meaning (a) "confused with," or (b) "confusable with."

(2) Sometimes passages in the Gospels that seem at first quite disconnected may be shewn by reference to other Biblical passages to be connected with each other, in thought if not in word. This (as well as connection in the ordinary sense) is denoted by "conn. w.," meaning "connected with."

(3) A word or phrase in the earliest traditions, seeming to later writers obscure or vulgar, or otherwise objectionable, may have been interchanged with another. This is denoted by "interch. w.," meaning (a) "interchanged with," or (b) "interchangeable with."

Other abbreviations, intended to shew parallelism ("parall.") or correspondence (=) between the Synoptists ("Synopt.") and John ("Jn") will be readily understood.

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¹ Acts ii. 38. The text should have added Acts iii. 19 "*Repent ye therefore, and turn again.*"

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III. GREEK

[This Index includes only such words as present something noteworthy, either (1) in themselves, or (2) in their various readings, or (3) in their N.T. contexts, or (4) in passages of N.T. parallel to their contexts, or (5) in passages of earlier Gk (especially LXX) illustrative of their contexts. For ordinary words such as βασιλεὺς "king," ὄρος "mountain," the English Index should be consulted.]

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